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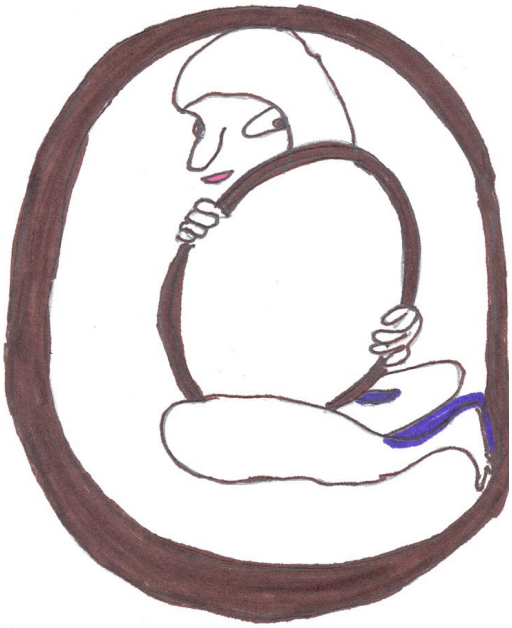
SCRIPTABLE

A Bispectral Review of Recent Books



Robert Tenor, editor
1-15-2023

New Series Number 106

EDITORIAL

Scriptable is an irregular review of what was once called the belles-lettres, where we essay upon a wide assortment of current books and articles with an eye open for "the beautiful jumble of discordant congruencies" derived from the authors and titles under discussion. We cast a wide academic net through the social sciences and humanities, with a strong orientation toward current events, social theory, religious and cultural studies.

With this number we move away from simple reportage of current scholarship to something more ambitious. The body of each issue includes editorial essays examining themes inspired by the works under consideration. The sum of our reviews are carefully pruned excerpts from the books themselves so as to preview the style and technicality of the text itself.
Our purpose is to inform and entertain. Through the review essays we hope to visit new and timeworn places through unsettled ideas in currency newly minted. Perhaps to see the outlandish as intimate and to show up the familiar as stranger than before thought.
Each issue should surprise.

Contents: Ubiquitous Sound

THE DIE IS CAST by Robert Desnos, translated by Jesse L. Anderson [Wakefield Press, ISBN: 9781939663696] Originally published as *Le vin est tire . .* by Editions Gallimard in 1943.

A startlingly contemporary portrait of drug addiction in prewar Paris

Published in 1943 (just a year before its author was arrested by the Gestapo for his Resistance activities), **THE DIE IS CAST** was a departure for Robert Desnos: a shift from his earlier, frenetic Surrealist prose to a social realism that borrowed as much from his life experience as his career as a journalist. Drawing on his own use of drugs in the 1920s and his doomed relationship with the chanteuse Yvonne George, Desnos here portrays a band of opium, cocaine and heroin users from all walks of life in Paris. It is a startlingly contemporary portrayal of overdoses, arrests, suicides and the flattened solitude of the addict, yet published in occupied Paris, years before "junkie literature" established itself with the Beat Generation. An anomaly both in his career and for having been published under the Occupation by an active member of the Resistance, *The Die Is Cast* now stands as timely a piece of work as it had been untimely when it first appeared.

Robert Desnos (1900–45) was Surrealism's most accomplished practitioner of automatic writing and dictation before his break with André Breton in 1929. His career in journalism and radio culminated in an active role in the French Resistance. Desnos was arrested by the Gestapo in 1944, and passed through several concentration camps until finally dying of typhoid in Terezín in 1945, a few days after the camp he was in was liberated.

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To readers familiar with the more celebrated selections from Robert Desnos's oeuvre, his late novel **THE DIE IS CAST** (*Le vin est tiré* Literally, "the wine is drawn," a French expression whose English equivalents include this translation's title and "the bed is made," the message being that some actions lead to less than desirable consequences that one must face. Although the English-language idioms capture the meaning of the French, they lack the allusion to intoxication, which is especially pertinent in a book about opium addiction.) will look something like an oddity, a blip of social fiction toward the end of a somewhat irregular output of surrealist poetry. And this impression wouldn't be wrong: the book—which tracks the deterioration of a small band of Parisian opium addicts—is indeed an oddity when set beside the rest of Desnos's literary work, not simply for being social fiction, but for being fiction without any qualifier attached. When **THE DIE IS CAST** was published in 1943, Desnos had written only a handful of other novels: Liberty or Love!, Mourning for Mourning, and The Punishments of Hell, books an anglophone hesitates to even label as novels (the French have always been more generous with the word) owing to their diminutive length and heterodox content. Add to this the fact that **THE DIE IS CAST** was written some two decades after these other fictional works, and the blip stands out even more.

