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REVIEW ARTICLES

DELVING INTO THE PAST OF CENTRAL AND EAST ASIA

Juha Janhunen

With the rapid growth of the strategic importance of Central Asia, the history of the region is attracting the attention of a growing number of scholars from all over the world. Although Russia, with its integral interests in the region and with its old tradition in Oriental Studies, remains the undisputed leader in the field, the end of the Soviet period has opened Central Asian history to fresh observations and interpretations also from other points of view. At the international level, the most ambitious project in the field is the multivolume series on the *History of Civilisations of Central Asia* produced by the UNESCO. The first three volumes of the series, covering the period up to the mid-eight century AZ were published between 1992 and 1996 (as reviewed in *Studia Orientalia* 82, pp. 276–280). The next two volumes have appeared between 1998 and 2003, with the fourth volume of the series being divided into two parts:

> **M. S. Asimov** & **C. E. Bosworth** (eds.), *History of Civilisations of Central Asia*, IV. *The age of achievement: A.D. 750 to the end of the fifteenth century*. Part One: *The historical, social and economic setting*. Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1998. 485 pp. EUR 45.70. ISBN 92-3-103467-7 (hardback).
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> **C. E. Bosworth** & **M. S. Asimov** (eds.), *History of Civilisations of Central Asia*, IV. *The age of achievement: A.D. 750 to the end of the fifteenth century*. Part Two: *The achievements*. Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 2000. 700 pp. EUR 45.70. ISBN 92-3-103654-8 (hardback).
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> **Chahryar Adle** & **Irfan Habib** (eds.) & **Karl M. Baipakov** (coed.), *History of Civilisations of Central Asia*, V. *Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century*. Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 2003. 934 pp. EUR 45.70. ISBN 92-3-103876-1 (hardback).

As before, each volume contains a selection of relatively concise and narrowly focused chapters (generally 20–30 pages per chapter), contributed by a variety of authors and organised into a more or less integrated chronological sequence by

two or more volume editors. At a higher level, the project has been coordinated by a large "International Scientific Committee", originally headed by M. A. Asimov, as well as a "Reading Committee", composed of a small number of Western scholars. Among the authors, a prominent place is occupied by scholars native to Central Asia. There is no doubt that all authors are specialists in their fields, but the impression is nevertheless that some kind of representational balance in a spirit of international political correctness has been aspired, although this has been difficult to achieve in view of the political instability of Central Asia. The internal problems of the region had also a direct impact on the UNESCO project, in that Asimov (1920–1996), an eminent cultural figure in his country (Tajikistan) and one of the two editors of the fourth volume in the series, was slain by terrorists, probably for reasons of political envy or revenge.

The task of interpreting Central Asian history from an objective point of view becomes the more difficult the closer to the modern period we move. The fourth volume of the series, covering the period between the years 750 and 1500, is still relatively uncontroversial in this respect. The single most important development in Central Asia during this period was without doubt the rise and fall of the Mongol Empire, the only Pan-Central Asian political state in history. There were, however, also many other processes going on in the region both before and after the Mongols, including the westward expansion of the Turkic languages, the eastward expansion of Islam, and the northward expansion of the Tibetan political and cultural interests. One might say that the period corresponding to the Middle Ages in Europe was the Golden Age of Central Asia. In view of this richness of events, it is not surprising that the fourth volume has emerged as the largest in the UNESCO series, a circumstance that has necessitated the division of the material into two separately published parts, corresponding to the political developments (Part I) and the cultural achievements (Part II), respectively.

The two parts of the fourth volume contain altogether 39 chapters by some 60 different authors. The chapters in the first part (political history) proceed mainly in a chronological order and cover the various states and dynasties that have played a role in the region starting from the Umayyads and 'Abbasids (C. E. Bosworth & O. G. Bolshakov) through the Karakhanids (E. A. Davidovich) and Seljuqs (A. Sevim & C. E. Bosworth) to the Khitan (D. Sinor) and Mongols (Sh. Bira), and further to Tamerlane (K. Z. Ashrafyan) and the Timurid states (R. G. Mukminova), to mention only a few of the topics discussed. Some chapters deal with special geographical dimensions, including the Western Himalayan states (A. H. Dani) and the Delhi Sultanate (Riazul Islam & C. E. Bosworth). As in the earlier volumes, there is also a very useful chapter devoted to coinage and the monetary system (E. A. Davidovich & A. H. Dani). The second part of the fourth volume (culture) is organised into a sequence of thematic chapters, each of which contains two or more "parts" by separate authors. The themes covered include education,

religons, law, philosophy and sciences, languages and scripts, oral traditions, literatures, arts and crafts, urban development and architecture, as well as music and theatre. Although many themes are touched upon in the light of selected examples and case studies, the total amount of data and substance covered by the volume is nevertheless impressive.

The period covered by the fifth volume extends to premodern times (mid-nineteenth century), immediately prior to the "Great Game", marked by the Russo-British rivalry in Central Asia. The volume contains 25 chapters, most of which are divided into two or more "parts", authored altogether by some 50 scholars. The editors have obviously made an effort to consider both chronological and geographical criteria, but the result is rather poorly organised and, in any case, less successful than in the fourth volume. Thus, in the fifth volume, we find a rather random selection of chapters dealing with political states, geographical regions, ethnic groups, languages, international relations, social issues, religions, literatures, arts and sciences, as well as, again, monetary systems. Unfortunately, Tibet has received very little attention in this volume, as is also the case in most other volumes of the UNESCO series. One inevitably asks: is Tibet recognised by the UNESCO to constitute a part of Central Asia or not? On the other hand, if Tibet is not Central Asia, then what is it? It is probably no simple editorial accident that the fifth volume features chapters on Mongolian architecture (E. Alexandre), Mongolian literature (G, Kara), as well as Mongolian lexicography and historiography (Sh. Bira), but no substantial information on Tibet, except for a small subchapter on Baltistan (A. H. Dani). By contrast, in the western end of Central Asia, Iran is well represented in the database.

In general, the texts and editorial work of the UNESCO series keep a high standard. In an enterprise with so many authors and editors with such a variety of backgrounds it is impossible to reach a completely uniform result. The volumes are also technically well finished, with a clear lay-out, good chapter-by-chapter bibliographies (including even some Chinese and Japanese sources), glossaries of technical terms, indices, pictures (in the text), and maps (in the end of the volumes). The maps show that it has been necessary to stretch the limits of "Central Asia" from what they were in the first three volumes. In view of the political spheres of the Mongols, Turks, and Arabs, Central Asia inevitably comprises also Anatolia, the Iranian Plateau, Northern India, Southern Siberia, Western China, and Manchuria. The entire Tibetan realm should, of course, also belong to this context. It remains to be seen how the details of the regional division will be handled in the forthcoming sixth (and final) volume of the series. The current sovereignty disputes over territories like Tibet and Sinkiang, the political controversies in countries like Iran and Afghanistan, and the border issues between major powers such as China and Russia, may turn out to be difficult to deal

with in a volume coordinated by a branch of the United Nations, even if the authors are supposed to be objective.

Some of the intricate questions pertaining to the modern history of Central Asia are touched upon by Svat Soucek (Princeton University Library) in a general work on the formation of the region as a cultural and political entity:

> **Svat Soucek**, *A History of Inner Asia.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. xiii + 369 pp. US$ 64.95. ISBN 0-521-65169-7 (hardback); US$ 24.95. 0-521-65704-0 (paperback).

Soucek, who uses the term "Inner Asia", defines the region somewhat more narrowly than the UNESCO series, and he is also more focused on the modern political entities and their historical projections. Thus, Soucek's region extends to the Caspian Sea in the west (Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan) and to the Tarim basin and the Gobi Desert in the east (Sinkiang and Mongolia), leaving both Anatolia (Turkey) and the "Middle East" (Iran and Afghanistan) outside of his immediate discussion. Most importantly, he expressly excludes Tibet (with Qinghai), Manchuria (with Inner Mongolia), and Siberia. With the exception of Mongolia, his focus is therefore on "Islamic Central Asia", a region closely congruent with the former "Russian Turkestan" *alias* "Soviet Central Asia" and also known as "Middle Asia". The reasons why Soucek includes the Republic of Mongolia in this context (as discussed by him in the "Preface") seem to be connected with the historical role of the Mongols all over Central Asia, as well as with the prolonged position of Mongolia as a part of the Soviet Bloc. Even so, Mongolia as a modern state is not exactly comparable with the newly-independent Central Asian republics. The Russian tradition of dividing Central Asia into a western (Islamic and Turko-Iranian) as well as an eastern (Buddhist and Tibeto-Mongolian) part appears to correspond better to the facts.

Since Soucek's book is meant to serve the educated general reader, it contains a relatively large geographical and ethnocultural introduction (pp. 1–45), after which the presentation proceeds mainly chronologically. As a lower time limit, Soucek has chosen the spread of Islam, which means that the first two thirds of his book (pp. 46–193) coincide in chronological span with the fourth and fifth volumes of the UNESCO series. The last third (pp. 194–295) covers the Russian conquest, the Soviet period, and the recent years of national independence, with a separate discussion of Mongolia (pp. 297–302). The status of Sinkiang as a part of China is also discussed separately (pp. 263–274). In this context, after touching upon Yaqub Beg and the Sino-Russian border conflict in Turkestan, Soucek also mentions the archaeological work carried out by Western explorers in the oases of the Silk Road. The chapter on Sinkiang also illustrates how well Soucek manages to present a balanced account of a wealth of data in a concise space. A discussion

of the brief period of self-proclaimed autonomy (1944–49) of Eastern Turkestan is concluded by a demographic survey of the modern situation, which leaves little hope for Uighur national independence in Sinkiang.

As a one-man effort Soucek's monograph is internally more coherent than the extant collectively produced works on the same region. As a bibliographer, Soucek manages the challenges of terminology and transliteration in an exemplary way. In the end of the book (pp. 316–340) he gives a selection of dynastic tables as well as some encyclopedic "country data". As a historian he seems to belong to those who regard it as a basic task of history not only to document the past, but also to understand the present and, perhaps most importantly, to predict the future. For this reason it is exactly the sections on modern history in his book that offer the most rewarding reading. In the light of recent events, Soucek's analysis of, for instance, the political situation in Kyrgyzstan (p. 306) has proved to be correct. Of course, Soucek is not free from personal judgements. In the spirit of Western liberalism, he seems to think that "democracy" and "human rights" are the keys to political success also in Central Asia. Even so, he generally manages to keep an enjoyably intellectual tone when speaking of controversial phenomena such as Communism, colonialism, nationalism, and Islam.

In spite of its coherent personal approach and good technical realisation, there is one detail for which Soucek's book is definitely inferior to the UNESCO series. This detail concerns the maps, to which Soucek's publisher has failed to render a satisfactory typographic quality. Also, all the thirteen maps provided deal with political history, while there is no single map that would show the physical features and historico-geographical components of Central Asia, such as Transoxania, Khurasan, Khawarazm, Fergana, or Semirechye, all of which Soucek discusses extensively in the introductory chapter. In this respect, the maps in the UNESCO series are much more informative. Of course, an even better source to the historical geography of Central Asia is now the *Historical Atlas of Central Asia* by Yuri Bregel (in *Handbuch der Orientalistik* 8/9, 2003), which was not yet available when Soucek published his book.

Another one-man enterprise on an important part of Central Asia is the history of Mongolia by Michael Weiers:

> **Michael Weiers**, *Geschichte der Mongolen.* (Kohlhammer Urban Taschenbücher, 586.) Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 2004. 269 pp. EUR 18.00. ISBN 3-17-017206-9 (paperback).

This is a strictly source-based account of the historical role of the Mongols, especially in view of their imperial period. After a brief introductory discussion of the ethnonyms and ethnic origins of the Mongols, Weiers goes on to describe, on the basis of the *Secret History* and other primary sources, the rise of the historical Mongols, the biography of Chinggis Khan, the Mongol Empire in Central Asia

and China, the subsequent division of power and territory, the "Dark Period" following the fall of the Mongol Empire, the rise and fall of the Jungars, and finally the position of the Mongols in the Manchu Empire. The emphasis is on political and military history, while for cultural history the reader may refer to *Die Mongolen: Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur*, edited by Weiers earlier (1986). In an apparent attempt to reach the general reader, Weiers occasionally uses idiosyncratic translations and periphrases like *Gold Reich* for the Jin Dynasty and *Dynastie "Uranfang"* for the Yuan dynasty. This practise has its problems, especially as far as dynasty names are concerned. Chinese dynasty names are often inherently multivalent in meaning, and it is possible that, for instance, the name of the Jin dynasty, like the names of most Chinese dynasties before the Yuan, is ultimately based on a hydronym.

It has to be noted that Weiers intentionally directs the reader's attention almost totally to the classic type of steppe Mongols and their political vicissitudes up to premodern times. For modern history, even the German reader is left with C. R. Bawden's *Modern History of Mongolia* (second edition, 2002). The concluding chapter by Weiers on Mongols in the 20th century is particularly concise (pp. 222–231), and the notes on Mongolic speakers other than the Mongols proper are even shorter. The list of Mongolic-speaking "minority nationalities" in China (p. 235) is partially inexact, and none of the "nationalities" concerned, with the exception of the Mongols proper, receives any discussion from Weiers. Even the Moghols of Afghanistan, on whom Weiers happens to be the chief living authority, are mentioned only in passing. It is nevertheless important to emphasise that not all Mongolic speakers correspond to the image of the prototypical nomadic Mongols of the Central Asian steppes. After the Mongols proper, the second largest Mongolic-speaking population today is formed by the settled agriculturalists of Dongxiang in Gansu, Moslems by religion and mixed Europoids by physical type. This vigorous and rapidly growing ethnic group has almost totally been neglected in conventional Mongolic Studies.

It is well known that the origins of China are also intimately connected with Central Asia. Not only is the modern Chinese state in possession of large portions of what is geographically classified as Central Asia (Inner Mongolia, Gansu-Qinghai, Sinkiang, Tibet) but also the region today known as "Western China" (*Xibu*) has contributed to the formation of China perhaps more than any other region. Many crucial innovations, including horsemanship, metal working, and writing, reached China through Central Asia, and on many occasions in Chinese history the Heavenly Mandate has been transferred to a new power base emerging from the west. This happened for the first time when the Shang dynasty was replaced by the Zhou (11th century BZ), and the pattern was repeated during the initial stages of many later dynasties, including, perhaps most notably, the Qin

(221 BZ) and the Tang (618 AZ). It is of no minor significance in this context that the modern territorial identity of Greater China (with Tibet, Mongolia, Manchuria, and Eastern Turkestan) was for the first time created by the Mongols of the Yuan dynasty, who represented the steppe component of "China". Not surprisingly, the Chinese government has recently recognised the "Grasslands" (*Caoyuan*), as one of the three major sources of Chinese civilisation, the other two being the Yellow River basin and the Yangtze basin.

The origins of the Chinese political and cultural identity are discussed from the archaeological point of view by Li Liu (La Trobe University, New Zealand) in a fresh monograph:

> **Li Liu**, *The Chinese Neolithic: Trajectories to Early States.* (New Studies in Archaeology.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. xvi + 310 pp. US$ 105.00. ISBN 0-521-81184-8 (hardback).

It is generally thought that the earliest culture that may be called "Chinese" was formed in the "Central Plains" (*Zhongyuan*) of the Yellow River basin. From Neolithic times, however, there were two centres of cultural innovation on the Yellow River: one on the upper course (Gansu) and the other on the lower course (Shandong). The two principal Neolithic cultures connected with these centres are known as Yangshao and Dawenkou, respectively. To these sources, influences from the north (Manchuria) and the south (the Yangtze basin and Sichuan) must be added, comprising altogether perhaps as many as four additional regional cultures. As a synthesis of all these traditions, the Middle Yellow River culture of Longshan (Shaanxi) was formed in late Neolithic times (3rd millennium BZ), and many archaeologists, including Li Liu, see it as a direct predecessor to the historical civilisation of China. Between Longshan and Shang there is the Early Bronze Age Erlitou culture, conventionally connected by many Chinese scholars with the pseudohistorical Xia "dynasty".

Li Liu's work was originally presented as a PhD dissertation (1994) dealing specifically with the Longshan culture. The emphasis on the Longshan tradition is still strong in the published version, but the book may also be used as a more general up-to-date source on the Neolithic cultures of China in their various material and social aspects, including household activities (Chapter 3), social relations (Chapter 4), burial patterns (Chapter 5), and complex societies (Chapters 6–7). The ultimate goal of Li Liu is to identify criteria that would allow to specify the "origins" of "early states" in China (Chapter 8) and the underlying social processes (Chapter 9). Some of the more specific problems discussed by her include the demographic development (population growth and distribution), social differentiation (the rise of a ruling elite), and gender relations (the patriarchal social order). The personal database of Li Liu comes from her fieldwork at the site of Kangjia in the Wei River basin, but she also extensively discusses case studies

from other regions and excavation sites. Some issues, such as the distribution of human figurines, are placed in a transcontinental context along the Central Asian tract which later came to be known as the Silk Road. The discussion is throughout illustrated with numerous excellent maps and figures.

What makes Li Liu's work interesting even for the non-archaeologist reader is the parallel discussion of the nationalist framework of Chinese archaeology. As an ethnic Chinese with a Western education, Li Liu is able to take a critical look at the Marxist dogmas of sociocultural evolution, as well as at the Chinese nationalist attempts to analyze the archaeological record in terms of mythical history and political teleology. Even so, it is obvious that she regards it as an important issue to demonstrate that China did have "states" before Shang. In particular, she makes an effort to defend the view that the pre- to protohistorical Erlitou culture involved exactly the kind of demographic volume, economic level, military power, and social stratification that is characteristic of a "state". With a population size possibly as large as 80,000 people, Erlitou could perhaps be called China's first centralised "city state". However, Erlitou seems to have represented only one of several contemporary concentrations of power and population, and its evolution to a "state" was paralleled by that of the predecessors to the historical Shang and Zhou cultures and dynasties. Although Li Liu uses the term "Xia" in connection with the Erlitou culture, there is, of course, no historical justification for this terminological identification. The name and concept of Xia are likely to have originated retrospectively and much later.

In an informative introductory section (Chaper 2) Li Liu discusses the environmental factors that contributed to the formation of the first Chinese "states" exactly in the Middle Yellow River basin. These include favourable soil conditions (loess) and precipation patterns (especially during the Holocene optimum), as well as access to natural irrigation (river plains) and fertilisation (regular floodings). Without a doubt, the geographical location of the Middle Yellow River basin in the intersection of Eastern Central Asia in the west, the Pacific Coast in the east, Manchuria and the Mongolian steppes in the north, and the Yangtze basin in the south, must also have played a role. Ultimately, the formation of China was due to the rapid growth of population in a relatively compact agricultural region to which cultural flows brought innovations from other parts of the Eurasian continent. However, the great challenge of Chinese prehistory is to define the geographical "origins" of the Chinese *language*. For the time being we only know for sure that the literate elite of the Shang state spoke a language directly ancestral to Chinese. Whether Chinese was also the language of the Longshan and Erlitou cultures is much less certain. From the archaeological record there is still a long way to understanding the ethnic and linguistic diversity that must have prevailed in ancient China.

JUHA JANHUNEN

THE CHANGING FACES OF AMDO QINGHAI

Juha Janhunen
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The Amdo Qinghai region in the borderzone between China and Tibet has been the object of serious Western research since the expeditions of the Russian explorers N. M. Prjevalsky (1874–1875) and G. N. Potanin (1884–1885). Before Prjevalsky, the region had been traversed by the French Catholic missionaries Régis-Évariste Huc and Joseph Gabet on their journey from China through Inner Mongolia to Tibet (1844–1846). Among later visitors to the region we find the Russian colonel (subsequently Finnish marshal) C. G. E. Mannerheim, who passed along the northern limits of Amdo during his ride across the Manchu Empire from Turkestan to Peking (1906–08). From early Republican times, Amdo became an increasingly popular goal for Western travellers, who found particular attraction in the many important Tibetan temples of the region, including Kumbum, Labrang, Rekung, and Choni.

The tradition of multidisciplinary field research was continued in the 1920s by the Austrian-American naturalist Joseph F. Rock who, supported by the National Geographic Society, stayed two years (1925–27) among the Tibetans of Choni (Zhuoni) in southern Gansu (Gannan). Rock published his immediate results as a series of popular articles in the *National Geographic*, and later he took up the topic on a more scholarly level in his important monograph on the *Amnye Ma-chhen Range* (Rome 1956). One of Rock's merits was that he, like Mannerheim, was a superb photographer who, among other things, documented the Tibetan temple life of Amdo. Even more active in this field was the German geophysicist and explorer Wilhelm Filchner, whose second expedition to Amdo and Tibet (1925–28) coincided with that of Rock. Filchner's *opus magnum* on *Kumbum Dschamba Ling* (Leipzig 1933) is still unsurpassed as an authoritative and minutely detailed description of a Tibetan monastery.

Although Rock is generally regarded as the "discoverer" of the Amdo region for the Anglo-American audience, he was actually preceded by a few years by another American naturalist, Frederick R. Wulsin, whose expedition to China, Inner Mongolia, and Amdo (1921–25) was also supported by the National Geographic Society. For various reasons, Wulsin's results were less spectacular and less prominently publicised than those of Rock, and the single article by Wulsin in

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the *National Geographic* (February 1926) has by the present day fallen into oblivion. Wulsin's photographs, preserved at the Peabody Museum, have, however, been presented to the general audience in a special retrospective exhibition (1979). Part of them have now been republished in book form by Mabel H. Cabot, the daughter of Wulsin's wife Janet Elliot from her second marriage. Janet Elliot Wulsin was a member of her first husband's expedition, and for obvious personal reasons her role in the expedition is the focus of Cabot's discussion.

Mabel H. Cabot, *Vanished Kingdoms: A Woman Explorer in Tibet, China & Mongolia 1921–1925*. Preface by Dr. Rubie Watson. Aperture Foundation, Inc., in association with The Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 2002. 192 pp. US$ 35.00. ISBN 1-931788-08-1 (hardback).

Much of the text in the book is based on the diaries and letters of Janet Elliot, and the extracts are supposed to make her person emerge "from the shadows as a woman explorer in her own right". In other words, Cabot presents her mother as an active and independent member of her husband's expedition in the style of Eleanor Lattimore, the wife of Owen Lattimore. Cabot also frequently quotes the eccentric Alexandra David-Neel as a female "authority" on Tibet and a model for other female explorers. Unfortunately, this message of Cabot is not fully substantiated by her data, for it seems, after all, that Janet Elliot was for most of the time a rather uninterested and reluctant member of the expedition, who never really freed herself from the role of an American housewife. She does not seem to have made any major discoveries, and the few passages of authentic observations contained in the book, such as the description of the Labrang monastery (pp. 151–153), are from the hand of Frederick Wulsin.

As for Frederick Wulsin, his fate was not to become a great explorer either, though he did manage to build a modest university career, mainly thanks to his naturalist research in Africa. In general, it seems that he simply lacked in talent what he possessed in wealth and family connections. Unlike Rock and Mannerheim, he did not know how to deal with the cultural and linguistic diversity of the region he studied. He was apparently also unable to exploit in full the information he received from real experts like the Catholic scholars Father Van Dyke in Lanzhou and Father Schram in Ningxia. As a result, his text, like that of his wife, is full of mistakes, misunderstandings, and mispellings. To complete the picture, neither Frederick Wulsin nor Janet Elliot were able to produce readable texts of any literary quality.

All this said, the photographs of the Wulsin expedition deserve to be noted as important visual documents. Taken in 1923, the photographs illustrate the various stages of the expedition, most importantly the regions of Ordos, Alashan, and

Amdo Qinghai. Out of a much larger number of original negatives and prints, the book contains a selection of several dozen, among which there are also 30 hand-coloured pictures (lantern slides). The photographs illustrate, among other things, the monasteries of Labrang and Kumbum, offering a welcome addition to the pictures of Mannerheim, Rock, and Filchner. Of greatest interest for the modern reader are the pictures of the local ethnic groups, Amdo Tibetans and "Monguor", and their cultural features. It also has to be said that the layout and typographic quality of the publication by Cabot does justice to the pictures, rendering the volume externally very handsome.

The Wulsins visited the "Monguor" area northeast of Xining in September, 1923, and took a number of pictures, of which three are published by Cabot (pp. 105 and 143). As a characteristic example of the linguistic unprofessionalism of the Wulsins, it may be mentioned that the "Monguor" were known to them by the name "To Run", a distortion of the Chinese ethnonym *Turen* (in the Wulsins' time normally Romanised as *T'u-jen*). In a fundamentally mistaken piece of news concerning the racial and cultural characteristics of the "Monguor", which Frederick Wulsin sent to the *New York Times* (as reproduced on p. 142 of the book under review), this was further distorted into "Togun": *Explorer Reports Years Don't Count Among Toguns of Kansu, but Hair Does.* Needless to say, Cabot does not comment on such details, but the reader inevitably comes to compare the Wulsins' journalistic carelessness with the painstaking efforts their contemporary Rock was making in order to transmit correctly all Chinese and Tibetan local terms, toponyms, and ethnonyms.

Thanks to the photographs of Frederick Wulsin and the other early explorers, the development of the Amdo region during the 20th century is well documented in visual records. Most recently, the Amdo Tibetans have been the object of a photographic documentation by the Lithuanian photographer Paulius Normantas in his book *The Invincible Amdo Tibetans* (Helsinki 1994). There are also many good photographs of Amdo in Michel Peissel's recent book on Tibet, *The Secret Continent* (London 2002). Peissel may perhaps be counted as the last true explorer in Amdo, for his search for the sources of the Mekong on the Qinghai Plateau, as described in *The Last Barbarians* (London 1997), represents the classic multi-disciplinary approach to the geographical and cultural complexities of the region.

As far as the details of the ethnic taxonomy of Amdo Qinghai are concerned, they can only be established by professional linguists. Although even the earliest explorers in the region, including Prjevalsky, Potanin, and Mannerheim, made notes on selected local languages, the actual pioneers of linguistic research in Amdo Qinghai were the Belgian Catholic missionaries and scholars Antoine Mostaert (1881–1971) and Albrecht De Smedt (1884–1941). Mostaert, who is also known for his work in Ordos, has been called (by Jozef L. Van Hecken) "the apostle of

the Mongols", while De Smedt could perhaps be given the title of the "the apostle of the Monguors" Due to the early death of De Smedt, it remained Mostaert's task to continue and complete the first scientific documentation of a Mongolic language spoken in Amdo Qinghai. Through the works of the two Belgians this language came to be known as "Monguor", a name subsequently used for an entire group of related languages which, following Potanin, have also been called "Shirongolic".

Mostaert, C.I.C.M. (*Congregatio Immaculatae Cordis Mariae* "Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary"), worked for a Catholic mission based in Leuven (Louvain) and known as the "Scheut Society for Foreign Missions". A related academic organisation is Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation of the Catholic University of Leuven, which has honoured the heritage of Mostaert with a two-volume publication edited by Klaus Sagaster and based on the proceedings of an international commemorative symposium held in 1993. The first (and smaller) volume contains the actual symposium materials, with contributions from sixteen experts from various countries, while the second (and larger) volume is a collection of papers by Antoine Mostaert himself.

> **Klaus Sagaster** (ed.), *Antoine Mostaert (1881–1971). C.I.C.M. Missionary and Scholar*, I: *Papers*; II: *Reprints*. (Louvain Chinese Studies, 4–5.) Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation (China-Europe Institute), 1999. xvi + 279 + 623 pp. EUR 24.50 / 49.33. ISBN 90-801833-5-0, 90-801833-4-2 (hardback).

Since Mostaert made contributions to the study of both Ordos and Amdo, one would expect the symposium to have covered both regions on an equal basis. Somewhat unfortunately, however, the symposium seems to have been heavily focussed on the Ordos region. The published contributions include papers on Ordos history (Veronika Veit), dialects (Eerdunmengke), folktales (Walther Heissig), epics (Rinčindorji), poetry (Klaus Sagaster), cultural traditions (Elisabetta Chiodo), traditional cults (Peter Alford Andrews), divination (L. Hurcabaatur Solonggod), and taboo (Alice Sárközi). There are also papers related to the history of the Catholic mission in Ordos (Patrick Taveirne) and elsewhere in Inner Mongolia (Jacqueline Thevenet), as well as on Catholicism in Ordos today (Yang Haiying). There are, however, no papers dealing specifically with the Amdo aspect of Mostaert's life and work. Instead, some contributors touch upon issues connected with the *Secret History* and other Middle Mongol documents, on which Mostaert worked especially in his later years.

Although the absence of the Amdo Qinghai part of Mostaert's research profile in the symposium materials is conspicuous and regrettable, it has to be admitted that Ordos, like Amdo, is an important and little-studied region which the Mostaert Symposium allowed to rise to international visibility. Since the

publication of the Mostaert Symposium proceedings, two other historiographical volumes on Ordos have already been published in the same series (Louvain Chinese Studies): *Han-Mongol Encounters and Missionary Endeavours: A History of Scheut in Ordos (Hetao) 1874–1911* by Patrick Taveirne (2004), and *Chronique du Toumet-Ortos: Looking through the Lense of Joseph van Oost, Missionary in Inner Mongolia (1915–1921)* by Ann Heylen (2004). Ordos studies is also the focus of the series "Mongolian Culture Studies" (Cologne), published by the "International Society for the Study of the Culture and Economy of the Ordos Mongols" under the editorship of Yang Haiying, Solonggod Hurcabaatur, and Uradyn E. Bulag.

What one really misses in the symposium volume is a more detailed description and appreciation of the person of Antoine Mostaert. Apart from a personal note by Fujiko Isono, the only contribution dealing with this topic is a brief paper by Françoise Aubin. The reader is, however, notified that Aubin is preparing a book-size biography of Mostaert, which will hopefully illuminate those aspects of Mostaert's activities which have received less attention in the symposium volume. With the recent rise of international interest in the Amdo Qinghai region, the work of the early pioneers has gained new significance. We can today only admire the incredible professional competence of Mostaert and his confrères. In this connection it may be noted that Father (Louis) Schram (1883–1971), C.I.C.M., who also worked among the "Monguors" and authored the ethnohistorical monograph *The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Frontier* (1954–1961), is likewise finally getting the full attention and recognition he deserves. A new edition of Schram's work, with biographical additions and modern commentaries, is being prepared by Kevin Stuart (Xining).

Among the contents of the second volume of the symposium publication we mainly find Mostaert's works on Ordos, though there are also some very useful reprints of his contributions to "Monguor" studies. Perhaps most importantly, the volume contains the paper on "The Mongols of Kansu and their language' (originally published in the *Bulletin of the Catholic University of Peking*, 1931). Also reprinted are the notes on "Monguor" phonology (originally published in *Anthropos* 1929–31) which initiated the series of works on "Monguor" by Mostaert and De Smedt. The second part of the series, dealing with morphology (1945), is not reprinted in the symposium volume, since it is readily available as an earlier reprint in the Indiana University "Uralic and Altaic Series" (1964). However, by far the most difficult to access today is the third part of the series, containing a "Monguor" dictionary (1933). It was, of course, too large to be included in the symposium volume, but this should not obscure the fact that a reprint of it would serve a real need.

The dictionary of Mostaert and De Smedt is still today the most complete scientific record of the lexicon of any single Mongolic language spoken in Amdo Qinghai. The same is no longer true of their grammatical contribution, for the results of the Sino-Russian expedition (1955–56) and the survey of the Inner Mongolia University research team (1980–81) have yielded several even more detailed synchronic and diachronic presentations of the Mongolic languages of the region. However, the very concept of "Monguor" as a linguistic term has remained unclear and vaguely defined until very recent times. New and definitive light on this question is shed by the grammatical monograph of Keith W. Slater on one of the idioms traditionally labelled "Monguor":

> **Keith W. Slater**, *A Grammar of Mangghuer: A Mongolic Language of China's Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund.* (RoutledgeCurzon Asian Linguistic Series.) London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003. US$ 150.00. ISBN 0-7007-1417-5 (hardcover).

The object of Slater's work is the "dialect" spoken by c. 30,000–35,000 ethnic "Monguor" (*Tuzu*) people in the Sanchuan region of the Upper Yellow River basin (incidentally, the focus of Potanin's fieldwork in Amdo Qinghai). Since Sanchuan administratively belongs to the context of Minhe County, the local language has also been known as "Minhe Monguor", as opposed to "Huzhu Monguor", the language of Huzhu County further north. With good reason, Slater labels the idiom he describes not "Monguor" but *Mangghuer*, which is his transcription of the Sanchuan shape of the ethnonym "Mongol". Although it used to be thought that Mangghuer is a dialect of "Monguor", it is now evident from Slater's discussion that it is a separate language. Correspondingly, the "Monguor" speech of Huzhu is today best referred to as *Mongghul*, a term introduced by the native Mongghul linguist Li Keyu in the 1980s.

The question of ethnonyms and linguistic labels is, however, a complicated one. To be exact, Mangghuer and Mongghul are two relatively closely related Mongolic languages of the Shirongolic complex, spoken by two separate groups of the "Monguor" nationality of Qinghai. These are, however, not the only forms of "Monguor" speech. It is important to realize that the idiom described by Mostaert and De Smedt is strictly speaking neither Mangghuer nor Mongghul, but a third variety of the same group of languages, a variety perhaps best labelled *Mongghuor*. In some respects, Mongghuor seems to be intermediate between Mongghul and Mangghuer, but the exact areal and genetic relationships of the three idioms remain to be clarified in the future. While Mangghuer and Mongghuor seem to be fairly clearcut entities, the dialectal variation within Mongghul is considerable and little investigated.

In spite of the remaining blank spots in "Monguor" dialectology, it seems certain that Mangghuer, as described by Slater, was the last *major* Mongolic language for which no systematic information was available. Slater's volume contains relevant background information (Chapter 1), as well as sections on phonology (Chapter 2), noun phrases (Chapter 3), clause structure (Chapter 4), the category of "speaker involvement" or *perspective* (Chapter 5), complex sentences (Chapter 6), reported speech (Chapter 7), and areal contacts (Chapter 8). The chapter on clause structure is the largest and also contains the basic data on both nominal and verbal morphology. Since an earlier version of the work was originally presented as a PhD dissertation (1998) under the title *Minhe Mangghuer: A Mixed Language of the Inner Asian Frontier*, it is encouraging to note that Slater now has arrived at the (correct) conclusion that Mangghuer is *not* a mixed language, but simply a Mongolic language exceptionally much influenced by its non-Mongolic neighbours. As such, Mangghuer is a good (and perhaps the best) example of the effects of language contact (Sprachbund) in the Amdo Qinghai region, a very important topic of which Slater offers one of the first serious discussions. In this context, Slater analyzes both the Sinitic (Chinese) and Bodic (Tibetan) structural features of Mangghuer.

Slater's description is based on an exceptionally clearly defined corpus of fifteen folktales, comprising some 1,400 clauses, complemented by 750 elicited sentence examples, 1,300 previously published sentences (*Sino-Platonic Papers*, 1996), and a word list of about 2,000 items. Of the fifteen folktales, one is published as an appendix to the monograph, while the rest of the corpus has recently appeared as a separate volume (*LINCOM Languages of the World Text Library*, 2005). The folktale material was originally collected and transcribed by the native Mangghuer cultural activist Zhu Yongzhong, who was also one of Slater's principal language consultants. Zhu Yongzhong's role in Slater's grammar project can hardly be overestimated, and the resulting publication may be seen as the fruit of well-integrated cooperation between an educated native speaker and a professional linguist. However, the fact that Slater has had only limited access to a wider range of native speakers has also created some problems which future research has to tackle.

The problems are perhaps most obvious in the phonology. The Mangghuer language material is rendered by Slater in a notation following the rules of the Pinyin transcription of Standard Mandarin. It is, however, difficult to imagine that the phonemic system of Mangghuer could be so close to Standard Mandarin as it would appear from Slater's notation and phonemic analysis. Although the local forms of Northwest Mandarin (Linxia, Xining, and Lanzhou) can fairly conveniently be transcribed in terms of the Pinyin system, their phonemic inventories and phonotactic patterns are not identical with Standard Mandarin, and this must be the case for Mangghuer also. It is therefore likely that the Pinyin

notation, as used by Slater (and Zhu Yongzhong) for Mangghuer, obscures at least to some extent the actual phonology of the language. Moreover, since the segmental analysis of Standard Mandarin itself is not without controversies, the Pinyinised notation automatically projects all the well-known problems inherent in Standard Mandarin phonology on Mangghuer.

Against this background, Slater's occasional deviations from Standard Mandarin phonemisation would seem to call for a more explicit argumentation than he offers in the book. For instance, the status of the vowel [o], which Slater analyzes as a distinct phoneme, is questionable. In the Pinyin system the letter <o> stands only for positional variants of /e/, /we/, and /w/. It is therefore unclear whether a form like *khuoluo* 'far away' (< **kolo*) should really be analyzed as /qolo/, as Slater suggests, or as /qwelwe/, which would be more in accordance with the rules of Mandarin phonology. It is also unclear whether an opposition between sequences like /me/ and /mo/, as in *metu* 'tree' (< **modu/n*) vs. *mori* 'horse' (< **mori/n*) can be phonemically real for Mangghuer, for Mandarin Chinese does not have this contrast. Non-Pinyin spellings like *ugui* 'not' (< **ögei* or **ügei*) and (dative) *bien=du* 'body' for what should be *wugui* and *bian=du* are likely to be accidental mistakes (or even misprints).

There are also many other phonological details for which an analysis different from the one proposed by Slater might be possible. For instance, Slater operates with the concept of a retroflex coda /r/, which, according to him, is always preceded by the vowel /e/. It is, indeed, true, that in Mangghuer the syllable-final sequences **ar* (& **al*) and **er* (& **el*) have merged into what can perhaps be phonemised as /er/, as in *ger* 'house' (< **ger*) vs. *gher* 'hand; fire' (< **gar* & **gal*). However, what Slater analyzes as *uer* /wer/ and *ier* /yer/ could equally well be analyzed as /ur/ and /ir/, as in *duer* = /dur/ 'day' (< **ödür*). Instead of assuming a complete neutralisation of all vocalic distinctions before /r/, it would be possible to postulate a neutralisation only between /e/ and /a/. If, on the other hand, the sequences /ur/ and /ir/ are interpreted as /wer/ and /yer/, the sequences /un/ and /in/, with the coda /n/, should also be reanalyzed as /wen/ and /yen/, an analysis that is valid for Mandarin Chinese.

Since Slater's approach is based on typological linguistics, the major part of his work is concerned with syntax and morphosyntax. His analysis of Mangghuer sentence structure offers interesting insights into many controversial or even previously unknown features, including, in particular, the phenomenon of verb serialisation. At a level closer to morphology, some of Slater's interpretations may be questioned, however. For instance, he claims that most nominal markers in Mangghuer, including both case markers and possessive (and reflexive) markers, are not suffixes but "enclitic" postpositions. Verbal markers, by contrast, are generally true suffixes. The main basis for this conclusion is the fact that most nominal markers, unlike most verbal markers, can be added to entire phrases (= to

the last nominal word of a phrase), rather than to just individual nominal words. The definition of "(en)clitic" is, however, one of the most controversial issues in morphological theory, and one would like to see more arguments for making such a fundamental distinction between nominal and verbal markers in Mangghuer (and Mongolic, in general). It may be noted, for instance, that Mangghuer retains some morphophonology connected with nominal inflection, as in *nukuo* 'hole': dat. *nukua/ng=du* (with the unstable stem-final nasal).

Another important phenomenon in Mangghuer is morphological syncretism. It seems to be typical of languages undergoing morphological and/or phonological "simplification" (as in situations of intensive language contact) that many morphological distinctions are formally neutralised. In Mangghuer, as in all other Shirongolic languages, this has led, for instance, to the complete merger of the previously distinct genitive and accusative cases. Slater analyzes the genitive and the accusative as two distinct case forms, although they have no formal distinction in Mangghuer. However, as I have pointed out elsewhere (*Altai Hakpo*, 2003), there is no reason to operate with functional "cases" where they are not justified by the linguistic substance. Morphological syncretism between genitive and accusative markers is a widespread phenomenon with a structural and typological background (at least in northern Eurasia). The syncretic genitive-accusative case is best referred to as a single *connective* case, which has both adnominal (attributive) and adverbal (objective) uses.

It is interesting to notice that Slater nevertheless takes some other instances of morphological syncretism at face value. For instance, he seems to assume that the suffix of collective numerals *-la* (< **-xUlA/n*) is identical with the marker of the instrumental case *=la* (< **-lUx-A*), although the two elements are diachronically distinct. The same is true of the "relativizer" *-ku* (< **-ki/n*), added to locative nouns and nominal forms, as opposed to the "nominalizer" or futuritive participle marker *-ku* (< **-kU/i*). At the lexical level, Slater does not seem to make a distinction between *ge-* 'to say' [quotative verb] (< **ge-* < **kexe-* ~ **keme-*) and *ge-* 'to do' [also used as an auxiliary] (< **ki-*). It is, indeed, possible that these items have merged in the synchronic linguistic consciousness of native Mangghuer speakers. A diachronic look at the matter would nevertheless have illuminated the development from homonymy to polysemy that has taken place in the language. Altogether, morphological syncretism is a phenomenon which should be studied in more detail in both Mangghuer and other genetically and/or areally connected languages (including Chinese).

The lack of a comprehensive diachronic discussion, especially from the Mongolic point of view, is perhaps the most obvious general problem of Slater's otherwise valuable and pioneering presentation of Mangghuer grammar. The few diachronic comments Slater makes are sometimes erroneous in the details. For instance, he claims (p. 354, note 16) that *duoruo* 'under' [< **doro*] and *cuduoruo*

'inside' [< **codoro* < **docoro*] 'may [...] be simply variants of one another', which is not true, since the two items are etymologically distinct. On the other hand, it would be unjust to blame Slater for missing such minor diachronic points since his main goal has been synchronic description. The first thing we need for a diachronic (or panchronic) analysis of Mangghuer is a synchronic description of the language, and this is exactly what Slater offers. Moreover, Slater occasionally makes important diachronic discoveries, though he tends to present them with caution. For instance, he discusses extensively the functions of the converbial markers *-da* and *danang* (originally *-da=nang*), but mentions only in passing (p. 275) that it is a question of a cognate of the Common Mongolic perfective converb in (*)*-AAd* (< Proto-Mongolic **-xAd*).

As a synchronic work Slater's monograph deserves to be noted not only as the first comphehensive description of a previously almost unknown Mongolic language, but also as one of the theoretically most advanced grammars of *any* Mongolic language. A special merit of the volume is that it consistently places Mangghuer in its *areal* context among the other Mongolic and non-Mongolic languages of Amdo Qinghai. Diachronic linguists working on individual language families are all too often blinded by the language-internal tendencies of change. Slater is perfectly right in emphasizing the importance of the areal aspect in the evolution of languages. Of course, this aspect is more important for some languages than for others, and Mangghuer is an exceptionally good example of a Mongolic language whose structural properties have been determined by interaction with the neighbouring non-Mongolic languages.

JUHA JANHUNEN

The single most important recent publication on the Amdo Qinghai region, with a focus on the Amdo Tibetans and their current situation in the context of the economic reforms and political transformation of P. R. China, is the volume based on the proceedings of a panel of the International Association for Tibetan Studies (Leiden, June 2000), as edited by Toni Huber (Berlin):

> **Toni Huber** (ed.), *Amdo Tibetans in Transition: Society and Culture in the Post-Mao Era. Proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, 2000, 2.* (Brill's Tibetan Studies Library.) Leiden: Brill, 2002. xxiv + 314 pp., 28 illustr. EUR 70.00. ISBN 90-04-12596-5 (hardback).

This valuable volume is essential reading for anyone interested in the modern situation and change in the ethnically Tibetan areas administered by China. The

volume is inspiring to both scholars and those with a more casual interest. It offers a wide variety of interesting and ambitious perspectives on modern Tibetan life, covering areas such as language, education, religion and economics. These varied phenomena are discussed and placed precisely in their historical, political and cultural contexts. Most chapters are based on ethnographic field research, as well as on secondary sources in both Tibetan and Chinese, a combination that is still unusual in academic Tibetan studies. For this reason, the volume fills a truly important gap and can be taken as a model for further studies. In addition, it is worth noting that the authors comprise both experienced scholars and doctoral students. As the Amdo Tibetan areas and circumstances are changing very fast, we may look forward to discovering the most recent changes updated in the authors' forthcoming publications. It might have been desirable, however, to see already in this volume some essays directly related to Tibetan Buddhism, perhaps on topics connected with monastic communities and folk religion. Also, a discussion of the current situation of Amdo Tibetan farmers is lacking in this otherwise excellent book. In the following, the contents of each of the twelve chapters will be discussed briefly.

Toni Huber introduces the volume by describing (pp. xi–xxiii) the general background and current state of Amdo Tibetan studies. From the late 1980s onward, both local and foreign scholars have been able to do systematic research on the currently on-going unprecented political and economic transition and its consequences for the Tibetan areas at present situated within the political sphere of China. All the contributors to this volume have conducted research into various aspects of the Tibetan social and cultural revival which has followed the local implementation of the more liberal policies of the Chinese central government throughout the Amdo region. Each chapter is concerned with Tibetan responses to the so-called "reform and opening" (*gaige kaifang*) taking place throughout post-Mao China, and furthermore, to modernisation in general. The authors explore these issues through interrelated developments in language and education, identity and sexuality, literature and publishing, art and performance, religious life, tourism, economic and social organisation, and cultural debate. The results are presented in a framework that combines the disciplines of Tibetan Studies and contemporary anthropology. It is noteworthy that even foreign scholars are now able to conduct extensive field research in Amdo, to learn local Tibetan dialects, and to utilise both Tibetan and Chinese sources.

Amdo is one of the traditional three provinces (*chol.kha.gsum*) of Greater or Ethnic (ethnographic) Tibet. The Amdo region is, however, a very complex ethnic, historical, political and socio-cultural entity, and according to Huber, this book does not seek to invent or impose a precise definition of Amdo. The area Tibetans today call Amdo includes those parts of the northeastern Tibetan Plateau

where people consider themselves as being ethnically Tibetan. Such people inhabit extensive areas of several "Chinese" provinces (notably Qinghai, Gansu, and Sichuan). While ethnic Han Chinese at present constitute over 60 per cent of the overall population in the Amdo region, mainly in urban centres, almost the entire rural area is administered in the context of autonomous prefectures, originally established for the non-Han "minority" or "nationality" (*minzu*) populations, most prominently the Tibetans. Other long-term inhabitants in Amdo include the Mongols, the "Monguor" (*Tu*), and four different Muslim populations (*Hui*, *Sala*, *Dongxiang*, and *Baoan*). Many communities in Amdo are multilingual, with various forms of Chinese today functioning as the *lingua franca*. Importantly, many of the non-Tibetan groups also speak Amdo Tibetan dialects, and a few are literate in Tibetan, as well.

The modern political and social history of Amdo is quite unlike that of the better-known areas of central and western Tibet that at present constitute the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR). The eastern areas of the Plateau used to be covered by a multitude of smaller traditional polities, as well as stateless tribal societies in the pastoral areas. In addition, at the time of the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, all Tibetan communities in Amdo were legally under Chinese administrative systems. The Dalai Lama's state (*dGav.ldan Pho.brang*) defined itself as a separate political and social entity, and therefore did nothing to aid the eastern Tibetans in their rebellions against the People's Liberation Army during the occupation after 1949. The anti-Chinese revolts between 1956 and 1959 were all violently suppressed by the PLA with great losses to the Tibetan male population in many areas.

During the 1950s, the Communist government gradually undertook a whole series of new initiatives in Amdo, which led to the first attempts at collectivisation in 1956. Over a decade of even more intensive "democratic reforms" then followed, including the "Great Leap Forward" campaign and the Cultural Revolution. The "reforms" included the categorisation of the Tibetan population using class designations, and the establishment of communes, both of which were accompanied by a systematic critique and abolition of traditional Tibetan values and customs. This period of several decades of rigid and often repressive state policies under Mao was followed by the liberalisations of Deng Xiaoping beginning in 1978. The ethnic "minorities", in particular, were to be accorded more autonomy and even state recognition and support for their own special characteristics, such as religion, art, and language. Huber notes that his period is now often described as one of "revival" or "revitalisation", because it allowed the Tibetans to explore their relationship to Tibetan culture and the expressions of ethnic identity in both public and private spheres.

The post-1978 economic and socio-cultural changes have affected especially the Tibetan nomadic pastoralists, who have faced continuing changes in the poli-

cies governing the management of pastureland and livestock. At the same time, the post-1978 period was initially one of great religious activity in Tibetan areas, aimed at rebuilding and re-establishing the former monastic communities of both Buddhism and Bon. However, the revived monastic communities soon found themselves being forced to undergo a form of ideological re-education, the so-called "Patriotism Education" campaign, which was especially related to the role of religion in the Communist state. Even more difficult restrictions were imposed on the official minimum age and the total number of resident monks in each community, a policy that has had profound implications for both religious institutions and individuals.

According to Huber, the ethnic conditions in Tibetan areas are becoming increasingly complex as the social, cultural, economic and even physical landscape of Amdo is changing at a fast pace. Massive, planned infrastructural and economic developments under the auspices of the state's recent "Western Regions Development Programme" (*Xibu Dakaifa*) are set to transform Tibetan life throughout Amdo in ways never seen before. A flow of migrants and visitors into Amdo from all parts of China, and from all over the world, places the region in a wider context. Tibetans have little choice but to integrate themselves on various levels into the new social and economic environment.

Lauran R. Hartley discusses in her essay "Inventing modernity in Amdo: views on the role of traditional Tibetan culture in a developing society" (pp. 1–25) a public debate that followed the publication of two articles in *Qinghai Tibetan News* in 1999. A Tibetan writer using the pseudonym Zhogs.dung ('Morning Conch') argued, in his first article, that the relentless "backwardness" of Tibetan education, culture and economy results from the natural inclination of the Tibetan people to progress-hindering "propensities" (*bag.chags*), namely, the Buddhist concepts of selflessness and *karma.* In the author's view, these "propensities" need to be eliminated first, and only then will the society be able to advance. In his second article, Zhogs.dung called for the eradication of popular religious practices, such as the belief in local deities and *mo* divination. Moreover, he promoted the separation of religious education and modern secular education by stressing that outside the monastic compounds only a secular curriculum can address the needs of a developing society and provide skills to ensure its survival.

The publication of these two articles caused an upheaval among the more educated Amdo Tibetan population, both secular and clerical. Consequently, a public meeting was organised for the author to clarify his views, and he was invited to speak at Qinghai Nationalities Institute, as well as to give radio interviews. In addition, both intellectuals and lamas published responses to his articles and held conversations, and related articles appeared in various journals. Hartley sees the loosening of the Communist party policy and the rapidly growing mass media

as the main factors for the widening of such public discourse of developmental needs in Tibetan society. She observes that the ranks of those participating in the discussions have swelled and the forms of debate have diversified. She gives an interesting example by noting that whereas the undergraduates tended to accept Zhogs.dung's message, most graduate students strongly rejected his position, which they interpreted as calling for the destruction of all Tibetan culture and language.

Hartley remarks that, although by the middle of the 1980s several newspapers and literary journals were actively publishing, not a single other topic received similar attention. She suggests that the controversy was taking place simply because the Amdo Tibetan society was "ripe" for this conversation. In the words of one of her informants: "In the 1980s everyone was in love with religion and traditional culture that were finally returned to us after the Cultural Revolution. To say anything against traditional culture wasn't acceptable at that time." Furthermore, Hartley suggests that the rise of this debate reflects a convergence of several historical, socio-economic and perhaps even psychological factors, such as the turn of the millennium, the population transfer project, the "opening" of the western regions, and the increasingly hard competition in the job market. She notes that in the beginning of the 1980s Chinese and Tibetans were economically much at the same level, but by the 1990s there was already a large economic gap between them in favour of ethnic Chinese.

Marielle Prins describes in her essay "Toward a Tibetan common language: Amdo perspectives on attempts at language standardisation" (pp. 25–51) the efforts to develop a standardised language in the Amdo dialect area. She considers the standardisation efforts to be an expression of a new attitude among Tibetans concerning a shared Tibetan identity over dialect boundaries.

During the 1950s, survey teams gathered large amounts of linguistic and other data on minority groups in P. R. China. These reports were used in the decision-making process for the granting of minority status to certain populations and linguistic groups. Official minority status was naturally much sought after, since it was connected with certain advantages, such as access to education in the mother tongue. The emphasis on language as a defining element in separating different ethnic groups led to many problems, however, especially in the linguistically diverse Tibetan cultural area. The intention to create opportunities for as many minority populations as possible was perceived by many Tibetans as merely an attempt to to split up the Tibetan areas.

The generally optimistic attitude towards minority language development faced a general reversal in the 1960s and 1970s. During those decades, the main issue was a proposal to revise written Tibetan by the simplification of certain verb forms and the use of particles in order to bring written Tibetan closer to the

various oral speech varieties. The revised grammar was, indeed, implemented and used for a number of years in the Tibetan Autonomous Region and in Sichuan, but never in Amdo (the emergence of a written form of Amdo Tibetan is a different and much later development). The result was, consequently, that the previous uniformity of Written Tibetan was lost. This was regarded by many Tibetan intellectuals as yet another attempt to break up the Tibetan nationality into smaller units. The use of the revised grammar was officially discontinued in the 1970s. Instead, however, in the official discourse, the Tibetan language was labelled a language of an obsolete religion and thus a language of the past. For about two decades, Chinese was promoted as the principal language of government, education, and even the family all over the Tibetan areas of P. R. China. This policy resulted in a generation of Tibetans who are mostly literate only in Chinese and some of whom even speak only Chinese.

In exile Tibetan settlements in India, the goal was to preserve the Tibetan language and culture outside its homeland. As the exile Tibetans were from vastly different social and linguistic backgrounds, there was an urgent need to forge a common Tibetan identity and to create a trade language that would work for all in both official and informal situations. In this process, the traditional form of Written Tibetan constituted the basis, while the preferred pronunciation was adopted from the Central Tibetan dialect area, which was the traditional prestige dialect and the native dialect of the majority of the exile Tibetans. Speakers from other dialect areas added some flavour of their own. According to Prins, some have adopted the term "Standard Tibetan" for this specific speech variety now used in India. It has later been seen as a possible model that could be used to develop a Tibetan *koïné* in P. R. China, as well.

With the policy of opening up and modernisation, adopted in 1979, the political pressure on minority languages was eased significantly. There was a renewed emphasis on the constitutional right of the different nationalities to express their national identity, including mother tongue education and language development, which in the Tibetan areas resulted in the founding of Tibetan-medium schools and the publication of Tibetan language materials. At the same time, as Prins describes, the improved availability of media and consumer goods, mostly produced in Han Chinese areas, pushed the Chinese language on all aspects of Tibetan domestic life. Chinese was seen as the language of modernity and progress and thus a means to economic and social improvement, and it acquired the role of a convenient code of communication for scholars and entrepreneurs alike. Prins illustrates the circumstance that, although young Tibetan intellectuals certainly cherish the opportunity to study and use their native language, socio-economic realities nevertheless force many to choose Chinese rather than Tibetan for educational and economic purposes.

In the 1950s, the Tibetans held informal talks about which dialect variety of

the three major dialect groups, Central, Khams or Amdo, would be best suited to serve as the foundation for a Tibetan common language. Concrete steps towards promoting language standardisation, however, were hindered by internal as well as external factors. Regional chauvinism and the fear of cultural hegemony of one Tibetan group over another were perceived more threatening than the outside pressure of the Chinese language. Externally, the surveys of the 1950s and the proposed revision of Written Tibetan both worked directly against any intent to create a unified Tibetan common language. Subsequently, the general upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s, the introduction of Chinese-medium education, and the forced use of the Chinese language in all domains, left no room for thoughts about a Tibetan common language.

According to Prins, during the period of opening up, the former emphasis on internal differences and the fear of regional hegemony was replaced by an expanding sense of unity. Discourse on a Tibetan common language was one of the ways this new interest on a collective Tibetan identity was expressed. In 1992 a conference was held in Italy, where a consensus was reached to use Written Tibetan as the principal format for a Tibetan common language with Central Tibetan pronunciation, following the aforementioned Indian model. The general idea was "to keep the good and to throw out the useless". Prins considers the adoption of Written Tibetan as a general norm to be a fairly easy task, but she recognizes that the standardisation of the various dialects is a different story. In spite of discussions conducted about this issue, no actual inter-regional efforts have been made to reach a supradialectal oral norm. According to Prins, this is due to the lack of officially sponsored initiatives and the absence of a universally implemented Tibetan-medium education system. In the background lie financial, socio-economic and political reasons.

Charlene Makley stresses in her essay "Sexuality and identity in Post-Mao Amdo" (pp. 53–98) the need to understand the particular type of performativity of sexuality in the Tibetan context. She observes the role of Tibetan sexuality in the construction of key boundaries in the complex and heterogeneous environment of contemporary Labrang. Despite being mainly a rural region, the founding of the famous *dGe.lugs.pa* monastery of *bLabrang bKrashis.vkhyil* in 1709, developed this place into both a frontier trading town and a powerful regional centre controlled by celibate monastic hierarchs. Makley argues that Labrang is a typical example of Tibetan cultural politics of the body, which is based on the (often hidden) symbiotic relationship between asceticism and sexuality. This relationship was in the past controlled by the local adherence to certain gendered proscriptions on public bodily performance. Specific types of behaviour, especially if they put oneself or others to shame, caused public disrespect or disapproval. *Ngo.tsha*, warm face, or shame, is the Tibetan term referring to a person's involuntary,

intuitive response to such public embarrassment.

Observers like Li Anzhai and Robert Ekvall (1939) perceived Tibetan celibate monasticism to be extremely abnormal, resulting in such deviances as homosexuality and incest. For these writers, the large number of Tibetan men in monasteries and the Tibetans' seemingly indiscriminate sexual and marital practices offended their own understanding of proper gender practices. For them, the greater visibility and apparent freedom of movement of Tibetan women as compared with the neighbouring *Hui* or *Han* communities was striking. In the Tibetan context, nevertheless, the main social and property-holding unit was the household rather than the lineage, which is why a variety of marital arrangements were possible in order to preserve a household's holdings across the generations. Furthermore, men's movement out of households as monks, officials and traders made women responsible for the majority of household affairs. Spatial mobility, however, does not necessarily translate to social mobility. As Makley points out, domestic spaces often work to enclose "proper" sexuality, thus serving the ultimate interests of the dominant male authorities.