But if we take a closer look at Desnos's work and life, the novel begins to make more sense. Desnos was socially engaged to a degree that was unusual among other early surrealists. He covered any number of political and social topics while working as a journalist in his twenties, and much of his later poetry was overtly political. And he didn't limit himself to words: during the German Occupation, he used his journalistic access to privileged information to aid the French Resistance, an action that would eventually cost him his life.

Other instances of Desnos's political convictions and development can be found throughout his biography. In 1928, he helped smuggle the Cuban writer and dissident Alejo Carpentier out of his home country aboard a France-bound ship. On another occasion, Desnos began smashing glasses in a club after a Black friend was refused admission, on racial grounds, to the dance floor. More specific to the concerns of the novel, Desnos had watched his beloved Yvonne George, a Belgian cabaret singer, succumb to opium addiction—a passive incident compared to the more engaged ones just cited, but it's also the most central to understanding the germination of **THE DIE IS CAST.**

The experiences and impulses necessary to write the novel, then, were there to be drawn upon. Desnos—who'd already written poems and prose, song lyrics, plays, advertisements, and radio jingles—simply had to make the decision to sit down and write it.

Robert Desnos was born on 4 July 1900, to parents on a steady rise toward the middle class. His father sold poultry in Les Halles, a famous and expansive Parisian market, and for most of Robert's

childhood the family lived in the nearby Marais neighborhood, a medieval section of Paris whose mystic atmosphere Desnos would credit with spurring his precocious imagination. He was young enough to avoid fighting in the First World War but still had to complete mandatory military service after high school. It was during this time that he first met—through mutual friend Benjamin Peret—Andre Breton and Louis Aragon, who would soon become figureheads of the surrealist movement. It wasn't until Desnos was discharged in 1922, however, that he was fully integrated into the burgeoning group and began making a name for himself as a poet.

The most noteworthy of Desnos's early experiences with the Breton-helmed group were what are known as the automatist sessions, nocturnal séances during which those who gathered—sometimes individually, sometimes in groups—appeared to fall into a trance through a kind of self-hypnosis and then interacted with the others from an apparently heightened or altered state of awareness. How authentic these trances were is debatable, but what's clear from contemporaneous accounts is that Desnos was far more impressive than the others while hypnotized (an account of this can be found in Breton's surrealist classic, *Nadja*). He would become a seemingly endless fount of short, word play—laden poems, and some of his earliest published works, the "Rrose Sélavy" poems, were a product of these sessions.

Desnos went on composing surrealist poetry through the 1920s while also beginning his career as a journalist. This didn't sit well with Breton, who saw journalism as a profession unworthy of someone with Desnos's linguistic talents. It was an early crack in their friendship, and by the end of the decade—after many boyish internecine battles among the surrealists—Desnos had become, so to speak, unaffiliated, a free agent. Some months later, in April 1930, Desnos went through another life-shifting event: the death of Yvonne George, whom he'd fallen in love with shortly after meeting her in the mid-1920s. By many accounts. Desnos was obsessed with the Belgian chanteuse, and though his love went unrequited, he grew increasingly obsequious as her health deteriorated from the combined effects of opiate addiction and tuberculosis. During the last two years of her life, Desnos had even begun hunting down drugs for her.

So the 1930s, for Desnos, began with ruptured artistic ties and a dead love interest. He soon found replacements for both. In the creative domain, Desnos began work as a radio broadcaster, a job he adored and would continue at until the outbreak of the Second World War. Reflecting his wide-ranging curiosity, Desnos was involved with a variety of programs and hosted several, including one dedicated to the exploration of foreign cultures and another, *La Clef des Songes* (The key to dreams), in which he interpreted listeners' dreams. He also discovered a knack for marketing, and wrote radio ads for pharmaceuticals, furs, the National Lottery, chocolate, perfume, and much else besides. Unfortunately, and owing to the fact that Desnos lived in a time before widespread recording of the radio, only some twenty minutes of his voice have been passed down to posterity.