For Tibetans, the body was inherently unclean, and both men and women could be polluted and polluting through, for instance, inappropriate deeds, contagion, or even descent, merit and wordly luck. The male body, however, was considered more morally pure and hence karmically auspicious, while the female body was morally impure and hence an inferior rebirth. According to Makley, attributes such as intentionality, desire and possibility for social and karmic mobility or transcendence were associated with the masculine. Accordingly, that which is immanent to the body, to place, to households and the mundane was associated with the feminine. In other words, men were associated with prestigious affairs of the mind outside of the household domain (*phyi*) and women with the mundane life of the body inside the household domain (*nang*). Female intrusion into male domains of intentionality outside the household was rejected by excluding female bodies from monastic spaces and lay offering rites to mountain gods. Additionally, this meant placing restrictions on the public performance of female sexual desire outside of the household. Makley exemplifies this by mentioning that men could, for instance, tease each other and women friends using sexual euphemisms, while women were expected to display their shyness and embarassment even as they laughed at men's jibes.

Makley suggests that this fundamental polarity of hierarchically arranged sexed bodies (*pho.mo.gnyis*), and an assumption of the natural, compulsive sexual attraction between them, formed the very possibility for ritual and social power throughout the community. In her view, both tantric and monastic cults converged on a notion of compulsive heterosexuality from a masculine point of view: the primary sex act was intercourse and the primary sexual agent or subject was male and his essential object female. The female body was regarded as an aid (in tantric

yoga) or as a constant threat (in celibate asceticism). Celibate monkhood was considered to be a superior masculine gender status and a monk's shaved head and moroon robes marked the de-sexualisation of his body. Makley claims that celibate asceticsm was hence intimately bound up with manliness, to heterosexual, and thus bodily purity. Accordingly, despite centuries of conflict, the tantric sexual yoga and celibate monasticism were not that far apart. In Makley's view, the bodily disciplines of monasticism and marriage marked inappropriate heterosexuality, not homosexuality, as the most dangerous of transgressions to Tibetans. Ritualised constraints on polluting female sexuality maintained the possibility for transcendent male subjectivity.

Makley concludes by stating that the Tibetans' forced assimilation to a new socialist moral order and the sudden social changes of the reform years have profoundly altered the performative grounds for sexual discretion. They have resulted in an unprecendented intermingling of male and female bodies in and around monastic spaces. In Makley's view, this new eroticsm of the frontier has had different consequences for men and women. She notes that men's sexual agency has expanded in "unmarked" ways to meet modernity, while women's sexuality has become increasingly "marked" and curtailed in order to maintain the integrity of Tibetan households and sacred places.

At the beginning of his essay "The Tulku's miserable lot: Critical voices from Eastern Tibet" (pp. 99–111), Matthew Kapstein discusses the short satire *sPrul.sku* that was composed by the now famous Amdo author Don.grub.rgyal (1955–1985). It is a story about a charlatan who convinces the naïve and unsuspecting villagers that he is a reincarnate lama, a *tulku*, and thereby eventually disrupts the harmony of the entire community. Interestingly, this story was written and published not long after the end of the Cultural Revolution. According to Kapstein, the story obviously reflects Don.grup.rgyal's reservations regarding the revival of traditional religious life in Amdo. As a result, the author was accused of writing *sPrul.sku* to defame the well-respected Tibetan lamas and tulkus as well. Kapstein suggests that the criticism of the institution of tulkus evidently remains a politically incorrect gesture in Tibetan society even after, or perhaps especially after, the decades of exposure to Communism.

Kapstein claims that Don.grub.rgyal caused such turbulence not simply because he argued that tulkus are sometimes merely acting a role, but because this type of criticism had earlier been the exclusive right of the religious elite in its scholastic or yogic dimension. This type of criticism was not within the domain of a young, secular and sceptical author. Kapstein presents well-known examples of such critical scrutiny of religious hierarchs in the traditional Tibetan society in the 19th century Khams, including the writings of rDza dPal.sprul Rin.po.che and vJam.mgon Kong.sprul bLo.gros.mthav.yas, as well as the autobiography of the

late 19th century Amdo gter.ston Rig.vdzin bDud.vjoms rDo.rje Rol.pa.rtsal. The latter was recognised as a tulku and admitted in his work "How I fell into tulku-ship" that his recognition was driven by forces entirely unrelated to what tulku-ship is supposed to be about. Kapstein finds in the autobiography two interrelated conflicts that the tulku was assumedly reacting to. The first conflict was between the mundane world-maintaining functions of the clergy and the world-transcending concerns of properly Buddhist doctrine, and the second, the more fundamental one, was the tension between the socially constructed role of the tulku and the self-identity of the person involved: the tulku was supposed to act his part in all circumstances.

In his essay "Ritual revival and innovation at Bird Cemetery Mountain" (pp. 113–145), Toni Huber provides a contextualised investigation of how a popular Tibetan Bonpo pilgrimage in Amdo was re-established in the post-Mao period. Huber focuses on the circumambulation performed around the holy mountain known as Bird Cemetery (Byang Bya.dur), in the region of Shar.khog. Although Huber is observing a particular Bonpo ritual and community, similar processes of change can be discovered in contemporary Tibetan Buddhist contexts as well. Huber discusses what status such revived rituals have within the rapidly transforming contemporary Tibetan communities. A notable feature of the modern religious revival in various areas of Amdo has been the vigorous collection and publishing of cultural materials by concerned local Tibetan scholars who have realised the imminent danger of the loss of local knowledge and history.

The post-Mao period saw the liberalisation of many state-imposed limitations on Tibetan religious life. One of the first religious practices to be rapidly revived in many areas was pilgrimage, especially that performed around holy mountains (*gnas.ri*) during astrologically determined times. Although such rituals had formerly been very popular, their rapid revival was also related to the relative simplicity of the practice. Pilgrimage can be performed by any able-bodied individual at any time, and requires neither destroyed structures to be rebuilt, nor the help of mediating religious specialists. Older members of the community led the younger generation around mountain circumambulation paths that had not been walked since the late 1950s, and recalled oral traditions about the local holy places. No single mountain pilgrimage that Huber is familiar with within Tibet is today performed in exactly the same way as it used to be prior to the Chinese occupation. Some sites have been abandoned, while the methods and frequency of pilgrimage, and the underlying motives at other sites can now be markedly different as compared with the past.

As the abode of gods, the holy mountains, such as Bya.dur, are considered to represent a storehouse of enlightened energy that has remained available there for the benefit of all future pilgrims since the foundation of the religion. Pilgrims can

witness a whole range of miraculous marks imprinted on the environment and, furthermore, numerous self-manifested images. Moreover, the mountains are regarded as being able to purify the accumulated defilements of a multitude of rebirths, while the waters of holy mountain springs are thought to be able to cleanse sicknesses and purify moral defilement. More intense forms of physical austerity, especially the strenuous practice of circumambulation by prostration, are even claimed to cure leprosy as well as many other physical and mental illnesses.

The cult of Bya.dur was successfully revived in contrast to Shar Dung.ri, the other traditional *gnas.rii* Shar.khog, a far more strenuous and dangerous route that was the site of large pilgrimages in the past. Shar Dung.ri is still held in high religious esteem, but modern Chinese developments, such as a nearby leper colony and local mass tourism, have altered the mountain's appeal as a ritual territory. Bya. dur, however, remains more remote from economic interests of the state and is regarded as a more exclusive space where Tibetans can freely practise their rituals completely unobserved by Chinese authorities and visitors. An interesting trend recently is to perform pilgrimage as a village group, which attracts a wider range of pilgrims due to its vibrant social dimensions. Older people still perform the pilgrimage individually, as they had done earlier, before the practice was banned.

Mona Schrempf describes in her essay "The Earth-Ox and the Snowlion" (pp. 147–171) the annual ritual dance (*vcham*) festivals of Bonpo communities in Shar.khog, the same place where the above-mentioned Bya.dur mountain is located. Two such festival traditions have attracted her attention due to their particular local symbolism and interpretations. The first one, the "earth-ox" (*sa.glang*), consists of a publicly staged astrological prediction concerning local weather and health conditions. The second, and better known of the two, is the dance of the snowlion. Schrempf claims that such popular cultural performances are important arenas for Tibetans to experience and display their Tibetan-ness both to themselves, and to others. The inhabitants of Shar.khog strongly supported the revival of both these traditions after 1980, and consider them to be important aspects of their local Tibetan heritage. According to Schrempf, local debates about the "authentic" origins of these cultural performances are part of the self-reflexive negotiation of local identities among Amdo Tibetans today, and these are closely linked to the history and territory of this Sino-Tibetan region. The "Tibetan past" is denigrated as "feudal" and "backward" in state discourse, but in Schrempf's opinion, the Tibetan community festivals can resist this discourse by being an arena for distinctive forms of socio-cultural empowerment and for recollecting cultural memory.

The earth-ox ritual is performed shortly after the Tibetan New Year. A monk astrologer (*rtsis.pa*) calculates, among other things, the status of the constellations

of the eight planets, and various appeasing offerings are made to the deities of the land (*sa.bdag*), sky (*lha*) and water (*klu*). Besides indicating the local weather and health conditions, the earth-ox almanac also gives predictions about the environmental conditions and the best sowing and harvesting times. These conditions are proclaimed aloud in front of an assembled public audience, and a mediating translator is needed to interpret the astrological prediction for the audience. After this, the very auspicious and highly revered lion dance is performed. The white snowlion with its turquoise mane is a well-known Tibetan emblem that represents the snowy mountains of Tibet and, accordingly, power and strength. Because the snowlion dances are held to be very auspicious, they are very popular in both monastic and folk settings. At the Tibetan New Year, young boys dance from house to house collecting money for monasteries and New Year presents. One of the two lion dancers holds the lion's mask over his head, while the second ducks behind him under the same cover thus forming the back of the animal, with a yak tail completing the costume.

Shrempf concludes by remarking that even if according to her study both the earth-ox and snowlion performances appear to have been modelled upon Chinese (and even originally Persian) popular rites, they still remain powerful symbols which Tibetans associate with their own ancient and glorious past.

Alexandru Anton-Luca emphasises in his essay "Glu and La Ye in Amdo: Introduction to contemporary Tibetan folk songs' (pp. 173–196) that in Tibetan contexts, past and present, the spoken word or oral exchange has always had an extremely important place. For example, a leader's most appealing quality is taken to be oratory ability, that is, "possessing a quick tongue and pleasant speech" *(kha.bde lce.bde can).* Likewise, a singer's performance relies on oratory as much as theatrical mastery, such as proper timing, vivid lyrics and body language. Singers credit their reputation to their singing ability, style and memory. The best singers master both *skad* and *ngag*, namely singing in both the high register with a loud and penetrating sound and in the low register with a deep and smooth sound. Singing itself is physically demanding and if space allows, moving about is common, otherwise physical expression is restricted to upper body and to facial expression.

During the Cultural Revolution singing and other folk performances were strictly prohibited. When they reappeared in the early 1970s, a profound transformation had taken place, as the revolutionary ideology had prevailed. It was only in the late 1970s that officially sanctioned cultural expression saw a proper revival. *gLu* (folk song) and *la.ye* (love song) are two of the most popular folk song genres in Amdo with regard to the frequency of performance and the volume of commercially available recordings and publications. These folk songs utilise highly popular themes that are based on a shared cultural heritage, such as prais-

ing the natural environment, the wisdom of the lamas, the courage of young men, the gentleness of women, the noble nature of children and the genuine affection between men and women. These themes are communicated through natural imagery, mundane drama, witty humour, folk religion and metaphors.

According to Anton-Luca, songs are still primarily sung by Amdo Tibetans for Amdo Tibetans. Folk song performances take place in the local or neighbouring summer festivals or any other folk event where food and drink are served. Singers usually perform one song at a time, and it is expected that all others also sing. Competitive singing of folk songs or love songs heats up larger gatherings, where two individuals exchange songs coloured by sarcasm, mockery and self-glorification. A clever reply is expected to further provoke one's opponent. The performance of *la.ye*, love songs, comes after other forms of singing, and it is customary that they should not be sung or listened to in the presence of elders, certain relatives, or members of the monastic community. Moreover, the *la.ye* should be sung at night, preferrably far away from one's native area. Talking love is regarded to be suited for the serious and those with something to say. Singers may introduce *la.ye* by singing only the first stanza, in which the song's message is veiled metaphorically. It is only the last stanza that eventually pulls this veil away.

Mark Stevenson attempts in his essay "Art and life in Amdo Reb gong since 1978" (pp. 197–219) to trace the changing role and significance of Tibetan art in Reb.gong in terms of its local meanings, its value for the Chinese state, and its relationship to an emerging global Tibetan identity. In 1982, a Reb.gong Tibetan Buddhist Art Exhibition travelled to Peking and Shanghai, and consequently the Chinese publications began to depict Amdo Reb.gong as a "homeland of Tibetan art". In Stevenson's view, the subsequent revival of Tibetan art in Reb.gong is a remarkable example of the renaissance of Tibetan culture recently experienced in Amdo communities more generally.

Stevenson states that to define the Reb.gong art and its origins is not simple. According to Chinese literature, the religious art in Reb.gong includes much more than painting, covering also thangka, wood and clay statues, ornamental panels and brocade thangka. There are also numerous beliefs regarding the origin of the painting tradition. During the golden age (early 19th century to mid-20th century) many monasteries had developed a curriculum whereby young monks could study both literature and art. Some painters set up a career outside the monastery and those who remained in the monastery usually continued their involvement in local art production.

After Liberation the Reb.gong painters at first carried on much as before. As the movement to eradicate any sign of the old society progressed, all Buddhist art was classified as mistaken supernaturalism, literally as "ox ghosts" and "snake gods", and was prohibited. During the Cultural Revolution the traditional forms of

art, especially Tibetan Buddhist art, were attacked under the smash the "Four Olds" campaign and the monasteries were again vandalised. In 1982, the exhibition of Reb.gong Tibetan Buddhist Art took place as a result of political changes. It resulted in the party and the government supporting the Reb.gong Art Research Institute and providing funds and research for the transmission and preservation of local knowledge. At present, the artists have become cadres serving the "Motherland", and the transmission of the tradition no longer takes place in the monasteries. One of Stevenson's traditional painter informants admired the new artists' superb technical ability, but also expressed concern that the cultural and religious understanding of the artists was inadequate and this was revealed in errors in the iconography.

In Peking, officials from local and provincial arts organisations praised the Tibetans' techical abilities but remained doubtful regarding the religious themes and subjects. In other words, the Tibetans had got their iconography wrong, and an underlying assumption was that Tibetan Buddhist art is folk art. Consequently, in the 1980s, in Dkar.mdzes, Sichuan, a new style of Tibetan painting emerged, which was supervised by Han Chinese painters, and which suppressed the traditional religious themes. According to Stevenson, this new style of Tibetan painting became important specifically because it conveyed the fictional impression that Tibetans had rejected religion in favour of the party line, having meanwhile still remained Tibetans. A similar movement had taken place only briefly in Reb.gong. After the introduction of the "new painting" in Dkar.mdzes, the most important innovation in Tibetan art according to Stevenson is the giant *Great Thangka of Tibetan Art and Culture of China* that was completed in Reb.gong in 1998. It narrates the entire span of Tibetan cultural history in mural style, incorporating a number of regional influences, and most remarkably, with the emphasis definitely on religion. In Stevenson's view, the *Great Thangka* has clearly demonstrated that history and Tibetan achievements in literature and philosophy can be reclaimed through thangka painting.

Susan E. Costello defines in her essay "The economics of cultural production in contemporary Amdo" (pp. 221–239) the cultural production in Amdo Reb.gong as the training of educated individuals and the manufacturing of cultural artifacts, such as books or folk opera performances. In Costello's view, Reb.gong Tibetans enjoy a comparatively well-developed Tibetan cultural "economy" due to the continuation of Tibetan-medium education throughout the Cultural Revolution and the resulting high level of literacy of the local Tibetans. Likewise, several active monasteries and the aforementioned local thangka painting tradition have both given a strong institutional base for promoting Tibetan Buddhist cultural knowledge and art. In examining the economics behind these projects, Costello describes the sources of their funding, and the considerations producers and

consumers make in the production, distribution and consumption processes. Her emphasis is on indicating the current trends in the financial support given to Tibetan cultural products. The overall trend is towards more dependence upon market forces and for the government and other outside parties to commit fewer resources, such as subsidies.

The Chinese state has established a secular school system in the Tibetan areas. Its main purpose has been to train members of the minority nationalities to work in the government and Communist party offices, so the education in the early period used to concentrate on developing language skills. Students in Tibetan areas have a choice in education between Chinese- and Tibetan-medium schools. The vast majority of Tibetan primary-school students attend Tibetan-medium state schools, since Chinese-medium education is usually available only in county towns. It goes without saying that Tibetan-medium schools offer the benefit of allowing the children to more easily understand the educational content. Tibetan-medium schools also develop respect for the inherited ethnic culture. According to the information available to Costello, all Tibetans who study in Chinese-medium schools are children of government employees who also themselves end up getting government jobs. In this process, however, many fail to develop the ability to speak Tibetan. A third choice of education is offered by the traditional monastic system, but government regulations currently do not allow entering a monastery before the age of eighteen. Unfortunately, many monks in smaller monasteries do not become literate even in Tibetan. Larger monasteries offer considerably better educational opportunities, especially for those who have a relative already living in the monastery.

Given that the costs of education have been rising sharply in recent years, an increasing proportion of this burden has been placed on individuals and families. School fees have increased mainly due to the cuts in government subsidies. In Reb.gong, where most Tibetans are farmers with two or more children while most Chinese are bureaucrats with only one child, the Tibetans are much less able to bear the cost of education than the Chinese. Besides, the Western Regions Development Programme has given significant pay increases to all salaried government workers, supposedly in the hope that it will stimulate the private sector economy. This has, however, only led to the rising cost of education for Tibetan families. Moreover, there seems to be a recent lack of systematic support for infrastructural improvement projects. Costello did not hear of new schools, school buildings or renovations initiated by the local county governments. Instead, many new schools have been built with donations from private businesses in China and individuals abroad.

Concerning Tibetan education, the families must, first of all, choose whether to formally educate their children or not. At present, Tibetan families seem to be finding the life-long monkhood less attractive than other occupational choices.

Nevertheless, many feel that school ruins children's ability and willingness to do physical labour, and to work in the fields or herd livestock. Costello finds the present school curriculum of Tibetan-medium schools rather impractical. The educational system produces students who are unsuited to anything other than proceeding to high schools or colleges (though only a small proportion of Tibetan children ever enter a high school or a college). Costello states that a wider variety of post-secondary educational programmes in Tibetan-medium should be developed. At the same time, students need to be re-trained in Chinese, so that they may study more subjects that are appropriate to the needs of the diversifying local economies. Some study materials are in fact being developed for these purposes, often with the help of foreign funds, but progress is slow. Graduates are no longer guaranteed a job, and as a result unemployment is increasing rapidly in the Tibetan areas. Those few jobs that become available are likely to be distributed on the basis of family connections.

Costello goes on to discuss venues for promoting the use and development of the Tibetan language, such as the publication of books and newspapers. In China there are currently eight publishing houses that publish Tibetan language books. Each publishing house has an annual budget and plan for publishing manuscripts and classical texts. In addition, manuscripts and funds are accepted from outside, which has resulted in a great increase in the number of books published in Tibetan throughout China. Costello was able to find out that the financing of this increase in production comes from a number of sources, such as monasteries and incarnate lamas, who willingly pay for the publication of their monastery histories or autobiographies. In addition, a large number of textbooks, and other educational materials, are financed by overseas funds. Besides books, Costello assumes that Tibetan newspapers will be able to continue to find financial support from the goverment and elsewhere. Newspapers are important forums for introducing a new Tibetan terminology for subject matters that are otherwise only available in Chinese. Despite low rates of subscription and a very inefficient distribution system, Tibetan newspapers do not seem to be in danger of closing down.

Costello also points out that performance art genres may flourish in Tibetan areas in the future, once the disposable income of the Tibetans increases. At present, touring Amdo Tibetan performing arts troupes have difficulties in surviving on their own because of the small size, sparse distribution and relative poverty of Amdo dialect speakers. The support for these activities seems less committed than the support for education, since performing arts are not viewed as crucial for the development of the economy.

Bianca Horlemann gives in her essay "Modernisation Efforts in Mgo Log: A Chronicle, 1970–2000" (pp. 241–269) a general outline of thirty years of modernisation efforts in the mGo.log Tibetan Autonomous Prefacture (TAP). Qinghai

Province is one of the poorer and more underdeveloped provinces of China, in both productivity and income. Within this province, mGo.log is considered to be one of the least developed and poorest rural areas. In the early 1990s, 80 per cent of mGo.log's annual budget was still financed through subsidies from the provincial or national governments. Hence, its infrastructure is still rather underdeveloped. Horlemann focuses mainly on economic development as one major aspect of modernisation. Her study is based upon published Chinese and Tibetan sources dealing with modernisation, and she argues that these sources often contain a considerable amount of political propaganda and therefore must be used with due caution.

Traditionally the mGo.log people lived as nomadic pastoralists and were organised in clan-based tribal groups. By the 19th century, the fierce-reputed mGo.log were divided into more than 200 tribes and subtribes who were largely independent from one another. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the mGo.log people took much pride in being mostly independent from both Tibetan and Chinese overlords. After the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1911, the Ma clan, a powerful family of Chinese Muslims, came to power in Qinghai and started an ambitious modernisation programme to open up new financial resources, for instance, by constructing a motor road and establishing goldmines in the mGo.log region. These undertakings, however, were met with violent mGo.log Tibetan resistance. As a result, the Ma clan harassed the mGo.log tribes with severe military expeditions from 1917 to 1941.

After the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, the Chinese Communists did not immediately include the mGo.log area into their "liberation" plans. After some mGo.log groups had themselves taken the initiative, the first official contacts were allegedly established in 1951. Despite massive Communist propaganda activities and initiated infrastructure projects, the mGo.log grew more and more opposed to China's growing influence, and finally joined the Tibetan anti-Chinese resistance movement in 1958. However, the Great Leap Forward campaign and the Cultural Revolution later on strenghtened China's rule over this rebellious area.

The early "modernisation" efforts in mGo.log proved disastrous for the region. In the late 1950s alone, the region had lost about 50 per cent of its livestock due to establishment of unfeasible agricultural state farms and factories. As a result, the region suffered severe and extensive famines, which had never been experienced by the traditional pastoralists. The Communists pushed for the collectivisation of the pastoralists into communes, but this was only fully completed by the late 1960s. In the early 1970s, China resumed the reforms and infrastucture projects commenced before the onset of the Cultural Revolution. In addition, a more market-oriented production system was initiated gradually by establishing, for instance, a deer farm and a dried yak-meat factory, new roads, coal mines, and

a hydroelectric power plant. According to Horlemann, it seems very doubtful, however, whether all these early infrastructural projects really functioned properly for any length of time.

The unfeasible agricultural state farms were finally closed down and the focus returned to animal husbandry and its "modernisation" by stressing the usage of scientific methods and modern technology. The emphasis was on how livestock production could be strengthened and organised more effectively, and how the high mortality rate of livestock could be decreased during the winter-spring season. Consequently, vaccination programmes and new animal breeds were introduced, and, in addition, the usage of supplementary fodder production, erection of hay barns and the fencing in of grassland were researched. Subsequently, the *San Peitao* programme of the "Three Measures" of fencing of pasture, producing supplementary fodder and constructing animal shelters was launched in mGo.log.

In 1980, as a second step towards economic reform, the Qinghai provincial government decided to encourage the raising of private livestock herds by commune members, and to permit sideline production. In 1984 decollectivisation was announced, which resulted in the abolition of communes and the privatisation of livestock and pastures. Livestock was redistributed to pastoralist households in proportion to the number of household members, depending of the wealth of the former communes and brigades. Since all land is nominally owned by the state and cannot become private property, pastures were leased out on a contract basis, which the pastoralists are charged for by way of taxes and quota sales. Horlemann claims that in spite of the newly proclaimed goal of increasing production through privatisation, thus enabling individual pastoral households to become rich, the overall livestock figures for mGo.log actually steadily decreased between 1985 and 1989, most likely due to serious snow disasters and to initial problems following the decollectivisation.

The official policies have still not been fully implemented in mGo.log. The controversial fencing of pasturelands is expensive and creates conflicts, supplementary fodder production does not seem to be very common, and, furthermore, animal shelters are often encountered only close to winter houses. Although many mGo.log Tibetans still cannot afford to build a house, most pastoralists presently appreciate the idea of having a more solid abode in winter than a tent. The general view that overgrazing and subsequent rodent plagues are the main causes for the deterioration of the grasslands is today questioned not only by the pastoralists themselves but also by an increasing number of specialists outside China.

Horlemann concludes by stating that mGo.log still appears to be a long way from the officially stated goal of transformation "into a prosperous modern livestock base with rational grassland management". According to her, many severe and unresolved problems will still need to be overcome in order to realise such a goal. She points out, for instance, that the mGo.log pastoralists are gradually be-

ing displaced from potential employment by seasonal migrant workers collecting the valuable medicinal plants and mushrooms in the region, and, in addition, by Han, Hui and Tibetan migrants settling in the county seats and running the majority of restaurants and shops. The general population growth rates in mGo.log pose another potential threat to its fragile ecosystem, which can only support a limited number of people and their livestock. Horlemann stresses that if the central and local governments do not seriously address these questions, social unrest and discontent may grow instead of being reduced by the recent efforts at modernisation.

The late Angela Manderscheid traces in her essay "Revival of a nomadic lifestyle: A survival strategy for Dzam.thang's pastoralists" (pp. 271–289) the revival of nomadism in Dzam.thang County, Sichuan, from the early 1980s onward, after being displaced for more than two decades. As we know, the impact of politics on the pastoral production systems during the 1960s and 1970s led to a decline of the nomadic lifestyle. Manderscheid argues that Tibetan pastoralists had earlier been "nomads" by definition, because they practised mainly or solely animal husbandry as a means of subsistence, owned the livestock, changed places according to the availability of pastures, and moreover, the animal husbandry tasks were divided among family members. During the collectivisation period the pastoralists were gradually restricted into communes and most followed a sedentary lifestyle year-round. Moreover, the domestic animals were collectivised, the land tenure of pastures was transferred to the state, and the leaders of the centrally administered communes decided the animal husbandry management strategy. As a result, the pastoralists were no longer nomads. While some units of the commune were assigned to pasture the livestock (mobile pastoralism), the sedentary members of the collective took over, for instance, the milk processing and the production of winter fodder. Sedentarisation programmes aimed at settling all nomads, and state farms were built to offer housing in the nomadic winter pasture areas.

After decollectivisation, central planning was replaced by a state-controlled economy on the household level. In other words, families became again responsible for livestock management and the marketing of their products. Furthermore, features of a nomadic lifestyle were revived in Dzam.thang, which led to the seasonal migrations of the entire family, as well as the gender-specific division of labour among family members. Even though during collectivisation state directives had aimed at increasing the number of small animals, families based their revived herding management system on the traditional high yak herd composition. Moreover, the nomads returned to a "subsistence-based" economy, and the traditional taboo of slaughtering one's own livestock reappeared. The present nomadic form of life and production is not, however, a mere copy of the "old" lifestyle. The nomads adopted features of the revived lifestyle to changed ecological, political and economic conditions. They, for instance, responded to the increased

demand for medicinal herbs and mushrooms. Most significantly, yak breeding expanded greatly in the area, which is motivated by the pastoral strategy that having high numbers of livestock guarantees the survival of a sufficient number of animals in case of natural disasters. The higher number of animals, however, did not result in market-oriented production.

Manderscheid emphasises that such a revival of a nomadic lifestyle is not homogeneous throughout the Tibetan areas, but has occurred in those regions where the nomads had little other choice after the state withdrew from closely monitoring their lives. The surplus of animals threatens the condition of the pasturelands, and recent state directives, such as fencing of seasonal pastures and sedentarisation, are not in agreement with nomadism. Manderscheid claims that the revival of nomadism may only be a mid-term strategy for Tibetans, since many young nomads do not seem to be eager to continue to live as nomads. She suggests that this and governmental directives might result in a longer-term shift to other forms of animal husbandry which could replace the revived nomadism in Dzam.thang.

Giagomella Orofino describes in her essay "The Tibetan school of Khri ka'i Stong che: A report on Italian development aid in Amdo" (pp. 291–304) how a successful education project was undertaken in Hainan (mTsho.lho), Qinghai, by way of collaboration among local Tibetans, Chinese state authorities, and an external agency, an Italian non-governmental organisation called ASIA. Orofino stresses that such projects are becoming an increasingly common and important aspect of contemporary Tibetan life in various parts of Amdo.

The project on the primary school of Khri.kavi sTong.che was established in 1992 on the basis of an existing initiative from the local Tibetan community in this rural area. Several years prior to this, the community had become committed to the building of a primary school with a curriculum taught in the Tibetan language. The planned school was also to be used as an adult education centre to improve the literacy levels of the entire Tibetan population and as a training centre for various practical skills. Since the political changes, there has been no significant opportunity for education in this community. The current standard of living in the area is very low, and Orofino claims that the impoverishment is due to overgrazing caused by the transformation of lower altitude pastures into farming areas. Interventions such as fencing and elimination of wild animals have been attempted, and although aimed at improvement, they have sometimes made matters only worse. A considerable inflow of Han Chinese migrants into the area was connected to an unsuccessful attempt to expand local agriculture.