As for love, Desnos had already fallen for another woman by the time of George's death. Her name was Youki Foujita, a Frenchwoman who'd adopted her decidedly un-French first name—it was originally Lucie—after marrying Japanese painter Tsuguhara Foujita. Desnos and Youki were interested in each other while the marriage was still intact, but the sudden and lasting departure of her husband in 1931, along with his sanctioning of their relationship in a farewell letter, allowed the two to go beyond mere interest and move in together. Though never legally married, they would remain a couple until the end of Desnos's life.

He published scantily in the 1930s, but Desnos was still writing and, for a time, strove to complete a poem every night before bed. It was during this period that Desnos wrote one of his most celebrated poems, "The Tale of the Bear," a response to the interwar political upheaval in Paris and an example of his artistic engagement with society at large. It was a harbinger of the kind of work Desnos would publish in the even more turbulent decade to come.

In the fall of 1939, Desnos was mobilized and sent to Brittany with the 436th Regiment of Pioneers. Upon his return to Paris the following August, he found that the radio stations had become propaganda outlets for the Vichy regime and returned to newspaper work to make a living. His columns were often, to varying degrees of explicitness, politically charged, with pieces on themes like neighbor-on-neighbor denunciation and French unity. He also wrote regular reviews of jazz records, a poke in the eye to the Nazis, who considered the genre degenerate.

The articles weren't enough. Soon after some thirteen thousand French Jews were rounded up in, and subsequently deported from, the Velodrome d'Hiver stadium in July 1942, Desnos joined the Agir ("Act," in English) Resistance cell, for whom, in addition to supplying information gathered using his press credentials, he forged identification documents.

THE DIE IS CAST was released the following year by Gallimard. Employing an ensemble cast of characters to show opium's non-discretionary appeal across class and generational lines, Desnos is explicit in his preface regarding the novel's purpose: "This book attempts, without the author necessarily believing himself to have succeeded, to demonstrate that social circumstances are responsible for the daily increase in the diffusion of drugs, that addicts deserve to be brought back into the fold of daily life, that the current suppression-based laws are absurd, unjust, harmful, and that it's vital, with the assistance of the medical community, to reform our barbaric legal system." The book is antidrug, but it's not anti-addict. The empathy espoused by Desnos, in these lines written nearly eighty years ago, is admirable; the argument he makes is prescient. One need only look at the success of models that have adopted an approach similar to that described by Desnos—Portugal being a notable example—to see how clear-sighted he was.

Though it does at times take turns toward the surrealistic that are reminiscent of—and arguably even allusive to—his earlier writings, the book's straightforward aim renders fruitless the deep, symbol-driven exegesis that can be done with much of Desnos's work: **THE DIE IS CAST** speaks for itself.

Of course, the reader can draw connections between the text and Desnos's life. Barbara—the wealthy, elusive love interest of Antoine, the closest character the book has to a protagonist—is modeled on Yvonne George, and Antoine's continually thwarted relationship with Barbara bears more than a passing resemblance to Desnos's own doomed courtship. Antoine's visit to Barbara's apartment in the third chapter gives an idea of the utter powerlessness Desnos may have felt in his pursuit of George. To take the Antoine—Desnos connection further, the opening scene, a hallucinogenic memory of Antoine's military service in Morocco, is almost certainly based on Desnos's own posting in Morocco before he joined the surrealists. And Les Halles, where Desnos's father worked, is memorably described through Antoine's eyes in one of the book's best scenes.

But such details, in the end, are trivia. What matters is that **THE DIE IS CAST** is a very good book—entertaining, moving, replete with descriptions and scenes that are not easily forgotten—written by a highly and multitudinously talented writer. That Desnos hadn't written any fiction of note for fifteen years only makes his accomplishment here more impressive.

Desnos also published the poetry collection *Etat de veille* (which included "Tale of the Bear") in 1943; the year after, he published another set of poems in *Contrée*. Both books were political in a manner the Germans would not have appreciated, and both were semi-clandestine—meaning they were available in some bookstores but had evaded the collaborationist censors. **THE DIE IS CAST** allowed Desnos to openly address a political issue close to his heart, without fear that it might land him in prison, or worse.

Tragically, Desnos's work in the Resistance was already leading him toward such a fate.