Orofino states that the main idea behind the project was that education facilities should ensure the conservation of Tibetan cultural heritage by giving the opportunity to Tibetans to integrate their cultural traditions into present-day socio-

economic developments. In order to achieve greater involvement of the local Tibetan population and to foster their self-sufficiency and self-reliance, a bottom-up approach was applied in order to involve the recipients of the project directly. ASIA, the non-governmental organisation in question, committed itself to financing and technically assisting the sTong.che village committee to actively carry out the building of the school and the specific objectives of the development programme. The area of school campus was donated by the villagers and the village committee was to manage all aspects of the building process. The architecture of the school was designed to maintain the traditional Tibetan building style as authentically and accurately as possible.

In June, 1997, the school was officially inaugurated, and in September teaching activity commenced for 291 children: 129 girls and 162 boys. The Guide County People's Government pays the salary of the 10 Tibetan and the 4 Han Chinese teachers, while the students' families pay for books and all resident children pay a monthly boarding fee. There is one pre-school-level class, six primary-level classes, and two third-year classes, and the curriculum includes Tibetan language, Chinese language, mathematics, English, music, physical education, moral education, drawing, Chinese calligraphy, and physical work. Based on the good results of this initial project and the positive feedback it drew from actively participating local people, ASIA was entrusted by the UN with the management of a pilot educational centre for teacher training to be established in the sTong.che primary school. Intensive English and computer training courses began in 1998, and 32 Tibetan teachers attended the first courses with good results. Consequently, several other projects have been carried out in the area.

Orofino concludes by emphasising that the challenge for the future in Tibet and Tibetan areas lies in the development of the potential of young Tibetans to progress in their acquisition of cultural and scientific knowledge through a profound understanding of the value of their ancient cultural knowledge. No future progress could ever be achieved in any human society without it being firmly rooted in its own past history.

TIINA HYYTIÄINEN

EXTRAORDINARY SURVEY OF A GRAND CORPUS

Gerrit Jan Meulenbeld, *A History of Indian Medical Literature*. (Groningen Oriental Studies, 15.) Groningen: Forsten, 2000. Vol. IA xvii + 699 pp., vol. IB vi + 774 pp., vol. IIA viii +839 pp., vol. IIB viii + 1018 pp. Groningen: Forsten, 2002. Vol. III 549 pp. EUR 630.00 (set). ISBN 90-6980-124-8 (set).

Āyurveda, the science of (long) life, or Indian classical medicine is one of the major traditional medical systems of history, beside the Hippocratic (upon which both the early Western and the Islamic medicine were based) and the Chinese systems. From āyurveda is further derived the Tibetan medicine, now often considered as an independent system.[1] All these traditional systems contain a theoretical basis with (sometimes erroneous) ideas of anatomy and physiology. All have long empirical traditions of diagnostics and therapy and a well developed pharmacy, which enable them to cure succesfully many ills, although their real reasons may not be correctly understood. In the case of āyurveda areas such as hygiene, dietetics and surgery (including plastical surgery) were particularly well developed.

In the history of Indian studies āyurveda has been a side-issue, although never wholly ignored. The majority of indologists knew very little of āyurveda and āyurvedic texts. Fortunately, there have always been physicians interested enough in the history of medicine to learn Sanskrit and Sanskrit scholars capable of guiding them and even conducting studies of their own. In India, many āyurvedic doctors have done important work, although here there is sometimes a regrettable tendency to use anachronistic terminology and interpretations.

The historical study of āyurveda started very soon after Indology had been established in Europe.[2] British physicians in India (and others before them like Garcia d'Orta in the 16th century) had achieved some practical knowledge, but the first serious Western student of a classical āyurvedic text was the Bavarian physician Franz Hessler (1799–1890). As early as 1830 he presented a medical

1 Another at least half-independent system is the Siddha medicine of Tamil South India. I do not here discuss the modern developments of these systems as they go beyond the scope of Meulenbeld's work (and my own interest). In his introduction (p. 2) Meulenbeld suggests the term *navyāyurveda* to describe this modern form.

2 See also Das 1997.

dissertation on Indian medicine.[3] He learnt Sanskrit more or less alone and studied the Calcutta edition of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* (1835–36), of which he prepared a complete Latin translation.[4] Unfortunately this translation as well as the studies he published in the *Abhandlungen* of the Royal Bavarian Academy attracted little attention. However, they were noted by the French physician Gustave Alexandre Liétard (1833–1904), who started to study Sanskrit and soon worked independently on āyurveda. His work was continued by Palmyr Cordier (1871–1914).[5] Beside Hessler, the German philologist Johann August Vullers (1803–1880) worked on the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.[6] The famous indologist Rudolf von Roth (1821–1895) contributed lexical material from medical works for the larger *Petersburger Wörterbuch* and wrote articles and reviews on medical works. He was the first in the West to get interested in *Carakasaṃhitā*.[7]

The 20th century was started by Julius Jolly (1849–1932) with his still useful handbook.[8] A. F. R. Hoernle (1841–1918) in India wrote a study on osteology.[9] He had earlier started a translation of the *Suśruta* in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, but only one part appeared (1897). More important is his edition of the *Bower Manuscript* (1893–1912). In the period between the wars the Purāṇa scholar Willibald Kirfel (1885–1964) became also interested in medicine and under his guidance the physicians Albert Esser (1885–1972)[10] and Luise Hilgenberg

3 *De antiquorum Hindorum medicina et scientiis physicis quae in Sanscritis operibus exstant.* Wirceburgi 1830.

4 *Susrutas Ayurvedas id est Medicinae systema a venerabili d'Hanvantare demonstratum, a Susruta discipulo compositum*, nunc primum a sanscrita in Latinam sermonem vertit, introductionem, annotationes et rerum indicem adjecit. 1–5. Erlangae 1844–55.

5 For both, see Roşu 1989.

6 "Alt-Indische Geburtshilfe aus Susruta's System der Medicin übersetzt und erläutert", *Janus* 1, 1846, 225–256. His other works mainly dealt with Persian. I have not found any information on Dr. Glehn, who wrote on Suśruta in Fricke & Oppenheimer (edd.), *Zeitschrift für die gesammte Medicin* 7, Hamburg 1838, 1–15 (not available to me). His rather rare surname sounds Baltic German.

7 A footnote is here enough for the hypercticism of Ernst Haas (1835–1882) who in two articles tried to show that Indian medicine was just a late adaptation from Arabic (see *ZDMG* 30, 1876, 617–670 and *ZDMG* 31, 1877, 647–666).

8 *Medicin.* Grundriss der indoarischen Philologie und Alt. III:10. Strassburg 1901; English translation by C. G. Kashikar: *Indian Medicine*. 1951, revised 2nd ed. New Delhi 1977. Another important contribution by Jolly is "Die Cikitsākalikā des Tīsaṭācārya", *ZDMG* 60, 1906, 413–468.

9 *Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India: Osteology or the bones of human body.* Oxford 1907; also several articles on ancient Indian medicine (*JRAS* 1906–10; *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin* 1907).

10 *Die Ophthalmologie des Bhāvaprakāśa quellenkritisch bearbeitet.* Part 1 (= Phil. diss.) *Anatomie und Pathologie*. Studien zur Geschichte der Medizin 19. Leipzig 1930; Pt. 2. Suddhoffs Archiv 25, 1932, 184–213; *Die Ophthalmologie des Suśruta*. Herausgegeben und übersetzt Studien zur Geschichte der Medizin 22. Leipzig 1934; further "Asketische

(1886–19??) delved into Sanskrit sources.[11] In this period started also Reinhold F. G. Müller (1882–1966),[12] another historically minded physician, as was originally Jean Filliozat (1906–1982), who soon left medicine and became a famous Indologist.[13] We should further not forget the Italian indologist Mario Vallauri (1887–1964).[14]

Looking at the more recent Western studies of āyurveda, we can detect a growing interest since the 1970s, preceded in 1965 by Claus Vogel.[15] Then come Ronald E. Emmerick (1937–2001),[16] Gerrit Meulenbeld (below), and Arion Roşu,[17] and in the 1980s Rahul Peter Das,[18] Dominik Wyjastyk,[19] Michio Yano,[20] Francis Zimmermann,[21] and Kenneth Zysk.[22] In 1983 was founded the

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Selbstblendung", *Klinische Monatsblätter für Augenheilkunde* 1938, 580–585, and other articles.

11 She translated with W. Kirfel: *Vāgbhaṭa's Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā. Ein altindisches Lehrbuch der Heilkunde*. Leiden 1941; and wrote the article "Anschauungen von den Konstitutionstypen in der Medizin Altindiens und unserer Zeit", *Festschrift Paul Kahle* 1935, 156–162.

12 He wrote more than 100 articles and a few larger studies, often written in an exceptionally complicated and difficult German style.

13 See e.g. *Étude de démonologie indienne. Kumāratantra de Rāvana et les textes parallèles*. Cahiers de la Société asiatique 4. Paris 1937; *Fragments de textes koutchéens de médecine et de magie. Textes, parallèles sanskrits et tibétains, trad. et glossaire*. Paris 1948; *La doctrine classique de la médecine indienne. Ses origines et ses parallèles grecs*. Paris 1949, 2nd ed. 1975, rev. English transl. by D. R. Chamana: *The Classical Doctrine of Indian Medicine*. Delhi 1964; *Yogaśataka. Texte médical attribué à Nāgārjuna*. P.I.F.I. 62. Pondichéry 1979. Also numerous articles.

14 Especially "Saggio di versione del 'Mādhavanidāna'", *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana* 26, 1913–14, 253–290 (ch. 1–5).

15 *Vāgbhaṭa: Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā. The first five chapters of its Tibetan version*. Ed. and rendered into English along with the original Sanskrit. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 37:2. Wiesbaden 1965.

16 *Siddhasāra of Ravigupta*. 1. Sanskrit Text. Wb. 1980; 2. Tibetan Version and English translation. V.O.H.D. Suppl. 23:1–2. Wiesbaden 1982.

17 *Les conceptions psychologiques dans les textes médicaux indiens*. P.I.C.I. 43. Paris 1978; Roşu 1989; and many articles

18 e.g. *The Origin of the Life of a Human Being. Conception and the Female according to Ancient Indian Medical and Sexological Literature*. Delhi 2003.

19 e.g. *The Roots of Ayurveda. Selection from the Ayurvedic classics*. New Delhi 1998.

20 i. al. a Japanese translation of Caraka, ch. 1, *Nihon Rinshō* 33–36, 1975–78; also much on the history of Indian mathematics.

21 e.g. *La jungle et le fumet des viandes. Un thème écologique dans la médecine hindoue*. Paris 1982 (also in English 1987).

22 *Religious healing in the Veda. With translations and annotations of medical hymns from the Rgveda and the Atharvaveda and renderings from the corresponding ritual texts*. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 75:VII. Philadelphia 1985; new ed. as *Religious medicine: the history and evolution of Indian medicine*. New Brunswick 1993;

European Āyurvedic Society with its journal (*JEĀS* 1, 1990), from volume 6 (2001) called *Traditional South Asian Medicine*. In India, too, we could list many new editions and translations of major works etc. Still, really critical editions are rare and a scholar living away from manuscript libraries must be content with unreliable vulgate texts.

Probably many have wondered, like the present writer, using the splendid and still useful handbooks and dictionaries compiled in the late 19th and early 20th century, why we still have to use them. Why there are so many cases where the enormous amount of critical study of a century or so has never been collected into a new standard work? The new *History of Indian Literature*, those orange volumes, stopped as a miserable torso, and although the existing volumes contain some excellent work, some fall sadly behind the expectations.[23]

It is this orange series, however, that we have to thank for, when there is now no reason for this kind of melancholy considerations with regard to āyurvedic literature. The meagre orange fascicle never appeared, but instead the author went on and on collecting material for what became an enormous bulk of information, a real *monumentum aere perennius* and a foundation stone of all future work on classical āyurveda. Of this we have to thank Dr. Gerrit Jan Meulenbeld, who already showed his critical acumen in his earlier work on the *Mādhavanidāna*.[24] As both a practising physician and an indologist of Jan Gonda's school he is eminently competent to his task. The four volumes forming the text and notes of the present work comprise no less than 3369 pages and a further volume of elaborate indices has already been added.

One thing must be made clear in the beginning: This is a handbook, a detailed survey of āyurvedic *literature*, the texts and commentaries with their contents. In a way it can be compared with Pingree's *Census of Exact Sciences in Sanskrit*, although Meulenbeld has developed his survey into a more literary shape. A critical survey of classical āyurveda as science still remains a desideratum, but when it some day will be achieved, the present work will be its most important source, beside the original texts. The enormous amount of its information really opens only with the index volume.

Now it is time to have a closer look on the bulky volumes. The work is divided chronologically in two parts. The first is devoted to the great classics of

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Asceticism and healing in ancient India: medicine in the Buddhist monastery. New York 1991.

23 In recent years, another set of orange volumes (with slightly lighter hue) has started, namely the Indian Philology and South Asian Studies. Let us hope that it will eventually displace the never concluded Grundriss. A good beginning is already made.

24 *The Mādhavanidāna and its chief commentary, chapters 1–10*. Orientalia Rheno-Trajectina 19. Leiden 1974 (= diss.).

the āyurveda, the *Carakasaṃhitā*, *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, *Aṣṭāṅgasaṃgraha* and *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, while the second comprices the rest, starting with the *Bower Manuscript*. The notes form in both parts a separate, and very bulky, volume. The author has decided to give first a description of the contents and only then discuss the author, commentaries and other matters. In this way, we are immediately led *in medias res*, as the first volume starts (after the introduction) with the contents of the Sūtrasthāna of the *Carakasaṃhitā*.

In the second volume the important works of the classical period are discussed very fully.[25] Lesser authors and the pre-modern until 1800 and even later (some 20th century books!) is dealt with more succinctly, but apparently nothing found is left unmentioned. Pharmacology with medical lexicography is included. After chronological chapters there is a list of undated and anonymous works. A number of auxiliary sciences are dealt with in separate chapters: Dietary texts (*pākaśāstra*, 415–420), *nāḍīśāstra* (421–433), veterinary medicine (557–579), and alchemy and related fields (*rasaśāstra* and *ratnaśāstra*, 581–787). An appendix lists medical material found in non-medical texts like in several Purāṇas.

With many texts we only get long lists of contents, but even these are eminently useful, though rather dull reading. With the help of these surveys it is possible to spot in the enormous corpus of often unindexed texts just the passages relevant to a particular problem. In addition, new material and special features as well as interrelations and dependencies are often pointed out. The material is arranged chronologically and alphabetically according to authors. Commentaries are fully included and explained, usually in the connection of the text commented upon, in some cases under their respective authors.

Chronology is an important and vexing problem that here gets much attention. Other important problems discussed here are the textual history and revisions, causing e.g. the unreliability of the vulgate versions of *Caraka* and *Suśruta*. Manuscript tradition of important works is to some extent explained. A particular attention is also given to the references to and quotations from lost earlier works, especially to those found in the great classics. A great number of unpublished works are listed from manuscript catalogues, although the author himself confesses that here some sources may have been overlooked.

Works in languages other than Sanskrit are included (especially those in Hindī), but not discussed with as many details. With other languages like Bengalī and Tamil there are gaps, but it is practically impossible for one author to cover all South Asian literary languages with equal care. Works written in English are

25 The *Bower Manuscript*, *Bhedasaṃhitā*, *Kāśyapasaṃhitā*, *Hārītasaṃhitā*, Mādhava, Vṛnda and Cakrapāṇidatta.

ignored, though some of them would actually deserve a similar status than some 19th and 20th century works written in Indian languages. A special chapter describes some Sri Lankan works (547–556). Arabic and Tibetan translations are mentioned under the texts concerned, but it would have been good idea to indicate them somehow in the indices. Now the reader interested in this particular field will find it very difficult to cull out the relevant information.

The notes include an enormous amount of secondary literature all mentioned in their proper places. They will certainly offer very valuable guidance for future work on āyurveda.

The index volume contains seven sections, starting with the indices of proper names, and titles and the General Index. The index of Indic and Tibetan terms is very long and could have been divided into sections. The index of scientific names of plants and animals and that of toponyms are certainly useful. The volume is concluded with some corrigenda to the main text (535–549).

All in all, there is only one major disadvantage and that is the price. While it is quite understandable that a book of this extent cannot be produced in Europe with a low prise, the sad truth remains that with its price the work not only remains beyond the means of the majority of scholars, but also many institute libraries, struggling with their restricted funds, cannot afford it.

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KLAUS KARTTUNEN

"GOOD MOUTHS" ARE NEVER GROUND: AL-BAGHDĀDĪ'S THIRTEENTH-CENTURY COOKBOOK REVISITED

Nawal Nasrallah

Charles Perry (trans.), *A Baghdad Cookery Book.* (A special issue of Petits Propos Culinaires, 79.) Prospect Books, 2005. 127 pp. USD 19.95. ISBN 1903018420.

In 1226, thirty-two years before the Mongols' ransack of Baghdad, Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad bin al-Ḥasan bin Muḥammad al-Kātib al-Baghdādī finished writing his cookbook *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, a relatively small volume of 54 folios, containing 160 recipes of savory and sweet dishes. In his Introduction, al-Baghdādī declares himself to be an advocate of the superiority of the joys of food above all other joys, such as clothes, drinks, sex, or music. Interestingly, his incentive for writing a book on the art of cooking, he modestly states, is a self-imposed one – he wrote it for his own use and for whoever may wish to use it. Expectedly, his recipe collection essentially reflects his personal preferences in food and cooking.

Nonetheless, the book soared higher than its creator's humble expectations, for it proved to be a popular culinary source, indeed. Many copies were made of it, and in the fourteenth century, an augmented version with 260 more recipes – was compiled.[1] The first Turkish cookbook, which came out late in the fifteenth century, was made up of al-Baghdādī's translated recipes with some added ones current at the time, as Perry states in his Introduction (13). Even in our modern age, al-Baghdādī's cookbook was for decades our sole key to medieval recipes.

As of who this gourmet cookbook writer was, Perry makes no mention. I was lucky enough to find two biographical nuggets about him, they might not be juicy, but enough to place him in the world of reality. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (d. 1270), the

1 *Kitāb Waṣf al-Aṭ'ima al-Mu'tāda* (the Book of Familiar Foods); trans. Charles Perry, *Medieval Arab Cookery* (Prospect Books, 2001).

Damascene physician famous for his *'Uyūn al-Anbā'* strikes a personal note with him by giving his name as an authority on stories he relates in his book, preceded by *ḥaddathanī* 'he related to me.'[2] We also know that he died at the age of 56 (1184–1240), and that he was originally from Baghdad and lived in Damascus, as well. By profession, he was *kātib* 'secretary,' *adīb* 'literary man,' and *muḥaddith* 'transmitter of the Prophet's tradition.'[3]

The first to discover and edit the Arabic text was the Iraqi scholar Dawūd al-Chalabī in 1934,[4] soon to be translated into English in 1939 by the British scholar A. J. Arberry.[5] And now comes Charles Perry, a food writer by profession, and translates it anew using al-Baghdādī's manuscript in Istanbul rather than al-Chalabī's edited text, as Arberry did. The book, a special issue of PPC, is produced as a stand-alone book, small and inexpensive, "just the thing for a learned lady's handbag," so the promotional statement goes. The text's translation is augmented with an Introduction, and two appendices, but no index, which, in such a small volume, is not a grave shortcoming.

Going through Perry's version makes one wonder, did the text truly need to be "revisited," and is the new rendering in anyway better than Arberry's pioneering version? The answer is yes and no, and here is why:

According to Perry, al-Baghdādī's cookbook needed to be revamped, because by going to the original manuscript he discovered that the text contains some marginal quotations from the eleventh-century medical encyclopedia *Minhāj al-Bayān* by Ibn Jazlah, added to the text by a later hand. Additionally there were some marginal notes and corrections done by al-Baghdādī himself. Al-Chalabī included most of these notes, but he parenthesized them in the same manner, which resulted in a text that is not "really al-Baghdādī's," Perry protests. To add insult to injury, "Arberry's introductory note does not even acknowledge that there is marginal material."

Additionally, he says that by revisiting the text in the origin he discovered that all other subsequent versions and editions omitted a recipe called *buqūliyya mukarrara* (repeated vegetable stew) which was thought to be just a duplicate of *buqūliyya* mentioned before it. He jubilantly announces that he is reproducing it "for the first time in history"![6]

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2 http:// www.alwaraq.com, 98, 240, 268, 269.

3 Khayr al-Ḏīn al-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām* (http://www.alwaraq.com) 908.

4 Reprinted. Fakhrī al-Bārūdī, Beirut 1964.

5 *Islamic Culture*, vol. 13, nos. 1 and 2, pp. 21–47, 189–214, reprint *Medieval Arab Cookery*, Prospect Books 2001.

6 Actually, it is almost identical with the first *buqūliyya* except for some additional spices and herbs, so in a sense it is a repeated recipe.

Perry was also "struck by the degree to which all students of this book, Arberry included, have been at the mercy of the published Arabic text" made by al-Chalabī, who admittedly did solve some of the text's problems, but "made omissions and questionable readings." Likewise, he says, while Arberry solved "a number of problems" presented by the Arabic edited text, he "inevitably … got things wrong," and that some of his mistakes are "rather shocking," and concludes that Arberry, like most scholars, is more into literature than cooking.[7]

Perry's new version surely makes a more accurate version regarding the Arabic text itself. If for some reason a scholar needs to set apart al-Baghdādī's original text from his marginal corrections as well as Ibn Jazlah's quotations put by later hands, then Perry's version is the rendering to consult. The two appendices are also useful in this respect for they explain where and why he chose to differ with al-Chalabī and Arberry.

However, it is to be regretted that Perry's laborious efforts to straighten the Arabic text, useful as they are, do not make up for the poor quality of his translation of it. Bluntly put, it does not make a good read. And if he accuses both al-Chalabī and Arberry of inevitably getting things wrong, he himself has similarly garnered along the road a good number of misreadings, some of which are even "rather shocking." Therefore, to promote his translation as "more accurate and more nuanced" than Arberry's is an unwarranted hyperbole.

To begin with, one of the reasons Perry gives for translating afresh al-Baghdādī's cookbook is that "since 1934 other manuscripts derived from al-Baghdādī's original have come to light, and in general much more has been learned about medieval Arab cookery." On these Perry does not venture to elaborate neither here nor in his previous translation of al-Baghdādī's augmented version, *Kitāb Waṣf al-Aṭ'ima al-Mu'tāda*. He rarely uses them in his translation to help him solve some of the text's problems, and when he does, he refers to them vaguely as 'other medieval cookbooks.'[8]

In fact, at the time Perry worked on this text he had at his disposal a number of already edited medieval culinary texts: There was the anonymous thirteenth-century cookbook on al-Maghrib and al-Andalus edited in 1965 by Huici Miranda.[9] In the 1980s three important medieval cookbooks saw the light, namely the thirteenth-century Andalusian *Fuḍālat al-Khiwān* by Ibn Razīn al-Tujībī,[10]

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7 Perry's Introduction, 13–14.

8 As when he wants to prove that the cookie's name should be *umīn* (113).

9 Charles Perry's English translation, based on the Spanish translation and the Arabic text for this edition, is available at http:/www.daviddfriedman.com/Medieval/Cookbooks/ Andalusian/andalusian. A new Arabic edition came out in 2003, based on a better manuscript, which carries the original title, *Anwāb al-Ṣaydala fī Alwān al-Aṭ'ima*, ed. 'Abd al-Ghanī Abū al-'Azm, Al-Ḏār al-Bayḍā'.

10 Ed. Muhammad bin Shaqrūn (Rabāṭ, 1981).

thirteenth-century *Kitāb al-Wuṣla ilā 'l-Ḥabīb* attributed to Ibn al-ʿAdīm,[11] and Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq's tenth-century *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh.*[12] In 1993 the edited medieval Egyptian cookbook *Kanz al-Fawā'id* came out.[13]

The most relevant of these to the present translation, besides *Kitāb Wasf al-Aṭʿima*,[14] is the Egyptian cookbook *Kanz al-Fawā'id*, simply because it has some verbatim textual affinities with al-Baghdādī's book, especially the introductory section. For instance, where the text speaks about which kinds of wood to choose, Perry translates a phrase as "the trees that are for sale," (28) which is irrelevant in the given context. By referring to *Kanz al-Fawā'id* it turns out the original Arabic expression is *ashjār yatūʿiyya* (5), which means 'sappy trees.' Now this makes perfect sense: sappy trees are not to be used as fuel because they produce a lot of smoke. Another example where consulting extant medieval cookbooks could have helped him give his readers a more reliable and informative rendering of the text is where shaping of *khushkanānaj* cookies is described as "then gather them as usual." In a footnote, Perry speculates, "this instruction may be connected with shaping the biscuit with a mould." (102) He could have avoided such a shaky hit-or-miss guess had he but referred to al-Warrāq's tenth-century cookbook (272), and Arabic medieval poetry written describing such cookies. Besides using molds, they were more commonly shaped into crescents: the tongue-like elongated flattened piece of dough was filled with the nut mix and then folded lengthwise. The edges were sealed well to prevent the filling from seeping out while baking in the *tannūr*, and the two pointed ends were bent to make the cookie look like a crescent.

About the Arabic term *muḥassā*, as in the fish and eggplant dishes *ṭarīkh muḥassā* (205) and *Bādhinjān muḥassā* (205), the true meaning escapes both Arberry and Perry, who take the term to mean 'soupy in consistency.' Given the medieval culinary knowledge we have available today, to which Arberry had no access, Perry should have been able to make a more informative guess. Al-Warrāq's tenth-century recipes, for instance, are consistent in using the word *maḥshū* for stuffed, and *maḥshī* for dishes dressed and smothered in sauce. Therefore, the word in al-Baghdādī's recipes should have been *maḥshī*, albeit, not in the sense we are familiar with today – 'stuffed.'

Translation is built on trust. The reader trusts the translator to have the means and the knowledge to convey to him a given foreign text in a comprehensive language, and a text he trusts to be reasonably truthful to the original, unless, of course, the origin is itself erratic or confused, to begin with. Now Perry's courage in

11 Eds. Sulaymā Maḥjūb and Durriyya al-Khaṭīb (Aleppo, 1986).

12 Eds. Kaj Öhrnberg and Sahban Mroueh (Helsinki, 1987).

13 Eds. Manuela Marin and David Waines, Beirut.

14 See n. 1 above.

confronting medieval Arabic texts even in manuscript form is praiseworthy indeed. It is to be regretted, though, that his method in handling these medieval Arabic texts is by far the most excruciatingly literal renderings I have ever encountered. The result is linguistic awkwardness, which at times even verges on incoherence, and lack of natural flow and grace, which Arberry's rendering, made more than half a century ago, retains.

Literalness makes the simple and normal sound artificial, as in the chapter heading "On Making *Khushkanānaj, Muṭbaq,* Crepes and Things Mixed with Flour that are Analogous to Those" (102); or "things that serve the same function" (27), for an expression that may simply be put as "and similar dishes;" or "Mentioning sweetmeats and their varieties of that (sort)" (98), for what may simply be "Varieties of *ḥalwā*." To keep to the Arabic text word for word, here is how one of Perry's sentences sound, "Then leave it on the fire, its fire being quiet. Then leave it until it is done, then take it up" (36). Compare it with Arberry's "Leave over a slow fire until cooked, then remove" (38).

Another interesting instance is the spice-mixes al-Baghdādī calls *aṭrāf al-ṭīb* and *afwāh al-ṭīb*. Commenting on the first term in his translation of *Wasf al-Aṭ'ima al-Mu'tāda,* Perry correctly identifies it as 'a spice mixture' (284). However, his literal translation is problematic. First, he translates *aṭrāf* as 'sides (of scent),' which is not even literal, because the literal sense in this context is 'a number of things put together.' As for *afwāh al-ṭīb* he says it literally means 'mouths of scent,' which is absurd, because besides 'mouths', *afwāh* (sing. *fūh*) also means 'different kinds of aromatic spices.' The expression *afwāh jayyida* – which means 'good-quality aromatic spices' – Perry says it literally translates to 'good mouths.' It is no wonder then that he describes such Arabic terms as 'odd names,' and he unfoundedly speculates that they "may refer to the paper packets in which spices were sold." In his Introduction to al-Baghdādī's translation he comments on these terms, jestingly I assume, saying "I suggest that the herbs may be fresh, because the 'mouths' are never ground" (20).

Perry impatiently jumps to the most common literal meaning of the Arabic word, such as using 'take up' for the Arabic *rafa'a* when instructions are 'to remove,' which is another valid meaning for the Arabic verb (31). In another instance, the recipe requires the cooked dates to be put aside until cold. The Arabic word for 'put aside' is also *rafa'a*, but Perry translates it as "take them up until they are cold."

To toss ingredients into the pot, al-Baghdādī uses the verbs *yurmā* and *yuṭraḥ*, which literally mean 'throw,' but also carry the general sense of 'add' and even 'put.' Perry invariably uses 'throw' throughout the book. Even, when al-Baghdādī himself chooses another word, such as *yuj'al*, which simply means 'put' when adding raw eggs to the simmering pot, Perry, nonetheless, translates it as 'throw.'

His version reads, "throw whole raw eggs on it." I should say here al-Baghdādī is much more careful than Perry when handling eggs (41).

The Arabic adverb *shadīdan*, Perry translates as 'strongly' in "Do not leave it until the rice has thickened strongly" (47). Can rice be described this way in English? Compare it with Arberry's "Do not leave it [rice] so long that the rice becomes hard set" (44). Besides, compared with Arberry's, Perry's version does not make it clear whether al-Baghdādī wants the rice mix to thicken or not. Though both in Arabic and English pot sometimes does refer to the food cooking in the pot and not necessarily the utensil itself, Perry's translation "take as much garlic as the pot will bear" for *bi-qadr mā taḥtamiluhu al-qidr* does not make the statement clear (49). One might think that the pot can bear a lot of garlic, indeed. Compare it with Arberry's "add [garlic] as required" (45).

A recipe describes adding flour to the cooking pudding as *wa yakūn ṭarḥahu dharran*, which Perry translates word for word as "let its throwing be a sprinkling" (106). Whereas the expression sounds perfectly normal in Arabic, the English version is too "elevated" perhaps for a recipe in a practical guide. Compare it with Arberry's "sprinkle in the flour" (214). Perry's "we shall mention the ones that are preferred" for the Arabic *mā waqa'a 'alayhi al-ikhtiyār*, sounds a bit too stuffy (81). Compare it with Arberry's "Here we will mention a few select dishes" (202).

Though Perry's translation is predominantly executed in a literal manner, there are places where it would have been more meaningful to stick to the original, but he unfortunately opted not to do so. A case in point is his unhappy decision to translate *murrī* (cereal-based liquid fermented sauce) as 'soy sauce', an ingredient alien to the Arab Medieval cuisine. He needlessly insists on 'translating' the clay domed oven *tannūr* as tandoor, even though etymologically the former is the origin of the latter. A cooking technique religiously followed in preparing al-Baghdādī's dishes, namely *ta'rīq* (literally, 'sweating the meat') is translated as 'stewing,' a general insipid term that does not truly capture the sense of the method.[15] Besides, if there is anything I would have liked Perry to literally translate in the book, it would be 'eyes of eggs,' for *'uyūn al-bayḍ*, a charming fanciful expression that captures the essence of al-Baghdādī's cuisine. Perry chose to translate it as 'whole raw eggs.' Moreover, against the lucid instructions of al-Baghdādī – and all other medieval Arab cookbooks – that *'urūq* 'blood vessels' need to be removed before cooking the meat, Perry uncharacteristically chooses to replace *'urūq* with 'tendons' because he says there is no way you can remove blood vessels (120). These

15 *Ta'rīq* is an initial stage in cooking meat by first frying the meat pieces in rendered sheep's tail fat. In the process meat will release its moisture, and hence the name *ta'rīq*. The cook needs to stir the pot occasionally until all moisture evaporates and meat pieces start to brown in the fat (*yaḥmarr*).

vessels, especially the arteries, need to be removed because they are muscular and elastic in texture, and they might still contain blood in them. Incidentally while writing this piece, I was cleaning lamb shanks, and there it was a visible vessel along the bone, full with blood. Given the Islamic dietary prohibitions, one understands the importance of removing these blood vessels.

If at times the nuances of the Arabic language escape Perry, why is it then that the same thing happens with the English ones? In a recipe, a disjointed chicken is added to the red meat after it comes to a boil, so that they both cook at the same time. Perry translates it as, "When the pot comes to the boil, throw it [the chicken] on the meat to become done." (33) When the recipe indicates that the dough of a given cookie should be firm, he literally translates *quwwa* as 'strength.' His version reads, "There should be strength in the dough of this variety" (104). In a recipe where a filling is sandwiched between two cookies, called *mutbaq* ('layered,' inaccurately translated as 'surrounded'), Perry's sentence sounds jumbled: "put the necessary amount of *halwā sādhija* – the kind without almonds and pistachios, with little sesame oil – in the middle of it, between every two cakes" (102). Compare it with Arberry's "place between each pair of loaves a quantity of plain *ḥalwā'*, made without almonds and pistachios, and with only a little sesame oil" (212). Perry's rendering of a recipe describing variations on a condiment is typical of his unnuanced literal method: "As for its varieties, one of them is the plain, into which no flavorings at all are put. One of them is another variety into which you put nigella and garlic" (90).

A recipe requires the eggs to set, for which the Arabic word is *jamuda*. In Arabic, the same verb is used in conjunction with water, jelly, yogurt, egg, etc., whereas in English a variety of verbs is used to match the specific ingredient used, such as water freezes, jelly sets, yogurt thickens, and eggs set, etc. I find Perry's usage of the literal 'stiffen' describing eggs, instead of 'set' unidiomatic and unpalatable (80). If the original recipe reads as what Perry translates as "the liquid decreases from it" (59), should not he have felt free to express it as 'the liquid evaporates,' which still keeps the original sense?

In a recipe that describes flipping meat patties, Perry's translation is lumpish: "When (one) surface of them is done, then turn over the other surface. Then it is done; take it up" (78). Compare it with Arberry's lucid version: "When one side is cooked, turn over on to the other side: then remove" (201). Besides, why would he use the expression 'grow quiet' for the Arabic *yaskun*, when the pot stops boiling and settles?

Perry translates the verb *yunḥat* as 'hewn' in a recipe about preparing carrots. He says, "carrots which are hewn (*yunḥat*) until they are peeled; remove their wood from inside them and cut them up into thin small hewn (pieces)" (61). The Arabic

verb in the given context simply means 'scrape.' I wonder whether Perry has ever come across a recipe in English where carrots are 'hewn' in order to peel them, or are 'cut up into thin small hewn pieces.' I believe this is called 'shredding' in English. Compare it with Arberry's more nuanced and idiomatic version: "carrots, scraped, cored, and then scraped into fine shreds" (192).

Now, how can salt 'thicken' (28), the reader may legitimately wonder. Al-Baghdādī uses the word *ʿuqida* describing clean salt that has been dissolved in water and then allowed to crystallize through evaporation. If in Arabic one word may convey 'thickening of syrup' and 'crystallization of salt,' Perry should have felt free to break away from the bond of literalness, simply because his phrase does not make sense. What in English might be written as "cut up fat meat and tail separately" (Arberry, 35), Perry renders as "cut up fat meat by itself, and tail fat by itself" because this is the way it is expressed in Arabic. To tell the reader that the recipe is made like the one above it, al-Baghdādī uses the expression *yuʿmal kadhālik*, which Perry translates as "it is made like that" (52). Compare it with Arberry's "Make in the same way as the preceding" (47).

As a food writer, Perry is expected to practice in his English renderings the verbal tools of his trade, which he does not do. A case in point is the word *qashshara*. In Arabic, this word is used to mean 'peel' regardless of kinds of peels. The English language is more nuanced in this respect. Besides the general sense 'peel,' an array of verbs may be used to describe removing the skins of different ingredients. Perry invariably uses the verb 'peel' to cover all. Walnuts, pistachios, and fava beans are 'peeled,' where 'shelled' is more commonly used with these. Almonds and lentils are 'peeled.' How about 'skinned,' for variety's sake? Sesame is 'peeled.' Isn't 'hulled' the word to use?

At several places in his translation, Perry fails to do the legwork expected of him, to help his readers understand the text and appreciate it. A case in point is the mystery word *gharīq/ʿarīq/ʿadhīq/farīq* describing dates. We may never know for sure the original word al-Baghdādī used, but at least we can explore the possibilities. Arberry is not far off when he took it to be a variety of Medina dates, in which case he based his interpretation on Medina dates called *ʿIdhq ibn Ṭāb* (meaning from *Tāj al-ʿArūs*). *ʿAdhīq* may also refer to dates in clusters, derived from *ʿidhq*. The word may well be *farīq*, which means 'loose dates', but Perry dismisses the possibility because he says it means "band, party, detachment" (113). Perry chooses to read the word as *gharīq*, which means 'drowned' literally, but may also be taken metaphorically to describe desserts drenched in syrup. Though he gets the right sense of the expression, his rendering is at times confusing. What is a reader to understand from, "take drowned fresh-harvested … dates"? His footnote "suitable for immersing in syrup" is not of much help either (104). It is my hunch that the

word is *ʿarīq*, which describes juicy and moist dates, based on one of the meanings of *ʿarīq* – the syrup that oozes from the dates, more commonly known as *dibs*.

The ingredient *samīd*, Perry leaves untranslated because "it might refer to a particular kind of wheat." It sure does, but one may also wonder why Perry did not try to find out. In fact, according to medieval sources, *samīd* in the eastern region of the Islamic world is a particular kind of fine flour, bran free, high in starch content, and low in gluten. About *kirafs* (celery), Perry passes a general comment, "during the Middle Ages, only the leaves of the celery plant were eaten" (116). This is not quite accurate because there were many kinds of celery, some varieties of which were grown for their leaves, similar to our parsley, and others were grown for their ribs (*quḍʿān*). A variety of Iraqi dates, al-Baghdādī mentions, is *al-ruṭab al ṭabarzad*, which today is called *tabarzal*. Perry and Arberry needlessly choose to translate the name as 'sugar-candy,' which by the way is not quite accurate. The dates are called so because they are as sweet as *ṭabarzad*, which is excellent-quality white cane sugar.

Perry inaccurately says that *ṭāqa* and *bāqa* refer to the same thing, namely 'bunch' of herbs. In fact, the first means 'sprig' and the second, 'bunch.' Regarding '*ḥalqat shabat*,' he translates it as 'ring of dill,' this is also not feasible because the word *ḥalqa*, as used in this context, is not the literal 'ring' but 'a snip' derived from the verb *ḥalaqa* to 'cut' or 'snip.'

Andarānī or *darānī* salt is not named after a place called Andarān, as both Arberry and Perry suggest. It is derived from the Arabic noun *dhurʾa* meaning 'excessive whiteness.' The grammatical Arabic name is *dharʾānī* (*Tāj al-ʿArūs*). About mastic, Perry reads *diqq* (small pieces, Arberry got it right) as *daqq* 'pound' (28). Both words are written the same way in Arabic, a simple example on the nuances of the Arabic language that one needs to pay attention to. About ginger, the Arabic sentence *min al-zanjabīl mā kāna ghayr musawwas* (ginger free of woodworm), Perry renders it as "Of ginger, that which is *maghrūs*, 'implanted' (29)." What is a reader to understand from this? On washing pots, Perry translates the Arabic sentence as "beat them with brick dust." (29) How can you beat a vessel with brick dust? Granted the Arabic verb is *yuḍrab* whose literal general sense is 'beat,' the verb additionally has other meanings, such as 'to smear and rub.' On pounding spices, Perry translates *tanʿīmihā* as "make them smooth," (29) whereas it could have been more accurately rendered as "finely grind them."

Perry translates the expression *fī ḥulwihā akthar min ḥāmiḍihā* as 'whether sweet or sour' (29), which should have been, as Arberry puts it, 'of the sweet rather than the sour varieties' (33). Besides, he inaccurately renders *ḥukm al-jamīʿ an yakūn fī bābin wāḥid* as "but everyone has decided that they should be in one chapter" (30), mistaking *ḥukm al-jamīʿ* 'all dishes are to be treated …' for *ḥakama al-jamīʿ* 'everybody decided.' Here is how Arberry puts it, "It seems best, however, to treat of

them all in one chapter" (34). Perry misreads the statement *yu'khadh min al-silq bāqatān aw thalāth 'alā qadr al-laḥm* (take two or three bunches of chard according to the quantity of meat), and translated it as "take two or three bunches of chard for the pot of meat" (43), misreading *qadr* 'quantity' as *qidr* 'pot,' both written the same way in Arabic.

As for the Arabic expression *yaqdhifu duhnahu a'lāhu* (and the pot oil separates and comes up to the top), both Perry and Arberry are inaccurate in their renderings: "Throw away the fat on its surface" (Perry, 44), and "when the oil floating on top is thrown away" (Arberry, 43).

Other expressions Perry got wrong: "light strips" (51) for "thin strips" *sharā'iḥ khifāf*, "egg yolks which have been taken with their whites" (51) for "egg yolks from which the whites have been taken" *ṣufur al-baydh allatī ukhidha bayādhuhā*. *Khilāl* is not a 'pin' (74) but a 'toothpick'. About the dish *maṣūṣ*, Perry's explanation that the dish is called so because it is "made with a suckling kid" is hilarious (77). In fact, it is called so because the meat absorbs the sourness and flavor of the seasoned vinegar in which it is kept. About the egg-dish *mufarraka*, both Arberry and Perry translate it literally as "rubbed" (79). A dish of 'rubbed eggs,' I should say, is hard to come by, how about 'scrambled eggs'? Perry mistakes the name of the cookie *mubaḥthara* (crumbly) for *muba'thara*, and translates it as "scattered around" (104).

In a recipe of stuffed tripe called *sukhtūr*, which al-Baghdādī also calls *kībā*, Perry mistakenly thinks it is 'stuffed guts' and 'sausage,' and translates the text accordingly. He does not even question the detail that some 'jointed scalded chicken' are considered in stuffing the 'intestines'. He does express his puzzlement, though, in his previous translation of *Kītāb al-Aṭ'ima al-Mu'tāda*, where he wonders 'how to get all those meats – apparently on the bone – into sausage casings' (279). I wonder why he did not follow Arberry's correct rendering.

The one that takes the biscuit is where directions are to shape stuffed cookies in a mold. Al-Baghdādī suggests something similar to *al-ḥuqq* (a small bowl made of carved wood, ivory, glass, brass or copper). Perry translates the sentence as, "let there be a mould for them like a box," (103) which is passable. However, his elaboration on the word *ḥuqq* when comparing his version with Arberry's in the second Appendix is absurd. The latter's rendering is "make them into shapes, using an appropriate mould." Perry thinks that Arberry reads the word *ḥuqq* as *ḥaqq*, and duly gives its meaning – 'like what is due' – and then comments that both his and Arberry's readings are possible (126).

Apart from the fact that through Perry's laborious efforts al-Baghdādī's text is now in certain respects more accurate than that of Arberry's, *Kītāb al-Ṭabīkh* still stands in need of a good modern translation that takes into account the new information available to us today. Until then, Perry's version is useful for those

who would like to draw the line between al-Baghdādī's text, his additional corrections, and Ibn Jazlah's marginal notes. Arberry's pioneering version is still the one to go to for a good read, preferably the reprinted edition in *Medieval Arab Cookery*, in which Perry 'ventured' to correct some of his mistakes. In Arberry's hands, the cookbook sounds more like a practical lucid recipe book, the way al-Baghdādī intended it to be.

BOOK REVIEWS

Eliz Sanasarian, *Religious minorities in Iran*. (Cambridge Middle East studies.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. 229 pp. US$ 59.95. ISBN 0-521-77073-4 (hardback).

Eliz Sanasarian is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Southern California. Her work on the situation of religious minorities in Iran is based on her own research in Iran, on a thoroughgoing use of Iranian official sources, and on extensive information provided by emigrants belonging different Iranian religious groups.

In spite of being by far the most completely Shi'a Islamic country in the world (about 93 per cent of the entire population are Shi'ites), Iran is home to various other religious groups, Muslim and non-Muslim alike. Since Sunni Muslims constitute about 5 per cent of the population, the proportion of non-Muslims is only 2 per cent. In addition to the sheer numerical power of the Shi'ite population, the Islamic Republic of Iran has elevated a political interpretation of Shi'a Islam to official state ideology. However, as Sanasarian points out, the problems of Iranian religious minorities with the regime did not begin with the Islamic revolution in 1979 but have been there all along, albeit in varying forms.

Despite the policy of the Pahlavi shahs, especially the younger one, Mohammed Reza (ruled 1941–79), of appointing members of religious and other minorities to high governmental positions, in order to divide and rule, the general situation of religious minorities during the Pahlavi era cannot be deemed favourable. Deep-rooted prejudices among the general population towards non-Muslims were mostly left untouched by the reformist stand of Pahlavi rulers, and the secular nationalist ideology of their regime discouraged basing minority identities on religion. Nevertheless, it is clear that, compared with the somewhat malevolent neutrality of the Pahlavi regime towards religious minorities, the discrimination against them has reached a new order of magnitude after the Islamic revolution.

The position of non-Muslims cannot be deemed satisfactory in any Muslim country since, even under most modernist and moderate Muslim governments, the religious principle of Muslim superiority over non-Muslims is not to be overruled. Whereas in many Muslim countries the legal inequality of non-Muslims is moderated by practical considerations, and the discrimination remains largely unofficial, in other countries, and in Iran in particular, the inferior position of some of the population is more thoroughly sanctioned by law and more vigorously put into practice in government policy than anywhere else in the world since the end of apartheid in South Africa. The UN universal declaration on human rights, according to leading Islamist ideologues (pp. 24–30), is perceived to contradict the word of God. (Few – if any – Muslim countries have ratified the declaration in its en-

tirety since it includes the right to change one's religion, while in Muslim countries only conversion to Islam is allowed.)

All this has led to bizarre judicial rulings: according to the laws of inheritance in Iran, a member of a non-Muslim family who has converted to Islam is entitled to the entire estate of the deceased (p. 131); the penal code rules that non-Muslims are to be punished more severely for crimes committed against Muslims than vice versa (pp. 132–135). This includes taking other people's lives: a Muslim who kills a non-Muslim has to pay blood money to the victim's family, while a non-Muslim offender is to be executed – admittedly, even when the victim is another non-Muslim (p. 133). The blood money paid, particularly for a non-Muslim woman, may be lower than compensation for damaged property (p. 133).

In order to concentrate on the essential, it has been necessary for Sanasarian to leave out the smallest religious minorities – "Hindus, Sikhs, Sabeans and others" (p. xii) – which, while quite understandable, is a pity since information about these small groups would be as interesting as it is scarce (but, presumably, for the most part beyond her reach as well). The "Sabeans" are also referred to in other loci (pp. 19, 66, 68) but left undefined; because a contemporary group is clearly indicated, and explicitly not the Zoroastrians, the group in question is probably the Mandaeans. The evasive "others", unspecified by Sanasarian, include the most despised group of them all, the few thousand Azali Babis, who are not only persecuted by the Islamist regime but also rejected by the likewise persecuted Baha'is as hideous renegades. No wonder that current information about them is almost non-existent.

Of non-Muslim religious groups in Iran, four are granted the position of "recognized religious minority" (RRM): Zoroastrians, Jews, Armenian Christians, Assyrian and Chaldean Christians (the last two treated as a single group) – in other words, those Christian churches which were present in pre-Islamic Iran are recognized. Two other significant religious groups are denied that position: Iranian Christian converts to missionary churches, and Baha'is.

The recognized position is quite literally a question of life and death for the groups. The RRMs are granted one seat each in the parliament (two seats for the largest group, the Armenians) and the right to be heard in local decision-making; they can appeal to several laws protecting them, both national and Islamic, and publicly react to injustices or mistreatment in the media. Members of the non-recognized religious minorities are, in practice, outlaws; even killing them (by individual citizens, not in terror campaigns of the Revolutionary Guards, the Pasdaran, which have not been lacking either) is frequently left unpunished or has resulted in fines paid to the government, the families of the victims receiving no compensation (p. 134).

The actual outcome of the state policies towards RRMs has, of course, varied considerably due to personal relationships between individual local or state

officials and leading representatives of the minorities, and to policy shifts when a more conciliatory line has better served the government's interests.

Each RRM has had peculiar advantages or disadvantages of its own: among them, the Jews, greatly diminished in numbers since the revolution, have suffered the most due to the general hatred on the part of both the regime and the Muslim population towards Israel and Zionism (both of them constantly condemned in strong terms by Iranian Jews). Another case of the influence of foreign policy on the situation of a RRM are the Armenians whose hostility towards Turkey has been in accord with the official line but who, since the 1990s, have had some trouble with respect to the conflict between the newly independent states of Armenia and Azerbaijan, where Iran has supported the Azeri side. Both the Jews and the Armenians have suffered from similar prejudices: in popular fantasies, all of them are rich, cunning merchants pursuing Muslims' money. Yet the hostility among the Muslim population towards the Armenians has never been near that felt towards the Jews.

The Zoroastrians have fared surprisingly well since the revolution; they have suffered less than expected from the last shah's propagandistic appropriation of Iran's Zoroastrian past. While far from surviving unscathed under the current regime, they have succeeded in keeping relatively good relations not only with the regime and Muslims but with other minorities as well (p. 151).

The price to be paid for at least officially good relations with the Islamist rulers has, however, been great. Confronted with orchestrated praises from representatives of the RRMs for the revolution and the regime (pp. 156–158), one is awkwardly reminded of the former Communist countries where all religious groups had to proclaim in unison that they had never had it better than under an atheistic regime bent on eliminating all religion.

In Iran, the gravest oppression has fallen on the Baha'is (pp. 114–123). Before the revolution they were probably the biggest religious minority in Iran, numbering about 300,000 people, but since then perhaps halved due to persecution and emigration (leaving the 200,000 Armenians currently the largest non-Muslim group). After the revolution, Baha'is have been dismissed *en masse* from their jobs and denied access to higher education; many of their religious centres and even cemeteries have been either destroyed or confiscated. The Islamic rulers proclaim Baha'ism not to be a religion at all but a fake ideology serving foreign powers. No Iranian religious group has been persecuted anywhere close to as widely and systematically as the Baha'is, who probably have been killed in their thousands, including all members of their two consecutive national assemblies (p. 116). In contrast to the overall line of the regime, its attitude towards the Baha'is seems not to have grown more lenient after Imam Khomeini's death in 1989 (pp. 121–122).

The adherents to missionary Christian churches in Iran, being far less numerous than the Baha'is, have not been subjected to a such large-scale persecution as the latter, but to an equally harsh one (pp. 123–127): several of their priests and members have been put to death, a lot more imprisoned or arrested, accused either of evangelizing or serving foreign interests. Many, though not all, of their churches, hospitals and other institutions have been closed down.

Sanasarian's conclusions give no reason for optimism either in today's situation or in foreseeable future (p. 156):

> Changes in the condition of recognized religious minorities (after Khomeini's death) have been minimal ... The penal code remained unchanged. Discrimination in employment continued, sometimes even reflected in job advertisements. The situation of the Baha'is and Iranian Christian converts, after an initial easing of pressure, continued as before and even worsened.

The closing sentence of the book (p. 163) puts it grimly: "Failure to contemplate the situation and change behaviour will guarantee the mindless repetition of the patterns examined above in the not too distant future."

Sanasarian's book is an important scholarly work on a hitherto little-studied topic, most of the earlier research concentrating on some particular group instead of presenting a general view of the minority policies of Islamist Iran. Despite the depressing themes of her book, Sanasarian remains cool and analytical throughout her argumentation, rendering the results of her investigation all the more impressive.

JAAKKO ANHAVA

Antonina Zhelyazkova & **Jorgen Nielsen** (eds.), *Ethnology of Sufi Orders: Theory and Practice. Proceedings of the British-Bulgarian Workshop on Sufi Orders 19–23 May 2000, Sofia, Bulgaria.* Sofia: International Center for Minority Studies and Intercultural Relations – Center for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations, 2001. 631 pp. US$ 15.00. ISBN 954-8872-36-6.

This volume edited by Zhelyazkova and Nielsen consists of an *Introduction*, written by Zhelyakova, 13 articles by Bulgarian and British scholars, and a *Postscript* written by Nielsen.

Most of the articles are case studies of Sufism in Bulgaria and the Balkan area, but there are also some which address more theoretical and general issues, such as Orientalism in the Saidian sense or questions of anthropological methods and ethics. As Islam in this region is still very imperfectly studied, one may greet with satisfaction the present volume, although many of its articles do not attain a particularly high level.

This conference volume includes all papers in both Bulgarian (pp. 7–326) and English (pp. 327–631). Such an unusual solution is not very felicitous as it means that of its more than 600 pages only half will be relevant for any reader. One might have considered publishing the two parts as separate volumes, a Bulgarian and an English one.

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

Kinga Dévényi & **Tamás Iványi** (eds.), *Essays in Honour of Alexander Fodor on his Sixtieth Birthday.* (The Arabist. / Budapest Studies in Arabic, 23.). Budapest, 2001. xix + 224 pp. ISSN 0239-1619.

Professor Fodor has had a long career and become a senior figure among Hungarian Arabists, compatriots of Ignaz Goldziher. His interests include magic and material culture and it is no wonder that these two fields are also prominent in his *Festschrift*.

The authors in the volume are mainly Hungarian or, for some reason, Italian: of the twenty authors of articles in this collection, three (Canova, Corrao, Ghersetti) are Italian, thirteen work in Hungary, and of the remaining four, three come from the Great Britain and one from Cairo.

The articles by Hungarian scholars show that Hungary is producing fine younger scholars, most of them students of Alexander Fodor and/or Miklos Maróth. It is to be hoped that the contacts of these Hungarian scholars with the international community of scholars will become stronger in time. When this

happens, this community will be indebted to Professor Fodor, who has laboured long and hard in organizing conferences and producing their proceedings in the series *The Arabist*. It is thus most appropriate that Fodor's *Festschrift* appears in this series.

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

W. Th. van Peursen, *The Verbal System in the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira*. (Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics, 41.) Leiden: Brill, 2004. xix + 462 pp. EUR 149.00. ISBN 90-04-13667-3 (hardback).

Ben Sira has recently become a favourite target of studies among Biblical scholars. Its place within Hebrew literature is still not quite fixed, its relevance in understanding the development of Judaism just before the birth of Christianity is evident, and its Syriac translation is not without importance in Christian studies. No wonder it is being studied by an ever-growing number of Biblical scholars.

To assess the text's relevance for the development of Judaism, one has to form a clear picture of the context and aims of the text. What is its position *vis-à-vis* the Old Testament? Did its author wish to join his work to the Biblical tradition or was he searching for a new discourse, taking distance from the more prestigious scriptures of the canon?

To evaluate such aspects of the text, one has to make a detailed analysis of its contents, and to understand the text, one has to study closely its literary structures and its possible theological messages. Yet these questions are also closely connected with the language used by the author. And, of course, *Ben Sira's* language, between Late Biblical Hebrew and Rabbinic Hebrew, is also a valuable source for the history of Hebrew at this juncture.

Van Peursen's book is a painstakingly meticulous study of one aspect of *Ben Sira*'s language, the verbal system. In Part One (*The Wisdom of Ben Sira and its Language*, pp. 3–64), van Peursen briefly discusses the textual transmission of *Ben Sira*, the orthography of the Hebrew manuscripts and the earlier history of linguistic studies concerning *Ben Sira*. Part Two (*Morphosyntax of the Tenses*, pp. 67–283) studies the verbal categories one by one, covering the perfect, the imperfect, the consecutive perfect, the consecutive imperfect, the copulative perfect, the volitives, the participle, the construct infinitive and the absolute infinitive. The third part (*The Use of the Tenses in Various Kinds of Clauses*, pp. 287–396) discusses the tenses in their wider syntactical context.

Throughout the book, van Peursen is careful in his analysis and documents himself extensively when this is possible. He discusses his themes in comparison to Hebrew, and to a lesser extent Aramaic, material. Not unsurprisingly, though,

the language of *Ben Sira* does not fall conveniently into one slot of Hebrew. Its verbal system does, in broad terms, conform to Classical Hebrew, and in some cases especially Late Biblical Hebrew or to Qumrźnic Hebrew, but in other cases its closest parallel is found in Mishnaic Hebrew. Thus, it in some ways bridges Biblical Hebrew with Mishnaic Hebrew. The situation, however, is less clear than one might think, since sometimes *Ben Sira* does seem to be closer to Standard, or even archaic, Biblical Hebrew than to Late Biblical Hebrew, and it seems to use the more archaic form of Hebrew partly as a stylistic feature. And to make things even more difficult, the textual transmission of *Ben Sira* always keeps us on our toes as to possible alterations in the early phases of this transmission: a Mishnaic form in *Ben Sira* may be just that, a Mishnaic feature that has crept into the text during textual transmission.

Van Peursen is unable to pinpoint *Ben Sira* to its exact context, nor does he claim such a thing. His careful analysis does, on the other hand, give future scholars a firm basis on which to develop theories about *Ben Sira*: further analyses must take into account this careful and learned study. Van Peursen has done a great service to Hebrew studies with his detailed study.

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

Alaa Elgibali (ed.), *Investigating Arabic. Current Parameters in Analysis and Learning*. (Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics, 42.) Leiden: Brill, 2004. xi + 223 pp. EUR 95.00. ISBN 90-04-13792-0 (hardback).

Martine Haak, Rudolf de Jong & Kees Versteegh (eds.), *Approaches to Arabic Dialects. A collection of articles presented to Manfred Woidich on the occasion of his sixteenth birthday*. (Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics, 38.) Leiden: Brill, 2004. xiv + 399 pp. EUR 134.00. ISBN 90-04-13206-6 (hardback).

Brill's series *Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics* started with almost occasional publications. Since the 1990s, the pace of publication has accelerated considerably so that in 2004 up to seven volumes were published, a clear record in the history of the series. Many of these volumes were independent monographs, but the *annus mirabilis* also saw many edited collections of articles. Two of these were dedicated to Arabic studies.