Desnos was arrested on 22 February 1944. A colleague from Aujourd'hui, the newspaper he was then working for, had called his apartment that morning to warn him that the Gestapo were out looking for him. Desnos helped Alain Brieux—a young man he'd taken in to help avoid a forced work program recently instituted by the Germans—escape and then stayed behind to protect Youki. A trio of officers soon arrived and took Desnos away to Gestapo headquarters, on rue des Saussaies. From there, Desnos passed through two transit camps and on 30 April arrived at Auschwitz-Birkenau, where he had his head shaved, was put into a striped uniform, and had the number 185,443 tattooed on his arm.

He made it out of Auschwitz. It seems that those running the camp were surprised to have been sent a non-Jewish convoy, and Desnos's group was sent away to Buchenwald in mid-May. Before the end of the month, Desnos would be transferred again, this time to Flossenbürg. It was to be another short stay—on 2 June, he left for Flöha, on the Czech border. He arrived the next day and would remain there until April.

His time at Flöha wasn't as hard as it might have been. He was able to receive packages from Youki to supplement the meager rations, and his duties were among the camp's easiest. According to fellow prisoners, he was voluble and often in surprisingly high spirits, telling stories and reading fortunes in the evening. This all changed, however, when a confrontation with a server led to Desnos throwing hot soup into the other's face. As punishment, Desnos would be given the camp's most demanding jobs for the remainder of his stay.

This would last only about a month. It was the spring of 1945, and the Americans were moving inexorably closer, leading to the camp's evacuation on 14 April. The prisoners then began a brutal march toward another camp, Terezin, or Theresienstadt, in Czechoslovakia. Conditions along the way were wretched, and Desnos was much older than most of the other prisoners. Nevertheless, he made it to Terezin alive—in bad shape, but alive—on 7 May. The Allies won the war the very next day; the prisoners were free; the only thing to be done now was find a way back home. Desnos wouldn't make it. He grew increasingly ill, and just days after meeting a Czech doctor who'd recognized him from a photo in *Nadja*, Desnos died on the morning of 8 June. Weeks before his arrest, a film for which Desnos had written the screenplay, *Bonsoir Mesdames, Bonsoir Messieurs,* was released in Parisian cinemas. Two months into his imprisonment, two of his most celebrated works were published, *Contrée* and *Trente chantefables pour les enfants sages a chanter sur n'importe quel air,* a collection of nursery rhymes that's still taught to children today. Later this same year, *Le bain avec Andromède* would come out, and 1945 saw the publication of a play, *La Place de l'étoile*, and a long poem, "*Calixto*."

Desnos's arrest and deportation, it seems, cut short an unprecedented stream of productivity. We can only guess what else might have come of it. <>

Dice and Gods on the Silk Road: Chinese Buddhist Dice Divination in Transcultural Context by Brandon Dotson, Constance A. Cook, and Zhao Lu Series: Prognostication in History, Brill, 9789004461208]

What do dice and gods have in common? What is the relationship between dice divination and dice gambling? This interdisciplinary collaboration situates the tenth-century Chinese Buddhist "Divination of Maheśvara" within a ee Chinese backstory of ivination with ice an numbers

going back to at least the 4th century BCE. Simultaneously, the authors track this specific method of dice divination across the Silk Road and into ancient India through a detailed study of the material culture, poetics, and ritual processes of dice divination in Chinese, Tibetan, and Indian contexts. The result is an extended meditation on the unpredictable movements of gods, dice, divination books, and divination users across the various languages, cultures, and religions of the Silk Road.

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This book is about movement: the random movement of dice as they fall through the air and then settle on the ground in a particular configuration; the ontological and positional movements of gods and diviners through a ritual that brings about their intersection; and the physical movement of dice, books, and ritual techniques across India, Central Eurasia, and China. The event at the heart of these various movements is a ritual in which humans attempt to impose order, intention, and control over dice divination and over the gods, but where both dice and gods are united as unwieldy forces that largely evade these efforts.