Elgibali's *Investigating Arabic* contains six articles on linguistic analysis (by Kees Versteegh, Alaa Elgibali, Ali Farghaly, Zeinab Ibrahim, Abdallah Chekayri and Sameh Al-Ansary) and five on language learning (by Jonathan Owens, Soha Abboud-Haggar, Adil Elsheikh Abdalla, Mahmoud Abdalla and Daniel L. Newman). It is not clearly stated, although this is mentioned in some footnotes,

e.g., on p. 122, note 5, that the book is the proceedings of a symposium. Certainly, the collection does unfortunately have a flavour of conference papers about it.

Some of the scholars who have contributed to this volume are established ones, but it seems as if they had just whipped up something for the occasion. Thus, e.g., Versteegh's article nicely summarizes the topic of hypercorrection in Middle Arabic texts and gives a clear view to what Middle Arabic is – and, perhaps more importantly, what it is not – but the article hardly goes much further than summarizing what we already know. Some other articles in the book, on the contrary, leave one dubious as to whether their authors have, in fact, much to say in the first place. Add to this the obvious difficulties some authors seem to have with English, leading them to slack modes of expression – not having been polished by either the editors or the publisher – and one starts to feel somewhat exasperated. My favourite comes on p. 68: "According to analogy, hollow and strong verbal phonological representations are subject to analogy". Grammatically correct, yes, but hardly a convincing sentence. One has to say that the volume is a disappointment, and it leads one to the heretic thought that the series might benefit from a calmer pace of publishing. Volumes of less value may become a stumbling block for the whole series if readers, and librarians, start thinking twice before buying these rather expensive works.

However, other volumes in the series meet the expected level and reconvince the reader that volumes of this series do deserve special attention and are worth acquiring. Manfred Woidich is a familiar name to all who are involved even marginally with Arabic linguistics. Woidich's impressive career has centred on Egyptian Arabic. His collaboration with Peter Behnstedt has resulted in numerous articles and a ground-breaking dialect atlas of Egyptian Arabic dialects which has benefited researchers of Egyptian dialects greatly in comparison to their colleagues working with other dialects.

Woidich's *Festschrift*, published in Brill's *Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics*, is a worthy gift to the sexagenarian scholar. The prestige he enjoys among learned colleagues all over the world may be seen in the list of dialectologists and linguists contributing to the volume: Behnstedt, Holes, Ingham, Jastrow, Owens, Palva and many others have written valuable and interesting articles. Not a hint of writing just to write something, the vast majority of articles are meticulous studies. Clearly, the writers have done their best to honour the jubilee and have succeeded well. Could it be that Woidich himself has been too productive when it comes to Egyptian Arabic, since, perhaps somewhat surprisingly, Egyptian dialects form only a small proportion of these studies.

The articles fall into two categories: studies of specific dialects or dialect groups (e.g., Werner Arnold's *Die arabische Dialekte von Jaffa und Umgebung*, pp. 33–46), or selected questions in them (e.g., Heikki Palva's *Negations in the dialect of es-Salṭ, Jordan*, pp. 221–236), and more general studies on themes

covering material from various dialects (e.g., Stephan Procházka's *Unmarked feminine nouns in modern Arabic dialects*, pp. 237–262, or Catherine Miller's *Variation and change in Arabic urban vernaculars*, pp. 177–206), going even to such wide topics as Kees Versteegh's *Pidginization and creolization revisited: The case of Arabic*, pp. 343–357.

Likewise, the approaches of the articles vary. We have sociolinguistic studies, dialect geography, historical linguistics, a broad spectrum of approaches showing well the present trends in Arabic dialectology. This volume will remain a source of both information and inspiration for dialectologists for a long time.

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

Gábor Takács (ed.), *Egyptian and Semito-Hamitic (Afro-Asiatic) Studies in Memoriam W. Vycichl.* (Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics, 39.) Leiden: Brill, 2004. xi + 571 pp. EUR 190.00. ISBN 90-04-13245-7 (hardback).

When Werner Vycichl died in 1999, an era of Semito-Hamitic studies – as his generation would have called the Afro-Asiatic languages in their youth, and as Vycichl continued to call this family of languages – had come to an end. C. T. Hodge had died just the year before, and the floor was being taken by a younger generation of scholars.

Vycichl's scholarly interests covered a wide range of languages. A section missing from this volume are the Berber languages, but this does not indicate that Berberologists would not respect the ground-breaking work of Vycichl. On the contrary, this part of his legacy has been honoured in a special volume, edited by K. Nait-Zerrad (*Articles de linguistique berbère. Mémorial Werner Vycichl*) and published in 2002 (Paris: L'Harmattan).

When Vycichl started his career, Semito-Hamitic studies were still a curiosity and few of the non-Semitic languages were really mastered by those who studied them. Today, Afro-Asiatic studies has become a well-developed branch of linguistics and many of the non-Semitic languages have been described, analysed and compared to the better-known Semitic languages. This development owes a lot to Vycichl's voluminous output.

The articles of the volume exhibit the strengths of Afro-Asiatic studies in our times – and their weaknesses. The Egyptological contributions are on a firm basis, which is far from the partly conjectural Egyptology of the early 20th century. Semitic studies are underrepresented in this collection: Semitic studies have always been rather self-sufficient as they deal with the best-known branch of the Afro-Asiatic language family and tend to become a field of its own. Com-

parativists have a clear tendency to emphasize the less well-known languages in contrast to Semitists, who are more often satisfied with treading the better-known but also less whimsical paths. Beja and Chadic linguistics still struggle to become established and to create firmer links with the better-documented languages. The individual articles on these topics are all valuable contributions to Afro-Asiatic linguistics.

The seven articles collected in the last section, *Comparative Semito-Hamitic (Afro-Asiatic) Linguistics* – the cumbersome title derives from the editor's appropriate wish to retain the term that would have been used by Vycichl himself, side by side with the modern one – is perhaps the most informative concerning the present state of the field. Afro-Asiatic linguistics has been modelling itself according to the better-known paradigms of Indo-European and Finno-Ugric linguistics. In these fields, the Neogrammarian idea of sound laws has been established centuries ago and, as far as I am able to judge, it works well with those languages as a basic tool.

This entices Afro-Asiatic scholars to work in the same line of thought and recent decades have shown how scholars, many of them Russian, are trying to find common features in Afro-Asiatic languages. They compare lexemes and morphemes and search for a common ancestor, trying to establish etymological connections to understand the phonetic changes undergone by the various language. They then use these as material for sound laws, which in their turn prove the interdependence of the vocables in the various daughter languages. The material for these studies, however, differs from that used in Indo-European studies, where we have rather ancient specimens of various branches (Sanskrit, Avestan, Ancient Greek, Latin) as well as modern, living languages from each of the major branches of the family, Hittite excluded. Thus, different chronological levels of each language may be compared with each other in a most fruitful way. To this one must add that languages from different branches have developed with almost no contacts with each other: English was almost completely uninfluenced by Indo-Iranian languages before the colonial period, Icelandic has always been completely isolated from the Celtic languages, the Baltic languages were not influenced by Romance languages, etc.

In Afro-Asiatic linguistics, the situation is different. As a family, Semitic languages are known in great detail from a timespan of some 5,000 years. Yet when Akkadian became extinct, a major branch was lost, having no offspring and leaving only faint traces in the more modern Semitic languages, whereas the documentation of these, with the exceptions of Aramaic, Hebrew and the Canaanite languages, dates from the time when Akkadian was no longer spoken. And making it worse, only a few non-Semitic languages, such as Egyptian, can boast ample documentation dating from before modern times. Many of the better-documented Semitic languages also lived for centuries in a very restricted area,

meaning in practice that they did not develop independently but in constant interaction with each other. Aramaic languages and Arabic very much share the same geographical area. Thus, their history is rather well documented but none of the languages may be considered to have developed in isolation. Innovations have had excellent opportunities to cross the boundaries of the branches of this language family.

The non-Semitic languages of the family are known either as ancient and extinct ones (Egyptian) or as rather modern ones (Berber languages, Cushitic languages, etc.), with at most some more ancient vestiges, which are usually very difficult to interpret – and, of course, the modern languages have been under a strong Arabic influence for the last millennium or so.

Thus, the Afro-Asiatic family is problematic: the documentation of the various languages is not comparable with each other and before the modern languages were recorded they had lived for centuries or millennia in interaction with other languages of the family. Even the older Semitic languages have developed in a small geographical area in constant connection with each other.

Perhaps even more problematic is the root system of Semitic languages, which makes them totally different from Indo-European languages. In Semitic languages one should, in my opinion, be extremely hesitant in speaking of any sound laws at all, since the root system always forms a corrective element in the development of the language. A phoneme does not develop on its own, according to its various contexts, but to a certain extent always keeps in mind the root from whence it comes. If one has a singular *dīč* (for Classical Arabic *dīk*) but the plural is *dyūk* (for Classical Arabic *duyūk*), some vague idea of a root DIK – or, as Arab grammarians would have it, DYK – always lingers on. And the plural forms a constant corrective to the singular: [dīč] is always analysed as /dīk/. Thus, a hypothetical sound law k > č / ī comes to nothing since it works only on the surface level, while in the deep structure [č] remains a realization of /K/.

In practice, this means that one should not, *prima facie*, use any of the methods developed in Indo-European studies, or one should use them with due caution. An alterative would be to develop a new methodology, a new paradigm of historical linguistics. In the 19th century this would probably have happened, but our present time is very much concentrated on the contemporary, and historical linguistics have been pushed into a marginal position and completely new vistas have not been opened. Scholars seem to be rather content to operate with the tools developed for Indo-European studies.

To come back to the volume under review, one notices in some articles in this section a tendency to compare lexemes of a most diverse origin with each other to obtain sound laws and etymologies. Ancient, merely conjectural or only half-understood words are compared to modern ones. Classical Arabic, with its artificial lexicon, is used as material for these comparisons, even when the Arabic

words are not, in fact, understood (such as the enigmatic word *abābīl* in Qur. 105: 3). These lexemes, in the meaning given in the dictionaries, are then compared to the very down-to-earth vocabulary of some modern languages. But should we not stop to ask: a) whether we actually know the meaning of these Arabic words; and b) whether they belong to poetic vocabulary used metaphorically, thus having an extremely wide range of meanings? (Arabic does not, contrary to legend, have hundreds of words denoting "lion". What it has is a range of words related to various properties which may be used metaphorically for "lion").

In my opinion, the hunt for a Proto-Afro-Asian vocabulary (and language) is basically misguided and the results are not very credible. The Afro-Asiatic root system and the problems of lexicography make it obvious that one may always find similar-looking words in the various languages of this family, especially if one reduces the triliteral root to merely two consonants: matches there will be, that is for sure. These kinds of studies operate with the vague nature of, especially, Semitic vocabulary and disregard the idiosyncracies caused by the existence of the root system, and they study historical phonology of the Afro-Asiatic languages as if it would nicely and squarely follow the Indo-European model. This is not the case, and these studies should be adopted with extreme caution: before one rushes in to make comparative studies, one should know where one treads. Or in other words: new methodologies for comparative and historical linguistics have to be developed before we can get a firm grip on Afro-Asiatic languages, and only then may we proceed to the more obscure prehistory of these languages.

But, of course, comparative and historical linguistics are absorbing fields of study, and Vycichl's generation, as well as the younger scholars who are contributing to this volume, have done an enormous job and provided us with at least some kind of basis to go beyond Semitic studies. We should thank them not by blindly following the pattern laid down by Indo-European and Finno-Ugric studies but by creating new ways of understanding the development of human language. Once this is done, we may proceed to the twilight zone of early Afro-Asiatic – or let's put it once more as Semito-Hamitic – languages and find fascinating results. And when we are able to accomplish this, we have to realize that all this could not have been done without Werner Vycichl and his colleagues.

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

Geoffrey Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Qaraqosh*. (Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics, 36.) Leiden: Brill, 2002. xxiv + 750 pp. EUR 241.00. ISBN 90-04-12863-8 (hardback).

Geoffrey Khan, *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Sulemaniyya and Ḥalabja*. (Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics, 44.) Leiden: Brill, 2004. xxii + 619 pp. EUR 174.00. ISBN 90-04-13869-2 (hardback).

Many of the spoken vernaculars of the Near East are like endangered species. Arabic dialects, for example, tend to influence each other, with the major dialects of the big cities actually moulding the dialects of the countryside and changing them rapidly, not to mention the influence of the media and their more refined language on all spoken dialects of the ordinary people.

At the same time, the minority languages of the area are being influenced by various levels of Arabic. It seems that non-Semitic languages, such as Kurdish, are better able to protect themselves, obviously because the barrier between the languages is higher and the switch from one to the other is not easy. In a worse situation are the small Neo-Aramaic languages, or dialects, which have for centuries been Arabicized, little by little, due to the similarity of the languages. At the same time the number of their speakers has diminished, especially when compared to the growing Arabic-speaking population. Emigration, either to the mainly Arabophone cities or abroad, undermines the basis of the Neo-Aramaic dialects, and even in their own areas they are beginning to lose ground. Speakers tend nowadays to be bilingual – except for the oldest generations – and as the higher levels of the society do not use these dialects, their use tends to have an aura of backwardness about it: country folk may speak Neo-Aramaic, but government officials and successful people speak Arabic or other languages.

On the other hand, emigrated speakers of Neo-Aramaic are trying to retain their language abroad. E.g., the Assyrians, both in Sweden and the United States, struggle to keep alive an interest in their own language among the younger generations. Their aim, though, is not so much to be faithful to the linguistically interesting dialects of their original towns and villages but to use a literary Neo-Aramaic language, acceptable to as many speakers as possible. For the linguist, on the contrary, the remains of the Neo-Aramaic dialects are extremely valuable, for linguistics in general and, especially, for Comparative Semitistics (and, through it, for Afro-Asiatic studies). As Arabic is so forcefully dominant in the Near East, its contemporary development somewhat differs from that of the more ancient Semitic language. Aramaic might have been called dominant at a certain stage of its history (before 650 AD) but, in fact, it always had to compete with other languages. Arabic dominates the stage singlehandedly, and what competion it has comes from the new, global situation where languages from the other side

of the world have their influence on other languages. Ethiopia, with its bundle of Semitic languages surrounded by other languages, partly cognate, partly completely different, is a good case of Semitic languages developing in a multilingual situation, but the case of Neo-Aramaic is an even closer parallel to the older stages of Semitic linguistic history. When we see Neo-Aramaic dialects changing under our very eyes, we may get a glimpse of what happened when Akkadian dialects were superseded by Aramaic or when the various Aramaic languages started, in their turn, to give ground to Arabic.

Yet it may be superfluous to argue for the importance of Neo-Aramaic linguistics. That should be obvious to all Semitists. In recent decades many scholars have, indeed, turned their attention to Neo-Aramaic in its various forms. Among these scholars, Geoffrey Khan has become rather prominent with his numerous publications. His interest in Neo-Aramaic dialects has not, though, hindered him from publishing on other topics as well (e.g., his *The Early Karaite Tradition of Hebrew Grammatical Thought*. Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 32. Brill 2000). There are few Semitists that can match his productivity.

Khan's two books on Neo-Aramaic dialects in *Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics* are both built in the same manner. First a grammatical description covering the field from phonology to syntax, then notes on the lexicon, followed by a sample of texts, accompanied by translation and notes (which, in both volumes, could have been fuller) and closing the study with a short glossary. And all this is naturally based on the author's fieldwork.

The importance of these books lies in providing materials in a convenient form for other scholars to work on. Khan himself gives the material but does not go very deeply into analysing it. This should not, though, be taken as a criticism: Khan has done well in collecting all this material and providing it in a clear and reliable form for others to work on. We have every reason to be thankful to Khan, who has preserved these dialects for posterity to work on.

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

Alexander Borg, *Comparative Glossary of Cypriot Maronite Arabic (Arabic-English) with an Introductory Essay*. (Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section One, 70.) Leiden: Brill, 2004. xxviii + 486 pp. EUR 158.00. ISBN 90-04-13198-1 (hardback).

The title of Borg's monograph is an understatement. The "Introductory Essay" is actually a monograph in its own right, very clearly and succinctly laying down the basics of Cypriot Arabic and its most typical features as a specimen of peripheral

Arabic, developed in close contact with a non-Arabic, in this case Greek, superstrate and with rather few ties to Arab countries.

These peripheral forms of Arabic – whether in Central Asia, Malta, Cyprus or Africa – are of utmost importance for Arabic dialectology. The main dialects have developed in contact with each other and thus neologisms and new developments have been able to migrate from one centre to another, at the same time radiating to all parts of the Arab world and thus confounding the indigenous development in these countries. In the periphery, this disturbing effect is minimized, although not, one has to admit, completely neutralized: there were Arab, especially Christian, immigrants to Cyprus at a time when most linguistic ties had already been severed.

Borg's *Glossary* is an important step towards an etymological dictionary of Arabic, which has been a desideratum for decades. In fact, it may be hard for non-Arabists to believe that an etymological dictionary of Arabic does not as yet exist, either one that would concentrate on the background of Classical Arabic among its more ancient Semitic cognates, or one that would take the story to the present day and map the various Arabic dialects spoken in an area ranging from Morocco to Central Asia. The facilities easily available to any Romanist or Indo-Europeanist may only be dreamt of by the Arabist.

Borg's monograph is in many ways exemplary in paving the way for an etymological dictionary of Arabic. The preliminary essay is, as already mentioned, an important study of its own, and the *Glossary* is carefully compiled. It does not cover the whole of Cypriot Maronite dialect, though, but concentrates on the Arabic element of the dialect. The informants used by Borg could, of course, have been more numerous, but the small number of speakers of Cypriot Arabic makes it obvious that Borg could not have made as extensive studies as those scholars who work, e.g., on Egyptian or Syrian Arabic.

Borg's *Glossary* is an important step towards an etymological dictionary of Arabic. One cannot but hope that some dialectologists would feel jealous when reading Borg's *Glossary* and would make up their mind to publish their field notes in such a convenient and systematic manner. The tools are, little by little, starting to be there and each dictionary of a dialect is more and more easy to compile as one begins to have a good number of other dictionaries at hand, thanks to people like Barthélemy, Hinds and many others. And, of course, Borg.

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

Lilia Zaouali, *L'Islam a tavola dal Medioevo a oggi*. Tr. Egi Volterrani. Roma: Editori Laterza, 2004. xi + 221 pp. EUR 16.00. ISBN 88-420-7425-X.

In some ways, this book is difficult to read. Not that it is written in a cumbersome style. On the contrary, it is very readable, but reading it one cannot help running now and then to the kitchen to help oneself to a snack or even something more substantial.

Zaouali gives a succinct introduction to Mediaeval Arabic cuisine and its concomitant features, followed by recipes – and these proved the undoing of the reviewer – taken from Mediaeval manuals. Ibn Sayyźr al-Warrźq's *Kitāb aṭ-Ṭabīkh* is a central source for the book, and rightly so, it being one of the most prestigious cookery books in Mediaeval times.[1]

Zaouali's book certainly makes one interested in Arab cooking. The carefully selected and impressive illustrations help us see what Mediaeval culinarism really looked – and tasted – like. On the other hand, the contemporary recipes at the end of the book take the reader back from Mediaeval times to our own time.

In short, the book was very much to the reviewer's taste.

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

Jane Dammen McAuliffe (ed.) *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, IV: *P–Sh*. Leiden: Brill, 2004. xxiii, 606 pp. EUR 252.00. ISBN 90-04-12355-5.

With the present, fourth volume, the *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān* (EQ) is now coming to conclusion, well on schedule, as the completion of the EQ was originally scheduled for 2005.

As in earlier volumes, the present volume contains articles written by leading authorities, and the articles, as a rule, are lucid and informative.

The organization of the lemmata according to English terms will be welcome for those not familiar with Arabic, or languages, such as Persian, where the religious vocabulary has been taken from Arabic. This, however, necessarily brings some ambiguity with it. While searching for a certain lemma, one has to begin by thinking of possible English equivalents for the Qur'ānic term, which is often by

[1] Manuela Marín and David Waines give in their *Kanz al-fawā'id fī tanwī' al-mawā'd. Medieval Arab/Islamic Culinary Art* (Bibliotheca Islamica, 40. Beirut: Franz Steiner, 1993) a list of Mediaeval cookery books which may be supplemented by the additions in my review of that book (Studia Orientalia 73, 1994: 293). For the cultural history around eating, see Geert Jan van Gelder: *Of Dishes and Discourse. Classical Arabic Literary Representations of Food*. Surrey: Curzon 1999. For more practical sides of alimentation, see David Waines, Cereals, bread and society. An essay on the staff of life in medieval Iraq (*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 30 (1987): 255–285).

no means easy, since the English terminology is far from standardized. On the other hand, though, this gives the opportunity to discuss one concept in one article, even when the Qur'ān uses two or more cognate terms for it in Arabic. It is to be hoped that the final volume will contain an index of the original Arabic terms and their English equivalents which would considerably ease the use of this valuable Encyclopaedia.

In the present volume, there are also some other problems with the lemmata. The fourth volume contains two well-written and highly informative articles on Qur'ānic studies in the West. But who could divine that these articles can be found under P, and, furthermore, separated from each other? Hartmut Bobzin's "Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Qur'ānic Studies" will only be found by browsing the EQ at random, and the same holds for Marco Schöller's "Post-Enlightenment Academic Study of the Qur'ān". And last but not least, after coming across Bobzin's excellent article, one has no way to find the continuation of the story, as there is no cross-reference to Schöller's article. Thus, the fascinating story of Qur'ānic studies in the West has been buried deep into the voluminous Encyclopaedia, chopped in two and the halves separated from each other. The question of organizing the lemmata should have been given more attention from the very beginning of the project.

As in earlier volumes, this volume, too, deals with both the Qur'ān itself and its interpretation, understanding and influence. There may have been a slight change in the focus, as earlier volumes have, in my opinion, often erred too far from the Qur'ān itself (as in the lemmata *abortion*, *African Americans*, and *Agriculture and vegetation* in the first volume, where the link to the Qur'ān itself was all too weak) but the articles deal more closely with the Qur'ān in the present volume.

Most articles are profound and insightful. It is a slight disappointment that some of the articles have remained summary and superficial. Thus, the lemma *Parody of the Qur'ān* would have given an ideal opportunity for a far deeper study than the short and traditional article by Issa J. Boullata which ignores almost completely the modern period and only lists some standard, and unreliable, legends concerning parodists. One can hardly believe that, e.g., Musaylima really parodied the Qur'ān (or, for that matter, that the ridiculous fragments attributed to him are genuine). The author of the article does bring these points up, but only as a reference to a suggestion by Claude Gilliot, thus perhaps leaving the impression that we really are dealing with a parody of the Qur'ān. The same goes for the mention of an-Nāshi' (not Nashī) al-Akbar whose reputation as a parodist rests on rather insecure ground.

Another somewhat surprising article is "Popular and talismanic uses of the Qur'ān" where we find (p. 169a) ar-Rāzī's [*al*]-*Kitāb al-Ḥāwī* translated as 'Book of the magician(!)' and his *Maqāla fī mā baʿd al-ṭabīʿa* as 'Book of natural

sciences' (cf. GAL S I: 421, no. 57). Both translations will baffle the reader and even their selection for mention in this particular article is curious.

Reviewing a book is rather an open invitation to criticize its shortcomings. Let it be said that, in this Encyclopaedia, and in this volume, shortcomings are remarkably few, and the overall impression one gets from the book is excellent. Most of the articles meet the expectations of the reader, they are informative, yet in a concise form, their bibliographies are often extremely useful – though many writers could have given more attention to the bibliography, one of the most useful parts of an article in an encyclopaedia – and the style of writing is clear.

Once again, the editor, Jane Dammen McAuliffe, and the writers deserve our sincere thanks for providing the scholarly world with a tool which will ease the study of the Qur'ān and make it more accessible for students.

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

Rahul Peter Das, *The Origin of the Life of a Human Being. Conception and the Female According to Ancient Indian Medical and Sexological Literature*. (Indian Medical Tradition, 6.) xvi + 729 pp. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2003. Rs. 1,250. ISBN 81-208-1998-5.

Here we have the long-waited printed version of the study originally presented as a Habilitationsschrift at the University of Hamburg in 1992, now much revised. In fact, one asks oneself whether it should not have been a little more compact. More that 700 pages on a rather special question is rather exhausting to the reader. However, the amount of learning included makes it fascinating as a study.

The general theme is embryology, how human life actually begins, according to Indian ideas. The discussion includes ideas connected with the conception, the determination of sex, and the development of the foetus. Special attention is given to the role of woman. The main starting point is Suśruta, but Caraka, both Aṣṭāṅgas, several later medical works and sexological literature are also used.

The main study takes almost 500 pages. An appendix (pp. 498–510) presents some "Parallels in Greek and Yunānī Medicine". Another appendix (pp. 511–593) explains a number of technical terms; these are indicated by a figure of a pointing hand in the text. It is difficult to point out omissions in the long bibliography (pp. 594–629); there is even a list of recent books which could not be used in the study. As the list is so long, however, it would be useful to have the original sources and secondary literature under separate headings. The rest of the book is taken up by the indices: rerum, verborum, locorum.

KLAUS KARTTUNEN

Rahul Peter Das & Gerhard Meister (Hrsg.), *Geregeltes Ungestüm. Bruderschaften bei indogermanischen Völkern.* (Veröffentlichungen zur Indogermanistik und Anthropologie, 1.) vii + 156 S. Bremen: Hempel Verlag, 2002. EUR 28.00. ISBN 3-934106-22-6.

This is a collection of eight articles about ancient sodalities of young men, originally given as lectures at the Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg in 1998–2000. The concept is familiar in Indo-European and Indo-Iranian studies. It was first defined by H. Schurtz as early as 1902. Since S. Wikander's *Der arische Männerbund* (1938) and G. Widengren's *Feudalism im alten Iran* (1969), it has been well known as an Iranian phenomenon, but in the book under review the Iranian contribution is almost missing. Nevertheless, the reader finds much of interest.

At the beginning, Gerhard Meiser's "'Indogermanische Jugendbünde' oder: Probleme bei der Rekonstruktion sozialer Strukturen" (pp. 1–10) forms a sort of introduction to the book (and even conclusion, although at the beginning).

The second contribution, Bernhard Streck's "Bundesbrüder und Eidgenossen: Das Geheimnis des Zusammenhalts unter Nichtverwandten" (pp. 11–26), contains interesting ideas of a dualistic split in society (to an Indologist the South Indian division into left-hand and right-hand castes easily comes to mind), but goes rather far from the topic. After all, a German Sangverein is no Männerbund, not to speak of the Rotary/Lions division.

Harry Falk's "Vom Vorteil des Schreckens: Gesellschaft und Männerbund in Indien" (pp. 27–42) deals with the Dacoits and Thugs, and their predecessors. They are no youngsters, but hereditary groups separated from society. More on the theme is to be found in the discussion on the relationship of the Vrātyas and Vedic students. According to Falk, the Vrātyas are no separate ethnic group, but a social division. Wandering students striving for their livelihood remind one of the wanderings of European students in the Middle Ages.

Beside Iranians, the Irish *fían* is a classic case of Männerbund, here aptly analysed by Kim McCone, "Wolfsbesessenheit, Nacktheit, Einäugigkeit und verwandte Aspekte des altkeltischen Männerbundes" (pp. 43–67). In many cases the Irish *fían* calls for interesting Indian parallels. Thus the war-god Skanda, being always a youngster of sixteen, would be a natural member in a *fían*. In India, too, there are boys growing up with their mothers without knowing their fathers (Śakuntalā's son) or even slaying their fathers (Lava and Kuśa). Rudras and Pāṇḍavas live in the forest (note also Bhīma as berserk) more or less like the Irish *fíans*.

For Indo-European and Indo-Iranian scholars, the next contribution, Axel Havemann's "Männerbunde im islamischen Orient: Soziale Bewegungen in Iran,

Irak und Syrien" (pp. 68–90), offers much new. He also keeps to the theme of young men, the *futuwwa* bands of Iraq in the classical period of Islam. Whereas the Irish members of sodality were often princes and nobles, we here meet the lower strata of society. These bands are only met in the eastern part of the Islamic world (p. 85), which perhaps indicates an Iranian origin.

Marita von Cieminski's "Jugendgruppen in der griechisch-römischen Antike" (pp. 91–116) presents an institutionalised parallel for the fierce and wild sodalities of the Irish and Iranians. In Greece the groups of young men were used as a system of education and as a sort of military service; in Rome even this was more or less replaced by a system of completely authoritative education, and only some minor cultic reminiscences (*lupercalia*, *ver sacrum*) testify of an Italic Männerbund tradition.

The tone of Wilhelm Heizmann's "Germanische Männerbünde" (pp. 117–138) is rather predictable. However, it is a pity that it seems to be impossible to discuss Germanic antiquity without tackling the special problems of the history of research. It is, of course, important to get rid of all the mist of Nazi speculations, but as a result this contribution concentrates more on methods than results. However, we could not get a clear idea of Männerbund without including the Nordic berserkir. For the theme werewolves and Langobard *cynocephali*, a reference to L. Kretzenbacher's *Kynokephale Dämonen südosteuropäischer Volksdichtung* (Beiträge zur Kenntnis Südosteuropas und des Nahen Orients, 5, München 1968) – and perhaps even to Freda Kretschmar's old *Hundesstammvater und Kerberos* (Studien zur Kulturkunde, 4, Stuttgart 1938) – would have been useful.

The concluding chapter, Rahul Peter Das's "Indra und Śiva/Rudra: Neue Erkenntnisse zur indischen Götterwelt aus einem interdisziplinären Diskurs" (pp. 139–156) is very interesting on the history of the god Rudra/Śiva, but contains pretty little on the main topic.

Early studies were happily content with the "Männerbund", but in the 21st century the question of "Mädchenbund" naturally arises. Unfortunately, in many cases the sources ignore this side. In Greece, at least there is some evidence of girls' sodalities (p. 96ff.). The question is also commented upon by Meiser and Streck in their contributions.

The authors were apparently given occasion to study each other's contributions, resulting in a certain amount of interesting discussion and commenting between them. Each chapter has its own bibliography, which results in a lot of unnecessary repetition. Perhaps they should have been combined. There is no index.

KLAUS KARTTUNEN

Hajime Nakamura, *A History of Early Vedānta Philosophy*, II. English translation of Volumes III–IV of the *Shoki No Vedanta Tetsugaku*. Translated by Hajime Nakamura, Trevor Leggett and others. Edited by Sengaku Mayeda. xxi + 842 pp. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2004. Rs. 895. ISBN 81-208-1963-2.

The story goes (as told by Professor Mayeda in his Postscript, p. 839) that when Hajime Nakamura (1912–1999) submitted his doctoral dissertation at the University of Tōkyō in 1942, the manuscript was "so bulky and heavy that he could not carry it by hand to the University and that he had to use a bicycle trailer for that purpose". Due to the difficulties of the war and post-war period, the Japanese work, now already much revised, was finally published in 1954 in four volumes and no less than 2,410 pages. Again, a period of revisions and additional work (often first published separately in articles) followed, and finally it was decided to give the benefit of this enormous show of scholarship also to readers who are (like the present reviewer) incapable of reading it in Japanese. The first volume of the revised English translation appeared in 1983 (with 566 pages), and it took many years before we at last have the second volume too. The work was almost finished at the time of the demise of the author in October 1999.

The "Early Vedānta" of Nakamura means pre-Śaṅkara Vedānta. The first volume dealt with early traces of Vedāntist thought in the Upaniṣads, epics, etc. and discussed the Brahmasūtra in detail. The present volume, in its four sections (V–VIII), deals with the period between the Brahmasūtra and Śaṅkara. The fifth section discusses a number of little known authors quoted in later literature; the sixth deals with the Māṇḍūkyakārikā, and the seventh with the linguistic philosophy of Bhartṛhari. After the concluding section, there are appendices that bring some new light to Śaṅkara himself.

KLAUS KARTTUNEN

Matteo Ripa, *Giornale (1705–1724). Testo critico, note e appendice documentaria di Michele Fatica*, II: *(1711–1716)*. (Collana "Matteo Ripa", 14.) Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1996. XX + 413 pp., 45 tavole.

The first part of the critical edition of the journal of Matteo Ripa (1682–1746), the missionary, painter, and founder of the *Collegio dei Cinesi* in Naples, appeared in 1991 (see my review in *Studia Orientalia* 73 (1994): 322). The first volume followed Ripa's travels starting from Naples to Rome, Germany and the Netherlands. On 4th June 1708, Ripa and his companions sailed off on an English East India vessel, traveling in disguise, as Catholic missionaries were not allowed

among passengers. The journey went via Capetown, the Nias Island, Bengal, Malacca and Manila to Macao (arrival on 6th January 1710). From Macao they went via Canton to Peking. The first volume is breaks off in the neighbourhood of Peking on 5th February 1711.

The second volume opens with the arrival in Peking on 6th February 1711. In 234 pages it follows Ripa's career in the imperial court until the end of 1716. The time was divided between Peking and the imperial summer residence in Jehol (Rehe), where the court spent four to five months every year. The picture of the elderly Kangxi is not as flattering as the earlier Jesuit accounts of the emperor.

There are again several appendices. Some pertinent documents are edited and translated (quite many were also included by Ripa in his diary). There are indices of persons and of place names (all furnished with map coordinates), and a Chinese glossary including pinjin, Ripa's transcription and Chinese characters. Thirty-six plates show landscape paintings by Ripa, and nine further plates illustrate the Chinese documents discussed. The so-called general index (*Indice generale*) is again a sort of a list of contents.

A third volume covering the years 1717–24 will conclude the work.

KLAUS KARTTUNEN

Arvind Sharma, *Advaita Vedānta. An Introduction.* vii + 125 pp. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2004. Rs. 295. ISBN 81-208-2027-4.

The author is well-known for a number of short introductions to various fields of classical India and has also previously written on Advaita. Now he divides his presentation into what he calls scriptural, rational and experiential approaches. Advaita is not here taken as a historical phenomenon, but as a still valid philosophical system (as often in modern Indian philosophy).

The scriptural approach refers to scriptural authority, i.e. to the Upaniṣads as the source of Advaita. The discussion is arranged under traditional slogans of the type "All This is Verily Brahman", "I am Brahman", "Ātman is Brahman", etc. and includes a number of translated passages. The rational approach is an attempt to reach the Advaita system through logical reasoning. The experiential approach refers to the experience, the mental activity and the three states of consciousness (waking, dreaming and deep sleep) according to Advaita.

The book is written for those for whom words such as *advaita* and *vedānta* "appear forbiddingly alien". For those familiar with them it has not much to offer and hardly deserves to be discussed after Nakamura's tour de force.

KLAUS KARTTUNEN

A. K. Warder, *Indian Kāvya Literature*, VII. *The Wheel of Time*, I–II. xiv + 1114 pp. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2004. Rs. 1995. ISBN 81-208-2028-2.

After so many years (vol. VI came out in 1992) it is a pleasure to see a further volume of Warder's massive survey of classical kāvya literature. With these bulky volumes, the chronological survey is extended over the 12th and 13th centuries.

The period comprises some famous works of classical Indian poetry, such as Vidyākara's and Śrīdharadāsa's anthologies, Maṅkha, the historical epic of Kalhaṇa, Śrīharṣa's famous *Naiṣadhīya*, several Jaina authors (Amaracandra, Jinabhadra), Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*, the *Siṃhāsanadvātriṃśikā*, and several lesser playwrights (Rāmacandra, Devacandra, Vatsarāja, Someśvara, Hastimalla, etc.). Numerous translated specimens attempt to give an idea of the style of various poets.

One of the merits of IKL is the inclusiveness, avoiding the traditional tendency to solely concentrate on Sanskrit and Prākrit, although this clearly is the author's strongest point. Thus we have several Pāli and Apabhraṃśa works included and at least a brief account of Kampan's *Irāmāvatāram*. For Sinhalese poetry, the author seems to rely mainly on Reynolds' (ed.) *Anthology of Sinhalese Literature* (1970), while the early classics of Kannaḍa and Telugu are only briefly mentioned.

As always, the reader has some difficulty in finding a particular author or work.

KLAUS KARTTUNEN

Bartholomäus Ziegenbalgs Genealogie der malabarischen Götter. Edition der Originalfassung von 1713 mit Einleitung, Analyse und Glossar von Daniel Jeyaraj. (Neue Hallesche Berichte, 3.) 500 S. Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2003. EUR 22.00. ISBN 3-931479-45-5.

The first Protestant mission in India was founded in 1706 in the Danish colony of Tranquebar (Tamil *Taraṅkampāṭi*). It was financed by the Danish crown, but the missionaries were pietists from Halle, personally selected by A. H. Francke. The first two were Heinrich Plütschau and Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (1683–1719). They started in the usual way by learning the language (Tamil) and soon proceeded into preaching and translating parts of the Bible. However, Ziegenbalg showed himself to be exceptionally talented and industrious in his studies and soon developed his interest in South Indian culture and religion to such an extent that he was reproached in Halle for adopting paganism and spreading it in Europe

("den heidnischen Unsinn in Europa zu verbreiten") instead of converting pagans. The major part of his literary work thus remained long unpublished, for only the Tamil grammar (*Grammatica Damulica*) was printed before his death in 1716 (facs. ed. Halle 1985). His detailed account of South Indian gods, *Genealogie der malabarischen Götter* was first clumsily abridged and printed in Berlin in 1791. The second edition, Madras 1867, edited by Wilhelm Germann, was founded on an original manuscript copy, but was much revised and abridged. An earlier (1711) work by Ziegenbalg, the *Ausführliche Beschreibung des Malabarischen Heydenthums*, was edited by Willem Caland in 1926.

The original manuscript of 1713 has been lost, but there are early copies of it. The present book contains an edition of the text of the *Genealogie* according to the Copenhagen manuscript (pp. 19–231), carefully collated with another manuscript in Leipzig. It is followed by a detailed analysis (pp. 232–358). Particular attention is given to identifying Ziegenbalg's Tamil sources.

There is a glossary (pp. 359–476) of Tamil (and Tamilised Sanskrit) words, but no index. Each lemma is given in the form used by Ziegenbalg, in Tamil script and in exact transliteration (the *Tamil Lexicon* system). Then follows the explanation and, when needed, an etymology. In addition to Tamil, a number of other terms are included (even some in Latin). The list of references (pp. 477–496) contains much relevant literature. In a book printed in Germany, it is curious to see names with "von" arranged under "V".

KLAUS KARTTUNEN

Will Sweetman, *Mapping Hinduism. 'Hinduism' and the study of Indian religions 1600–1776*. 187 S. (Neue Hallesche Berichte, 4.) Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2003. EUR 9.80. ISBN 3-931479-45-5.

What is Hinduism and how was the word created? This has recently been a much discussed question which even has political importance. The answers, however, are often based on vague notions without any attempt of a critical study of the evidence. Sweetman's book tries to fill this gap.

The early Western study of Indian religions is no terra incognita. While the introductory chapter of Windisch is just a compact statement of historical facts (and as such, omits much that is important), scholars such as Willem Caland, Theodor Zachariae and Jarl Charpentier delved deep into 17th and 18th century books. In addition, there is a German dissertation on the subject (E. Schierlitz, *Die bildlichen Darstellungen der indischen Göttertrinität in der älteren ethnographischen Literatur*. Munich 1923) and several studies by G. Dharampal.

Sweetman starts with two introductory chapters discussing the methodological problems and difficulties met in defining such concepts as "religion" and "Hinduism". They clearly show how confused the uses and definitions of the terms often are and how often Christian ideas are still influencing Western scholars. When he then turns to history, exactly the same questions are met there: "What is religion?" and "What is Hinduism?" The idea is to study the early emergence of the conception of Hinduism, and in the third chapter, he turns to the question of how religion was understood in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Sweetman concentrates on four main sources. The earliest is Henry Lord's book, edited by Sweetman in 1999, on *Banians* (1630), the Gujarati merchants and their religion. The second part of the book is one of the earliest Western accounts of the Parsis. Abraham Roger's posthumous *Open Door* appeared in 1651. Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg was studying Tamil religion in the 1710s (see my review in this volume), while the French Jesuits of the Carnatic mission worked around mid-18th century. Their work appeared mainly in the pages of the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*. Abbé Cœurdoux, perhaps the best scholar among them, also wrote a long account about South Indian customs and religions. The book remained manuscript and was then copied and published under his own name by abbé Dubois (as was shown by Sylvia Murr).

The conclusion, "Mapping Hinduism", returns to the original questions and modern answers. It becomes clear that early authors were cosncious of their limitations (but they were not Orientalists in the Saidian sense). They noted the existence of different sects and religions, but it also becomes clear that even the informants (Brahmans, e.g. p. 121f.) grouped Śaivas, Vaiṣṇavas etc. as different forms of the same system, while Buddhists, Jainas and Cārvākas were clearly considered outsiders.

No book is perfect. If the idea of Śakti as a masculine comes from Roger (p. 95, note 32), a comment would have been needed. The Franciscans did not start sending letters from the East in the 16th century (p. 134), but in the 13th. The existence of Jews in China was not discovered by Gonzani around 1700 (p. 139), but by Ricci in the late 16th century. One could occasionally hope better explanations of names and terms in Indian languages. There is a long bibliography, but e.g. Clausen 1973 (referred to in note 38 on page 21) is missing.

KLAUS KARTTUNEN

Hans Hendrischke & Feng Chongyi, *The Political Economy of China's Provinces: Comparative and Competitive Advantage.* London: Routledge, 1999. 287 pp. £ 22.99. ISBN 0-415-20776-2 (paperback).

The Political Economy of China's Provinces, edited by Hans Hendrischke and Feng Chongyi, is a good complement to David S. G. Goodman's publication *China's Provinces in Reform.* While Goodman's research presents thorough data on contemporary Chinese provinces, Hendrischke and Feng present the concept of competitive advantage and the issue of provincial identities.

The role of the provinces is changing. Policy-making moves away from vertical coordination inherited from the planned economy to the horizontal integration that comes with decentralisation. The authors ask why the role of individual provinces has as yet not received more attention? Throughout the 1980s, central reform policies met a very mixed response from the provinces, because of the fear of losing central subsidies and investment. From 1992 all provinces had to take on additional economic responsibilities and social functions. The dynamics of economic development has shifted from the centre to the provinces. The ninth Five Year Plan in 1996 stipulated that the seven major economic regions should concentrate on developing their comparative advantages rather than pursuing regional equalisation. A new type of regional planning focuses on smaller trans-provincial regions with specific economic advantages.

In this book the provinces have been analysed with a view of their variations in terms of geography, competitive advantage, economic priority, demand from the centre, political ideology and cultural policy as determinants of emerging provincial identities. It presents seven provincial case-studies written by different authors: Tim Oakes draws a picture of Guizhou confronted with the problem of regional and rural poverty, which is most severe in local minority areas. Andrew Watson and his co-authors Yang Xueyi and Jia Xingguo illustrate regional disparity effects in Shaanxi and indicate that there is a wide gap between the provincial expectations and those of the centre. Bruce Jacobs analyses Jiangsu's competitive advantage derived from its position close to Shanghai. The main themes of Zhao Ling Yun and Hans Hendrischke are provincial strategy formation and the formation of provincial identity. Zhao describes how Hubei's leadership had to abandon an unrealistic economic strategy and to settle for more a moderate strategy by evoking the "Hubei spirit". Hendrischke argues that one important reason for Tianjin City's relative backwardness was the conservative outlook of the leadership, which was not able to defend the city's interests. Davis S. G. Goodman finds in Shaanxi a province with an existing, historically formed provincial identity paying more attention to diversification. In his chapter on Jiangxi

Province, Feng Chongyi observes how a new cultural identity is created for the province.

The authors' goal in this book is to analyse how individual provinces use their comparative and competitive advantage to formulate strategies in inter-provincial competition, and how provinces identify themselves.

The authors' stated goals are largely fulfilled in this book. The book begins with a general introduction to the issue of provinces in competition. Hans Hendricks outlines Michael E. Porter's concept of competitive advantage, suggesting that the advantage of coastal provinces does not only derive from their geographical position, but from their accumulated competitive advantages of which the geographical position is only one. This quite obvious conclusion, in my mind, did not work in accordance with the used model. Although Porter suggests that his framework can also be applied to sub-national regional units, I find that it works better to explain the conditions for industrialised economies, because in my view it is difficult, if not impossible to obtain four equivalent determinants[1] from different Chinese provinces, which are at a different stage of development. But, it was an interesting exercise to broaden the discussion in the way the author mentioned. Instead I found that a new multi-dimensional typology of Chinese provinces illustrated in a table works well in the search for provincial identity. It clearly enables the comparison of different provincial features and policies. The emergence of a new political culture and new forms of interaction between the public and political leaders are vividly discussed, and it is demonstrated how the leadership tries to mobilise public support by populist means and personal charisma (Shaanxi) and how a new provincial identity was sought to win the support of the provincial intelligentsia (Jianxi). An interesting discourse on cultural identity brings to light the 1980s "cultural fever" across China, the way in which Han entrepreneurs emerged to commercialise the exoticism of rural minorities such as the Miao (Guizhou). That has lead to the "Cultural development" of local minorities and state-sponsored ethnic cultural commercialisation, and to "Hanified" production.

In sum, these studies bring into focus some of the general implications that will arise from change. Each provincial chapter begins with economic data and the map of the province. All statistics are for 1996. In my view it would be more informative to give statistics for a certain period in order to catch a glimpse of the change, and also to put all the data on one page in order to ease the comparison between the provinces.

Although the book was written six years ago, it still is a source of rich information covering the specific circumstances of the province, the relationship between provinces and other regional divisions, and the economic interaction and

1 Porter's four determinants of competitive advantage include factor conditions, demand conditions, product innovation and intra-industry rivalry, and domestic competitive pressure.

competition between provinces. On the whole, this publication has made a positive contribution to understanding the political economy of China's provinces. It confirms the premise that major economic, social and political developments are emanating from the provinces rather than from the centre. *The Political Economy of China's Provinces* is a must for those interested in the unequal development of Chinese provinces, which today is one of the major concerns of the government.

ANJA LAHTINEN

Maria-Àngels Roque (ed.), *El islam plural*. Con prólogo de Juan Vernet. Barcelona: Icaria-Antrazyt/IEMed, 2003. 421 pp. EUR 26.00. ISBN 84-7426-671-8 (paperback).

Le livre dont il va être question dans les lignes suivantes est le résultat de conférences organisés par l'actuel *Institut Europeu de la Mediterrània* qui ont lieu entre octobre et décembre 2001 sous le titre général de "El Islam plural. Las comunidades islámicas en la historia y en Europa". Cet ouvrage collectif réunit 25 textes d'un grand intérêt avec en outre un très utile appendice bibliographique. Le premier point à mettre en relief est la participation de plusieurs spécialistes issus du monde arabo-musulman et de rénommée internationale comme Mohamed Arkoun, Tariq Ramadan, Mohamed Talbi, Mohamed Ali Amir-Moezzi, Suad al-Hakim, Azzam Tamimi, Kalthoum Meziou.

Le volume comprend trois grandes parties dont nous allons donner le détail : une espèce de préambule dans lequel on lira une «Nota de lectura» (pp. 11–13) de Dolors Bramon et où l'on explique les systèmes de transcription employés dans le livre. Le «Prólogo. Aproximación al Islam» (pp. 15–26), de Juan Vernet, est une bonne occasion pour apprécier, à partir de notes personnelles, comment un individu peut étudier le monde musulman et notamment le livre sacré des Musulmans : le Coran. Dans la partie suivante intitulée «Introducción» (pp. 27–50), Maria-Àngels Roque introduit clairement les chapitres et les objectifs poursuivis par ce volume. À ce sujet, précisons qu'il y a deux idées importantes qui habitent cette partie introductive. La première d'entre elles est en rapport avec le fait que c'est avant tout la proximité des immigrés musulmans qui motiva en quelque sorte la naissance du livre mais à partir de milieux qui ne sont pas exclusivement des centres universitaires. La deuxième idée tourne autour du thème de «agrupación o reagrupación familiar» et du rôle central joué par la femme musulmane dans un nouveau modèle de la famille immigrée maghrébine.

Le deuxième bloc intitulé «Primera parte. Las corrientes y las escuelas» (pp. 53–220), est principalement consacré à passer en revue les principaux caractères de l'Islam dans ses facettes historique, politique, juridique, théologique et

féministe avec d'excellentes études sur le statut juridique et le rôle de la femme dans le monde musulman actuel (Kalthoum Meziou et Caridad Ruiz de Almodóvar). On aura garde de ne pas oublier les textes rédigés par Mohamed Arkoun et Mohamed Talbi sur l'Islam, société et histoire ainsi que la place de la *šarīʿa* dans le débat sur la laicité et l'athéisme. Dolors Bramon, Mercè Viladrich, Suad al-Hakim, Azzam Tamimi et Antoni Segura s'occupent quant à eux de questions relatives à la présence musulmane en territoires non musulmans comme ce fut le cas en Catalogne, dans le haut Moyen Âge, aux diverses manifestations religieuses et politiques de l'Islam, à savoir la *šīʿa* dans les premiers temps, l'Islam soufi, la pensée politique islamique entre passé et modernité, et la problématique des élites politiques au sein des États musulmans.

Dans le troisième et dernier ensemble appelé «Segunda parte. El Islam hoy en Europa» (pp. 221–400), Tariq Ramadan, Han Entzinger, Jorgen S. Nielsen M. Morineau, Dominik Hanf, Agustín Motilla, Jordi Moreras, Teresa Losada, Rafael Valencia et Ana I. Planet analysent, avec tous les questionnements inhérents, l'implantation de plus en plus visible des musulmans dans certains États de l'Union Européenne comme la France, le Royaume Uni, l'Espagne (avec les cas singuliers de Melilla et Ceuta ainsi que celui de la Catalogne), les Pays-Bas ou l'Allemagne. Enfin, dans une sorte de note finale, Mikel de Epalza donne quelques informations sur une version catalane du Coran publié par ses soins et qui reçut le *Premio Nacional de Traducción*.

Que dire de l'oeuvre dans son ensemble ? Nous croyons qu'il s'agit d'un ouvrage à recommander à tous ceux qui s'intéressent à l'Islam, tant dans son intérieur qu'en dehors de ses frontières historiques. Élaboré pour un public hispanophone, ce livre est aussi le résultat d'une longue et profonde réflexion commencée il y a déjà longtemps et qui devrait nous aider à mieux comprendre ce que le monde occidental méconnaît souvent et tend même à rejeter, c'est-à-dire l'Islam qui est bien là parmi nous et partie intégrante du paysage quotidien européen.

Mohamed Meouak

Mercedes García-Arenal, Fernando Rodríguez Mediano & Rachid El Hour (eds.), *Cartas Marruecas. Documentos de Marruecos en Archivos Españoles (Siglos XVI–XVII)*. (Estudios árabes e islámicos. Monografías, 3.). Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. 2002. 432 pp. EUR 26.00. ISBN 84-00-08075-0 (paperback).

L'histoire des faits et des peuples du Maghreb à l'époque moderne a toujours été l'objet d'un intérêt scientifique privilégié et de nombreuses recherches de la part

des spécialistes. Ces derniers ont souvent basé leurs travaux sur des sources textuelles directes, en langues européennes et en arabe, mais sans oublier aussi quelques textes en hébreu et des productions en «langue franque». D'autres types de documents ont également été mis à profit par l'historien comme les correspondances officielles entre les États européens et les différentes entités politiques existantes dans le Maghreb moderne. Le livre intitulé *Cartas Marruecas. Documentos de Marruecos en Archivos Españoles (Siglos XVI–XVII)* publié par M. García-Arenal, F. Rodríguez Mediano et R. El Hour constitue sans nul doute un excellent exemple de ce que l'on peut faire avec des textes, au nombre de cent trente-huit, appartenant à une documentation officielle. Du fait des limites requises par ce genre d'exercice qu'est le compte-rendu, nous tenterons de mettre en relief brièvement deux aspects importants parmi d'autres: l'intérêt historique et l'originalité linguistique des documents arabes et espagnols.

Après avoir rédigé une longue introduction (pp. 9–148), magnifiquement présentée et abondamment annotée, les auteurs permettent ainsi au lecteur de prendre connaissance des faits et gestes qui accompagnèrent l'histoire des relations entre le Maroc et l'Espagne des XVI^{e} et XVII^{e} siècles : nous entrons ainsi dans un monde tout à fait singulier et qui est celui des traducteurs et des interprètes : «Los traductores», pp. 17–45. Cette partie constitue sans nul doute un moment privilégié pour qui s'intéresse au rôle de translation effectué par des personnages aussi important que Diego de Urrea (*circa* 1609), Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥajarī connu sous les noms de Bejarano Afuqay, Alonso del Castillo (*ob.* 1607), Samuel Pallache (*ob.* 1616) et son neveu Moise Pallache (*circa* 1650). À propos de ces personnages, il y en a qui, parmi eux, ont fait l'objet d'études spécifiques comme par exemple la monographie faite par D. Cabanelas, *El morisco granadino Alonso del Castillo*, Grenade, 1965, *passim* (Grenade, 1991^{2}), l'article écrit par F. Rodríguez Mediano & M. García-Arenal, «Diego de Urrea y algún traductor más: en torno a las versiones de los "Plomos"», *Al-Qanṭara*, XXIII/2 (2002), pp. 499–516, celui de F. Rodríguez Mediano «Diego de Urrea en Italia», *Al-Qanṭara*, XXV/1 (2004), pp. 183–202, l'essai biographique réalisé par P.S. van Koningsveld, Q. al-Samarrai & G.A. Wiegers dans Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥajarī, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn ʿalā qawm al-kāfirīn (The supporter of religion against the infidel)*, (étude, édition & traduction annotée), *idem*, Madrid, 1997, pp. 16–55, ou encore l'ouvrage de M. García-Arenal & G.A. Wiegers, *Entre el Islam y el Occidente : vida de Samuel Pallache, judío de Fez*, Madrid, 1999, *passim*. Le monde des traducteurs et interprètes constitue un milieu complexe marqué souvent par la quête d'intérêts divers et variés. Il est aussi représentatif d'une époque caractérisée par des relations diplomatiques entre le Maroc et les puissances européennes parfois difficiles : espionnage, ambassades spéciales, commerce, etc. Enfin, dans une dernière partie, nous entrons dans le vif du sujet avec la présentation et l'édition critique des documents (46 textes en arabe et 92 textes en

espagnol dont certains correspondent à la traduction de quelques documents arabes). Cet ensemble épistolaire appartient à divers fonds conservés dans l'*Archivo General de Simancas*, l'*Archivo Ducal de Medina Sidonia* et la *Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*. Les textes publiés appartiennent à la correspondance maintenue entre la chancellerie royale marocaine, plus exactement celle de la période saʿdīte, et les autorités espagnoles sous la dynastie des «Austrias». D'ailleurs dans ce même sens, il est croyons-nous utile de signaler qu'Élie de la Primaudaie, «Documents inédits sur l'Histoire de l'occupation espagnole en Afrique (1506–74)», *Revue africaine* 19 (1875), pp. 169–173 et Chantal de la Véronne, «Deux lettres inédites d'un roi de Tlemcen (1531–32)», *Revue africaine* 99 (1955), pp. 175–180 avaient déjà abordé ces questions au prisme de lettres officielles rédigées en espagnol et concernant les rapports entre les souverains du Maghreb occidental et l'État espagnol.

Ces textes sont datés exactement de 1590 à 1640, c'est dire qu'ils couvrent une période cruciale des rapports entre le Maghreb occidental et les puissances européennes. D'un point de vue linguistique, il est désormais possible d'étudier certains traits de l'arabe utilisé dans les textes: l'arabe médian ou l'arabe moyen. Mais il est également envisageable d'en savoir plus sur l'arabe marocain utilisé à l'époque moderne, et suivre ainsi ses développements dans mouvement historique linéaire. L'ensemble des documents édités appartient au genre arabe dit «classique» mais ces textes contiennent des traits étrangers aux codes et à la norme de l'arabe «classique». À la lecture des lettres officielles, il est permis d'observer comment les scribes utilisent tant bien que mal l'arabe «classique» avec des variantes en arabe marocain. Cette situation héritée d'une méconnaissance de l'arabe «classique» entraîne des phénomènes de mélange des niveaux linguistiques que l'on peut résumer de la manière suivante: l'hypothétique connaissance de l'arabe «classique» amalgamé à un usage plus ou moins inconscient de l'arabe marocain (langue maternelle de la plupart des scribes) occasionnerait la rédaction de textes en arabe «moyen» du Maghreb occidental. Voyons, sans l'objectif d'être exhaustif, quelques exemples de ces métissages linguistiques, aux couleurs subtiles et déroutantes, qui font l'originalité de ces documents notamment pour ce qui concerne l'orthographe et le lexique:

> *a) Orthographe.* Erreur dans la prolongation de voyelles brèves, مومنين au lieu de مؤمنين «croyants» (document 61: p. 286, ligne 12); قايد au lieu de قائد «chef» (document 82: p. 342, ligne 4, document 89: p. 365, ligne 8, etc.), قبايل au lieu de قبائل «tribus» (document 78: p. 332, ligne 5) ; perte des points diacritiques de la *tāʾ marbūṭa*, طنجه «Tanger» (document 16: p. 188, ligne 16, document 60: p. 280, ligne 1, etc.); changement du *alif maqṣūra* pour le *alif* de prolongation, انجلا au lieu de انجلى «il fut éloigné» (document 59: p. 273, ligne 5, document 61: p.