This book is also about books, and about one book in particular. At its heart is a slim tenth-century codex from Dunhuang containing four medical texts and four divination texts, one of which is called the *Divination of Maheśvara* (

Tibetan, Sanskrit, and Sogdian divination texts from the sixth through tenth centuries. The text was used to interpret the results of dice throws in concert with a local, perhaps Dunhuang-specific antheon of In ian an Chinese go s an s irits le by the In ian go Śiva in his esoteric u hist guise as Maheśvara. There is one eity assigne to each of the *Divination of Maheśvara*'s sixty-four written oracular responses, each of which is further keyed to one of sixty-four different numerical trigrams, or combinations of three numbers. Such methods place the text in a long tradition of Chinese numerical trigram divination on the one hand, and within Indian dice divination traditions on the other. The *Divination of Maheśvara* is also a product of its specific time and place in Dunhuang, a center of Buddhist iconographic and textual production and a multi-ethnic enclave of Chinese, Tibetans, Khotanese, Sogdians, and Uighurs. As such, the *Divination of Maheśvara* can be approached from many angles as relevant to, variously, the Buddhicization of Chinese divination techniques; the Chinese assimilation or appropriation of transregional divination traditions; innovations based on long-standing Chinese divinatory traditions; the local reception and adaptation of Indic Buddhist pantheons; and the local articulation of divinatory relationships with the gods.

This book is sympathetic to its subject matter in the sense that it is structured somewhat like a consultation of the *Divination of Maheśvara*. Just as the latter allows one to divine up to three times about a given matter, this book has three main chapters, each of which, like an oracular response, has a similar structure but differing contents. The first chapter is a detailed study of the *Divination of Maheśvara*, the second surveys numerical trigram divination in China, and the third surveys dice divination on the Silk Roads.[1] Each chapter attends to the materiality of divination, and also interrogates divination users' ideas about the power of dice and of other objects used to construct mantic figures. Each chapter also investigates the mantic figures themselves, and how these perform an interpersonal communication between gods and humans. Besides such issues of materiality, ritual process, and divinatory aesthetics, each chapter also considers the gods and spirits that make up the divinatory pantheons of various Indian, Tibetan, and Chinese divination systems, and how these align with and diverge from the contents of the texts. These three chapters and their contents were not arrived at through a randomized throw of the dice, but the book nevertheless hopes to reward other ways of navigating its pages than proceeding from front to back.

Meta-Divination

It will be helpful to begin by introducing how one consults the *Divination of Maheśvara* and also to offer a glimpse of the text through a short "meta-divination." Suppose you live in Dunhuang in the tenth century, and you have an important issue about which you need some advice, or perhaps an outsider's perspective. You visit a diviner and agree to his fee. He tells you to sit down and face west. The iviner then invokes the go s Śakra, rahmā, and the four heavenly kings, as well as a host of other spirits as witnesses. He tells you to state your name, to focus your mind, and to profess a vow. Then he tells you to announce the issue that brought you here, and gives you an odd, rectangular die. Its four sides each have concentric circles as pips: one on one side, two on the next, three on the next, and then four circles side by side (see figs. 6a and 6b). The diviner tells you to throw the die three times. Your first roll is a four, your second is a two, and your third roll is a one. The diviner looks through the pages of his book, stops, and reads out loud,

> 4-2-1 This is called the King of the Wind Spirits set. You are constantly unhappy. Even if this is the case now, you'll later have happy celebrations. Don't worry or be fearful, as before long things will go your way. Initially inauspicious, but later auspicious.

The diviner tells you that this is a good result. You are not sure of this, and ask if you can roll the dice again. The diviner nods and tells you to once again announce the issue you are divining about while you throw the dice. This time you roll a one, then a two, and then a two again. Once more the diviner turns the pages of the book. He pauses, then intones:

> 1-2-2 This is named the Supervisor of Life Allotments Demon set. If you completed this set, no evil will reach you, but nothing you seek will come about and none of the goods you want will follow. You must be calm and tranquil, and contemplate goodness. This mantic figure is therefore neutral.

You consider this silently, thinking that this seems better than the first one, even if it is supposed to be "neutral" whereas the first response was "auspicious." After a long silence, you ask the diviner if you can throw the dice again for a third response. The diviner tells you that it is permitted to divine three times, but not more. You think this over, and consider the danger of ending up with a bad response.

"How many responses are there in the book?" you ask.

"Sixty-four," replies the diviner.