284, ligne 7); cas d'écriture amalgamée: ديلمدينة «de la ville» (document 74: p. 323, ligne 2); كلشي «tout» (document 60: p. 280, ligne 13).

b) Lexique. Présence d'éléments linguistiques locaux et étrangers à l'arabe «classique», زوج «deux» (document 59: p. 274, ligne, 17), بروة «lettre» (document 52: p. 255, ligne 7); présence de noms empruntés au roman, شلضاظ «soldat» (document 24: p. 207, ligne 8), قبطان «capitaine» (document 70: p. 313, ligne 8, p. 318, ligne 5), دون «don» (document 75: p. 325, ligne 2, document 76: p. 327, ligne 2), جنرال «général» (document 75: p. 325, ligne 2). Pour une étude plus complète des caractères phonologiques, morphologiques et syntaxiques de l'arabe «maghrébin» utilisé depuis le Moyen Âge jusqu'au XVIII[e] siècle, il serait, croyons-nous, utile de lire parmi les nombreux travaux parus, ceux publiés par Georges S. Colin, «Un document nouveau sur l'arabe dialectal d'Occident (au XII[e] siècle)», *Hespéris*, XII (1932), pp. 1–32; Henri Pérès, «L'arabe dialectal en Espagne musulmane aux X[e] et XI[e] siècles de notre ère», dans *Mélanges William Marçais*, Paris, 1950, pp. 289–299 où certaines particules typiques du Maghreb comme *bāš* «pour que», *mtāᶜ* «de», le numéral *zūǧ/zawǧ* «deux», etc. sont discutés à partir d'une œuvre d'al-Baydaq que l'arabisant français É. Lévi-Provençal avait édité en 1928 à Paris dans les *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*; Jacques Grand'Henry, «Laḥn al-ᶜāmma et parlers maghrébins: essai d'approche historique», dans J. Aguadé, P. Cressier et Á. Vicente (éds.), *Peuplement et arabisation au Maghreb occidental. Dialectologie et histoire*, Madrid-Saragosse, 1998, pp. 75–83; Ángeles Vicente, «Un ejemplo de árabe medio en la correspondencia hispano-marroquí de los siglos XVI–XVII», *Al-Andalus – Magreb*, 10 (2002–2003), pp. 317–332 basé sur les documents arabes/marocains édités dans *Cartas marruecas. Documentos de Marruecos en Archivos Españoles (Siglos XVI–XVII)*, ainsi que certaines contributions contenues dans le tout récent volume *Trames de langues. Usages et métissages linguistiques dans l'histoire du Maghreb*, J. Dakhlia (dir.), Paris, 2004 [L. Maziane, B. Vincent, H. Bouzineb, N. Planas et M. Meouak pour le Maghreb à l'époque moderne].

Outre le caractère particulier des documents donnés en lecture au public scientifique, M. García-Arenal, F. Rodríguez Mediano et R. El Hour ont réussi un véritable tour de force en mettant à jour une documentation, à la fois complexe et singulière, qui fait parfois tant défaut aux historiens et aux linguistes. Gageons que l'histoire du Maroc moderne sera un peu mieux connue et que ces textes susciteront de nouvelles études renouvelant peut-être les approches habituelles de

cette même histoire. Dans l'attente de la prochaine publication d'autres documents officiels, en arabe («classique» et dialectal) et en espagnol, relatifs aux relations de l'Espagne avec l'Algérie et la Tunisie à l'époque moderne, nous saluerons une fois de plus la parution de ce travail exemplaire tant sur la forme que sur le fond.

Mohamed Meouak

Zachary Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. 308 pp. US$ 65.00 / US$ 22.99. ISBN 0-521-62080-5 (hardback) / 0-521-62937-3 (paperback).

This is a most welcome and timely book. Dr Zachary Lockman has written a "road map" and a vade mecum for those bewildered by the contending visions of the Middle East prevailing in the United States, where, hopefully, it will be required reading for those in Middle East studies.

In the "Introduction" the book's purpose is given as follows: "It seeks, [...], to introduce the readers to the history of the sometimes overlapping enterprises known as Orientalism, Oriental studies, Islamic studies and Middle East studies as practiced in the West, with particular attention to the United States from the mid-twentieth century onwards." This it does and what an excellent exposition it is. For Professor Lockman the facts are not something that speak for themselves; there is always, as he calls it, "the politics of knowledge" influenced by historical contexts, interpretations and personal judgments.

The outline of this book, which traces the development of the Western study of Islam and, since the twentieth century, the Middle East, is bipartite: it is both a broad narrative taking us from ancient Greece down to the twentieth century (chapters 1–3) and a focused study of the politics of knowledge in American Middle East studies (chapters 4–6). As an envoy we are given a chapter "After Orientalism?" and some thoughts on the state-of-the-world of November 2003 when the book was being completed. Wisely the author refrains from offering any profound conclusion because "the issues the study addresses are still very much with us and likely to loom even larger in the years ahead, especially given the course our leaders have so far chosen to follow."

Chapters one to three are written in the spirit delineated by such writers as Maxime Rodinson, Hichem Djaït and Thierry Hentsch, that is to say criticising Eurocentrism and the European way of viewing the world: Islam as Europe's consummate "Other." From at least the Crusades onward, Islam occupied a unique place in the imagination of Latin Christendom, something India or China or other

far away peoples and places could never have. Concerning "ancient Greece," their "others" and the polarity between "Europe" and Asia, between West and East, Lockman gives Martin Bernal's controversial *Black Athena* and its revisionist reading of ancient history a fair hearing. The ongoing reinterpretation of Greek culture, the way it was influenced by the cultures to the south and east is likewise given a balanced and well-informed treatment.

In chapters one to three, Lockman, nevertheless, treads on paths well trodden. His real contribution is to be found in the chapters dealing with American Middle East studies. Now, in what follows in Lockman's exposition, it is either excellent or partisan depending on one's position vis-à-vis the confrontation between pro-Arab and pro-Israel scholars.

For this reviewer, Lockman's discussion of Edward Said's seminal *Orientalism*, noting its unquestionable importance and impact upon everything written in the field after 1978, without sidestepping its evident flaws, is the best elucidation of the subject. Lockman could, nevertheless, have pointed out that though Edward Said came to be seen as the foremost advocate for the Palestinian cause during the 1980s, some of the early responses – both positive and negative, both Western and Arab – to *Orientalism* were already motivated by the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

With the George W. Bush administration taking over, right-wing zealots, be they Christian fundamentalists or neo-conservative American Jews, found themselves in positions of supreme power in Washington with a compulsive vision of US global hegemony and strongly supportive of Israel. 9/11 was indeed the most propitious moment to launch an assault on those pro-Arab and anti-Israel scholars "who did not kowtow to the views of the Bush administration and those of the Israeli right." Partisanship has indeed superseded scholarship.

The failure of Middle Eastern studies in America, subtitle of Martin Kramer's vitriolic "study" *Ivory Towers on Sand*, tells it all. Lockman gives a persuasive critique (pp. 257–265) of Kramer's book, where everything is attributable to the pernicious influence of the late Edward W. Said and his acolytes. In their Said-phobia, Kramer & ilk never understood the role of public intellectuals writing outside their field or for the benefit of a general audience. Lockman portrays Kramer and his kindred soul Daniel Pipes as, respectively, the "good cop" and "bad cop" of the far right.

In 2002 Pipes launched an initiative targeting academic Middle East studies, the so called Campus Watch which invited students to monitor their professors on statements deemed anti-Israel or anti-American. The irony of this is that Kramer subscribes to the charge that Said introduced McCarthyism in Middle Eastern studies. As Gilles Kepel wrote in the *Financial Times* (23.12.2004): "Middle East studies faculties across America are bogged down in political infighting, waging internet offensives that from a scholarly perspective seem shallow and petty." These offensives and contending visions of American Middle East studies can be

read on, e.g., the following websites: www.williampolk.com (author of the remarkable *Passing Brave* and *The Golden Ode* and a person who is very critical of the Campus Watch); www.campus-watch.org; www.danielpipes.org and www.martinkramer.org.

One thing missing in Lockman's spellbinding study is the reverse of Orientalism: Occidentalism, an ideology appropriated from the West. It is, of course, not one of the contending visions in the US but, nevertheless, as radical Islamism can be seen as a contemporary manifestation of Occidentalism it could have been given some thoughts in the chapter "After Orientalism?", especially as it so far has received so little attention from the groves of academe.

KAJ ÖHRNBERG

Francisco Moscoso García, *El dialecto árabe de Chauen (N. de Marruecos). Estudio lingüístico y textos*. Universidad de Cádiz, Área de Estudios Árabes e Islámicos, 2003. 382 pp.

Moscoso's book, originally a doctoral dissertation, is a synchronic and diachronic study in the dialect of Chauen (Šafšāwan or Šāwan), which is situated in the Jbala region of Northern Morocco, about 100 km from Ceuta. The town was founded in the latter half of the 15th century as a *rabita* against the attacks of the Portuguese during the epoch of the Banū Waṭṭās. Soon after its foundation, the city was expanded as a result of immigration from al-Andalus. The dialect of the Chauen town (*šāwni*) belongs to the pre-Hilali group of sedentary Moroccan Arabic.

One of the conservative urban features still preserved in the dialect is the /ʾ/ reflex of *q, as in Maltese, Algiers J[ewish], Tlemcen M[uslim], Fez J, and, as is common knowledge, in most urban dialects in Lower Egypt and the Greater Syrian dialect area. However, in Chauen this feature is restricted to female speakers, while male speakers have adopted the standard Moroccan /q/. The only exception is the verb *ʾāl* 'to say', in which all speakers use the glottal stop reflex of *q. The same gender distribution has been reported for Tetouan (H.-R. Singer, "Neuarabische Texte im Dialekt der Stadt Tetuan." *ZDMG* 108 (1958):106–125; p. 108). Another conservative feature following approximately the same socially-conditioned pattern is the preservation of the old diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/, especially in female speech, as in Tunis F[emale]+J, Susa F+J, Sfax M, Mahdiyya M (H.-R. Singer, *Grammatik der arabischen Mundart der Medina von Tunis*. Berlin 1984:179 n. 94); also in Maltese, the pre-Hilali diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/ have been preserved. A further phonetic trait of the same kind in *šāwni* concerns the reflexes of *r: the standard Moroccan apical reflex [r] is used by men, whereas women mostly use the uvular reflex [ʁ] (not identical with the velar *ġ*; for a detailed description, see Ph. Marçais, *Le parler arabe de Djidjelli (Nord*

constantinois, Algérie), 2nd ed. Paris 1958:17), which *šāwni* shares with other old urban Maghrebi dialects. As to the reflexes of *ǧ, Moscoso defines [ǧ] as allophone of /ž/, which in the geminated position as well as in the initial position when immediately preceded by a consonant tends to be [ǧ], whereas Natividad in her description of the Chauen dialect sees the matter the other way round. According to her, the phoneme /ǧ/ usually becomes [ž] in intervocalic and word-final position (E. Natividad, "Le dialecte de Chefchaouen." *Peuplement et arabisation au Maghreb occidental. Dialectologie et histoire.* Actes réunis et préparés par J. Aguadé, P. Cressier et Á. Vicente. Madrid & Zaragoza 1998:109–120; p. 111). It is difficult to know whether the development in northern Morocco has followed the same direction as in old urban Algerian dialects in which /ǧ/ seems to be the primary phoneme (e.g., Marçais 1958:11; H.-R. Singer, "Das Westarabische oder Maghribinische." *Handbuch der arabischen Dialekte*, ed. W. Fischer & O. Jastrow. Wiesbaden 1980: 248–291; p. 252).

The dialect of Chauen displays several traits of Andalusian Arabic, a fact that reflects the settlement history of the town: a large part of the population hails from Andalusia. These traits include, e.g., the following lexical items: *baʁʁʾūš* 'wart'; *baʁšla* 'storage room'; *baṣṭīla* 'noodles'; *guʁǧūṭa* 'Adam's apple'; *kunbūš* 'the thin veil of a newly married woman'; *mālṭa* 'blanket'; *nġāʁa* 'crow'; *ʾniyya* 'rabbit'; *šāʾōʁ* 'axe'; *šərbīl* 'a type of woman's shoe', and *ṭāwpa* 'rat'.

Together with the dialects of Wazzan and Tangier, *šāwni* belongs to those pre-Hilali northern Moroccan dialects which have been strongly influenced by the rural Jbala dialects (*jebli*) of the neighbourhood. Thus, it abounds in lexical items peculiar to the Jbala region: *dwīʁa* 'central part of the house'; *nāwl* 'colour'; *šīlya* 'chair'; *ṭāʾa* 'window'; *ǧāʿda* 'carrots'; *ǧdād* 'hens'; *ǧʁu* 'dog'; *ʿāyəl* 'boy'; *xāṣṣ* 'to require, to want'; *ʾa* 'to make', and *ʿməl* 'to make'. The 1st p. plur. independent personal pronoun *ḥnāya*, in Chauen used side by side with the shorter variant *ḥna*, is a further *jebli* feature, that distinguishes *jebli* from other Moroccan dialects.

The number of Berber loan words is relatively small. They include: *āmāʁkīs* 'kind of bread'; *āʁuzzāy* 'wasp'; *āṭāy* 'tea'; *āfkīʁ* 'tortoise'; *sāʁūṭ* 'key'; *ṭāgʁa* 'local term for the *ṭāžīn* pot'; *āgəzzārṭ* 'butchery', and *ṭānəǧǧārṭ* 'carpentry'. On the other hand, the dialect displays essential phonological and morphological traits due to Berber influence. One of these is the development of fricative allophones of the phonemes /b/, /t/, /d/, /ḍ/, /k/, and /g/. In the sphere of morphology, the preverb *lā-* (3rd p. masc. sing.), with the allomorphs *nā-* (1st p. sing. and plur.) and *dā-* (2nd p. sing. and plur., 3rd p. fem. sing.) is plausibly of Berber origin, most probably derived from *lā-* < *illa* 'to be' (3rd p. masc. sing.) (M. Cohen, *Le système verbal sémitique et l'expression du temps*. Paris 1924:72; G. S. Colin, "L'Opposition du réel et de l'éventuel en arabe marocain." *BSL* 36, 1935, fasc. 2:133–140; p. 134). However, as pointed out by Moscoso, the Berber etymology

of this preverb is uncertain; it has to be borne in mind that the preverb *lā-* occurs also in some Yemenite dialects as a present tense modifier (P. Behnstedt, *Die nordjemenitischen Dialekte.* Teil 1: *Atlas*. Wiesbaden 1985: I, 131, points 134 and 140; M. Vanhove, "Note sur le dialecte *qəltu* de Dhāla' (province de Lahej, Yemen)." *MAS-GELLAS*, N.S. 5, 1993: 175–199; p. 191). In the classification of Moroccan Arabic dialects, this form serves as a major hallmark of the Jbala region. As a markedly local conservative feature, it has already become influenced by dialect levelling, and is only preserved in the language of women and children. Adult male speakers have adopted the invariable preverb *kā-*, which is typical of standard Moroccan.

In the systematic coverage of the material, the questionnaire prepared by Dominique Caubet for the study of Maghrebi dialects (D. Caubet, "Questionnaire de dialectologie du Maghreb (d'après les travaux de W. Marçais, M. Cohen, G. S. Colin, J. Cantineau, D. Cohen, Ph. Marçais, S. Lévy, etc.)" *Estudios de Dialectología Norteafricana y Andalusí* 5, 2000–01:73–92) has been successfully utilised. The adequacy of dialect material has been secured by a representative choice of informants. In a description of a speech community in which the difference between the *koine*-influenced speech of adult male speakers and the conservative dialect of uneducated female speakers, this is of vital importance. Accordingly, among the principal informants there are seven male and six female speakers belonging to different age groups and educational levels; the six oldest of them were without any formal education.

Throughout the book, synchronic and diachronic aspects are discussed, and they are carefully kept apart. The work abounds in relevant comparisons which, in order to keep the structural clarity of the description, are given in footnotes. In the 73-page glossary the same clear arrangement is followed.

The ongoing development toward a levelled and koineised language form is a major trend in the whole Arabic-speaking world, and in many cases – definitely not all – the conservative local dialect is best preserved by women, uneducated and older female speakers in particular. In Chauen, this is obviously the case at the present, but I surmise that in the near future the educated younger generation of women will favour the development toward standard Moroccan. A less probable option is a permanent differentiation of female and male speech.

The book contains a carefully transcribed, translated and annotated selection of texts, 90 in all. For the most part, they are descriptive, and yield abundant information about the local manners and customs as well as about the physical and social environment. The wide range of subjects discussed makes the texts a rich source of lexical information, including numbers of technical terms for different aspects of traditional life. The texts also include two characterisations of the local dialect by two male speakers representing two generations. The younger man's description is poor in linguistic details, whereas the older man gives several

sociolinguistically important features such as the distribution of [r] vs. [ʁ]; /q/ vs. /ʔ/; and *kā-yqūl lu* vs. *lā-yʾūl lu*. Of special interest are two lengthy narratives told by an 80-year-old woman, that reflect the most conservative variety of the dialect. Like a majority of recorded text collections, this selection does not include dialogues.

Francisco Moscoso's book is one of the most comprehensive and systematic descriptions of any local dialect of Moroccan Arabic to date. Amply documented and well arranged, it is a convenient work of reference for students of comparative Arabic dialectology, and the diachronic and sociolinguistic issues ably discussed in the book make interesting reading for anyone working in the field of Arabic linguistics.

HEIKKI PALVA

Francisco Moscoso García, *Estudio lingüistico del dialecto árabe de Larache (Marruecos). A partir de los textos publicados por Maximiliano Alarcón y Santón*. Área de Estudios Árabes e Islámicos, Universidad de Cádiz, 2003. 95 pp.

Alarcón's book *Textos árabes en dialecto vulgar de Larache* (Madrid, 1913) is one of the three documents of the Arabic dialect of Larache (*al-ʿArāʾiš*) published thus far; the other two are M. G. Marchand's article "Conte en dialecte marocain (publié, traduit et annoté)" (*Journal Asiatique* X 6, 1905: 411–472) and A. Klingenheben's article "Texte im arabischen Dialekt von Larasch in Spanisch-Marokko" (*Islamica* 3, 1928: 73–85). Alarcón's article consists of 11 ethnographic and narrative texts, written both with Arabic characters and in transcription, and accompanied by a translation and vocabulary. Moscoso points out that in one respect the transcription is misleading: it displays short vowels in open syllables although these do not exist in the dialect of Larache. Thus, the dialectal forms *əl-ʿṭăm*, *d əl-lḥăm* and *wāḥd ən-nhār* appear in the transcription as *elaatám*, *dellehám* and *uáhd ennahár*, respectively. As can be observed from these instances already, there are some other inaccuracies as well, but they are not systematic.

The dialect of Larache belongs to the pre-Hilali type and is basically identical with the dialects spoken in Tangier and Arcila, the neighbouring towns in the north. Before the rise of Casablanca, Larache was the main port of northwestern Morocco on the Atlantic coast. Consequently, the dialect of the town has been influenced by the dialect of Fez the port of which it was during several centuries. As a result of daily contacts with the adjacent rural areas, a number of lexical loans from the adjacent countryside have been adopted.

Moscoso gives a systematic account of the phonetics, phonology, verbal morphology, nominal morphology, and syntax of the dialect of Larache such as it is displayed in Alarcón y Santón's texts. The descriptions and comparisons (with explanations) are distinctly kept apart from each other; the latter are given in footnotes. A 23-page vocabulary, arranged according to the Latin alphabet, is attached.

The salient phonetic and phonemic traits of the dialect such as they have been extracted from Alarcón y Santón's texts by Moscoso include the following: The short vowel system comprises only two vowels: /ə/ and /ŭ/. The older diphthongs */aw/ and */ay/ have been retained: *ṭăwr*, *xăwfāna*, *ṭăyr*, *băyḍa*, *ʿăyn*; sometimes monophthongised reflexes also occur: *mawḍiʿ* > *mūḍăʿ* 'place,' *bayt* 'house' > *bīṭ* 'room'. The reflex of */j/ is /ž/ in most contexts; in close or distant contact with sibilants, it has become dissimilated to /g/: *gāləs* 'sitting'; *gəzzār* 'butcher'; *ʿgūza* 'old woman'; and *ʿgəz* 'to be incapable, unable'; */j/ may also be dissimilated to /d/, as in *dāz* 'to pass', or *dŭwwəz* 'to let (something) pass' (*gāz* in most dialects of the area). The reflex of */q/ is /q/; only in a few cases, is the verb *qāl* pronounced kāl, which is a coastal Bedouin trait; the /g/ reflex occurs in a number of Bedouin items: *gābəl* 'to place opposite'; *lgəṭ ʿla* 'to torture (someone)'; *sbəg* 'to run', 'to hurry'; *ṭəzrəg* 'to slip', and *gărrəd* 'to cut in pieces'; in Klingenheben's text (84:4), the urban pre-Hilali glottal stop reflex also is found: *waḥəd šway d lwaʾṭ* 'a moment'.

The morpheme of the 3rd p. fem. sing. in the perfective is /-ət/, and that of the 2nd persons sing. is /-ti/. The strong verb in Form I has the patterns 12ə3 – yə12ə3 and 12ə3 – yə12ŭ3. As in Tangier, *kā-* is used as a common preverb; another preverb is *ṭā*; the latter is probably a feature adopted from the coastal Bedouin. The future tense is expressed with the participle *ġādi* + imperfective; *ġādi* still has separate forms for feminine and plural, but it is already becoming grammaticalised and is used invariably.

When preceded by *-a*, the 1st p. sing. personal pronoun *āna* has the variant *yāna*; in Tangier the same form appears, probably in order to avoid hiatus (M. Assad, *Le parler arabe de Tanger*. Diss. Göteborg 1978: 94). The plural form of the proximal demonstrative pronoun is *hādŭm* (**hāḏ* + *hum*). The invariable distal demonstrative pronoun *dāk*, and the interrogative pronouns are *āšnŭwwa* masc., *āšnĭyya* fem. 'what?' and *āšənhu* masc., *āšənhi* fem. 'who?' (**ʾayy šayyin huwa/hiya*). The preposition *l-* has the allomorph *n-* before a substantive and *līl* before a suffixed personal pronoun.

As is common in the northwestern part of Morocco (*madani* Tangier, Larache, Rabat, Fez, as well as rural Ouargha north of Fez), the genitive markers are *d* and *dyāl*; in some cases, *nṭāʿ* (ordinary exponent in southwestern part of Morocco) or *mṭāʿ* (isolated in Tangier, Larache and Rabat) are used. Irreal conditional clauses are preceded by the particle *ka* in the protasis [< (*law*) *kān*].

This work is a good example of how worthy, historical dialect material published a few generations ago can be updated and reused to great benefit. The attractive shape of the booklet is a nice homage of the publisher to Maximiliano Alarcón y Santón, who at the time of the publication of the original texts was Professor of Arabic at the School of Economics of Barcelona, and later at the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters at the University of Granada.

HEIKKI PALVA

Francisco Moscoso García, *Cuentos en dialecto árabe de Ceuta*. (Escuela de traductores de Toledo. Cuadernos, 4.) Toledo: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2004. 73 pp. + CD disc.

This booklet includes five folktales from the Spanish enclave of Ceuta in Northern Morocco. The recordings were made during 2003; the speaker is a 35-year-old woman who, like her parents, was born in Ceuta. The rapid, fluent and lively narration can be listened to on the attached CD. The text is printed both in transcription and in Arabic script, followed by translations, a glossary, and notes. The text is preceded by a linguistic analysis.

The local dialect belongs to the same group of dialects of the Jbala area as those spoken in Anjra, Tetouan, Chauen, Tangier, Larache, Wargha and Taza. The language of the folktales naturally follows the conventions of traditional narrative style, which implies the use of established vocabulary and formulaic expressions. Among lexical items typical of this genre are: *qāyla* 'sun'; *dqum* 'mouth'; *hāyda, hāydāk* 'in this way', 'like this'; *fḥāl-* 'how', 'like'; *mli* 'when'; *mnāyn?* 'from where?', and *šenni?* (invar.) 'what?', 'which?' Every tale ends in a rhymed closing formula, with only slight variation in details: *w āna šrīt wāḥed el-ḥalwa w āna māšša w hiyya kā-ddūb,/ w āna māšša w hiyya kā-ddūb,/ ḥatta rżaᶜ kull ši kdūb* 'and I bought a candy and kept on walking while it was melting,/ and I kept on walking while it was melting,/ until everything turned into a lie.'

In these narratives, the preverb referring to habitual or durative action is always *kā-*: *bda kā-yqūl* 'it started saying', or *šenni kān kā-yaᶜmel?* 'what was he doing?'. Since the language of the narrative style tends to be conservative, this seems to imply that the preverb *la-* which in Chauen probably can be attributed to Berber influence, has not been adopted in Ceuta. From the point of view of language history, one of the most interesting features is the development /ġ/ > /ᶜ/ in cases in which a lexical item has become grammaticalised. Thus, the active participle *ġādi*, which in some dialects of the area is used to denote future, has here developed into the invariable future particle *ᶜādi*, *ᶜād*: *ᶜādi nāᶜmel fīha el-flūs* 'we'll make money with that'. Correspondingly, the particle *ᶜa* 'except', 'besides'

is a reflex of *ġayr* (> *ġa* > *ʿa*): *klāwha, ma xallāw fiha ʿa r-rās* 'they [the ogres] ate her, they did not leave anything but the head'. Another interesting phonetic detail concerns the variant *yāna* of the personal pronoun *āna*, that occurs in Tangier and Larache when preceded by *-a*. In Ceuta, *yāna* has become generalised and appears in all contexts; *yāxor* 'other' is a parallel case: *nhār yāxor* 'other day'.

Moscoso's carefully edited collection is a valuable contribution to Moroccan folklore and linguistics. Its value is greatly enhanced by the attached CD disc, which not only makes enjoyable listening, but can be beneficial in language instruction as well.

Heikki Palva

Francisco Moscoso García, *Esbozo gramatical del árabe marroquí.* Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha. (Escuela de traductores de Toledo, 12.) Guenca, 2004. 212 pp.

This book is a sketchy systematic grammar of urban Moroccan Arabic such as it is spoken in Casablanca, the commercial centre, and Rabat, the political capital of the country. This language form is rapidly developing into a kind of Standard Spoken Moroccan Arabic, the best functioning language in oral communication in the whole country. However, the author has included some salient traits of other dialects, those spoken in the northern part of the country in particular. From the practical Spanish point of view, this is undoubtedly a well-founded solution.

The book consists of three main chapters: Phonetics and Phonemics (39 pages), Verbal Morphology (42 pages), and Nominal Morphology (86 pages). Throughout the book, the description of the structure of the dialect has been held on a general level not complicated with diachronic, sociolinguistic or other theoretical considerations. This does not imply a less strict scholarly approach, but rather a more streamlined grammar that concentrates on the most relevant traits. The arrangement of the material is praiseworthy, the layout is clear, and the linguistic definitions are concise and sharp. One of the greatest merits of the book is the abundant illustration of every section with carefully chosen examples collected from published works (Lerchundi 1872; Alarcón 1913; Brunot 1931; 1936, 1952; Destaing 1937; Buret 1947; Cleeman 1954; Colin 1955; Mercier 1956; Nekrouf n.d./transl. 1959, and Harrell 1962) as well as from the author's recordings and observations. Since Moscoso's book is a reference grammar and not a textbook, no exercises or glossaries have been included.

R. S. Harrell in *A Short Reference Grammar of Moroccan Arabic* (Washington, D.C., 1962) divides the vowels of Moroccan Arabic into three stable (*i*, *a*, *u*) and three variable vowels (*e*, *ă*, *o*); the contrast between *e* and *ă* is marginal. Moscoso, on the other hand, defines the two groups on the basis of quantity, a

solution more applicable to the structure of Arabic in general. According to his definition, Standard Moroccan Arabic has three long (/ā/, /ī/, /ū/) and two short vowel phonemes (/ə/, /ŭ/). The system is actually not very far from that prevailing in Djidjelli and the Jewish dialect of Algiers in which the number of short vowel phonemes has been reduced to one. In Moroccan Arabic, only a few minimal pairs are to be found to establish the phonemic status of the two short vowels, e.g., *ḥəbb* 'he loved' vs. *ḥŭbb* 'love'; *məss* 'he touched' vs. *mŭss* 'knife'; *mədd* 'he extended' vs. *mŭdd* 'measure of grain'; *xəḍʁa* 'green' vs. *xŭḍʁa* 'greenness'; *kəbb* 'he poured' vs. *kŭbb* 'pour!', and *šədd* 'he closed' vs. *šŭdd* 'close!'. In most contexts, [ŭ], [ʊ] and [o] are phonetically conditioned and, thus, allophones of /ə/. Further allophones of /ə/, which historically goes back to **a* and **i*, are [e], [ă], [ɑ], and [ĭ].

One of the most interesting sections is the comprehensive treatment of negation, in a rather original way included in the chapter on nominal morphology. Among its most important sources, the articles of Dominique Caubet ("La négation en arabe maghrébin") and Aziz Adila ("La négation en arabe marocain") may be mentioned, both published in *La négation en berbère et en arabe maghrébin*, under the direction of Salem Chaker and Dominique Caubet (L'Harmattan, Paris 1996). Also the section that deals with different ways of annexion is rather exhaustive. On the other hand, the treatment of some sections, such as that of the broken plural, is very short. Harrell devotes sixteen pages to that, while Moscoso is content with one page – not losing, in my opinion, anything essential.

In Spain, during the latter half of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century, there was a keen interest in the Arabic dialects of northern Morocco, exemplified by such texts as José Lerchundi's *Rudimentos del árabe vulgar que se habla en el Imperio de Marruecos* (1872 and later), his *Vocabulario español-arábigo del dialecto de Marruecos* (1892), and Maximiliano Alarcón y Santón's *Textos árabes en dialecto vulgar de Larache* (1910). Since the late 1980s, there has been a real boom in the study of Moroccan Arabic. Thousands of pages of high quality studies have been published by scholars such as Francisco Javier Brage González, Jordi Aguadé, Mohamed Elyaacoubi, Bárbara Herrero Muños-Cobo, Ángeles Vicente, Leila Abu-Shams, and Francisco Moscoso. There are clear indications that the growing trend will continue. For future researchers and practical users of Moroccan Arabic, Moscoso's *Esbozo gramatical* is a highly recommended tool.

HEIKKI PALVA