You decide to try one last time. Holding the die and running your thumb over the circular pips on each of its four sides, you announce your issue again and throw it three times. Two, two, and two. Once more the diviner turns the pages of the book, and stops near the front. He recites:

> 2-2-2 This is named the God Vināyaka set. If a person has issues to resolve, the god will protect him/ her. Whatever s/he needs will soon be obtained; clothing and food will come of their own accord and whatever s/he seeks will be fulfilled. Subsequently, camels, horses, and various domestic animals will not die or be injured. Greatly auspicious.

You feel a great sense of relief. The diviner looks pleased. You try to reflect solemnly on each of the three responses, but it is this last one that repeats in your head, blotting out the uncertainty of the first two. You feel a sense of lightness.

This "meta-divination" offers a sense of the divination ritual's sensibilities and of the *Divination of Maheśvara*'s contents. Its basic method also reveals what it is and what it is not. One creates a numerical trigram by throwing the die three times. The numbers or values from the die—one, two, three, or four—can occupy three slots, such that their ordering matters. There are as a consequence sixty-four possible combinations of numbers, that is, sixty-four numerical trigrams. Mathematically, one can represent this simply as $4^3 = 64$. As a point of reference, this is precisely analogous to how the four nucleotides in DNA and in mRNA, adenine (A), uracil (U), guanine (G), and cytosine (C), combine in groups of three (e.g., ACU, GAC) to form sixty-four possible codons. It should also be noted by way of comparison that although the method used by the *Book of Changes* (*Yijing*) also results in sixty-four possible combinations and sixty-four corresponding entries in the text, this is arrived at in an entirely different way that demonstrates the dissimilarity of the two traditions. In the *Changes*, one sorts stalks to create a set of three unbroken (Yang) or broken (Yin) lines, thereby producing one of the Eight Trigrams, or *bagua* 八卦. Mathematically, the possible outcomes are thus $2^3 = 8$. Repeating the process, one creates a second trigram and then combines these two trigrams to make a hexagram, e.g. $8^2 = 64$. It is in short an utterly distinct method of combining signs that happens to also produce sixty-four possible combinations.

Even if it is practically and numerically a bounded system, the sixty-four possible outcomes in the *Divination of Maheśvara* might have been conceived of in their totality or in their potentiality as symbolizing the entire field of possibilities. Casting the dice and creating a numerical trigram, however, decisively narrows the field to one named god or spirit who either protects or is a source of harm. In the above meta-divination, we encountered the King of the Wind Spirits (*Fengshen Wang* 風神王), the Supervisor of Life Allotments Demon (*Siming Gui* 司命鬼), and the god Vināyaka (Dasheng Tian 大聖天). The first is to be linked with the Indic god Vāyu, but also evokes Feng Bo 風伯, the Chinese wind spirit associated with birds, mountains, and the Winnowing Basket astral lodge. The second god, the Supervisor of Life Allotments, is a famous ancient Chinese god associated with

fate and with the underworld. The third, Vināyaka, is a Buddhist guise of the elephant-headed Indian god Gaṇeśa. This is a fairly re resentative sam le of the In ic, u hist, Chinese hybri antheon of the text, which speaks to its divinatory sensibilities and to its social and religious context in tenth-century Dunhuang. The three gods and the three responses also mirror the three main chapters of this book, with their respective emphases on the *Divination of Maheśvara*, the long history of numerical trigram divination in China, and the transmission of dice divination out of India and across the Silk Roads.

Gambling with the Gods

The meta-divination additionally demonstrates the dynamics of play and of risk that inform dice divination. The die is a playful object, both in the sense that it is used in games and also in its being fundamentally equivocal. A die's multiple faces encode randomization and chance more completely and more succinctly than any other object used in divination. Dice divination is rooted in dice games, and in particular in the tradition of dicing or gaming with the gods. Tales of gambling with supernatural partners come to us from both China and India. In China dicing with the gods is often associated with the game of *liubo* 六博, in which opponents advance twelve pieces—six for each player—on a board by casting rods or dice.[2] While the image of immortals playing *liubo* became a popular motif during the Han, the game was also associated with lowlife gamblers and violent youths.[3] Mark Edward Lewis recounts a story from the *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策 (*Intrigues of the Warring States*), compiled between 23 BCE and 8 BCE:

> [A] "bold youth" (*han shao nian* 悍少年) … challenged the deity of a shrine to the god of the earth to a game of *bo*. The stakes stipulated that if the youth won he would borrow the god's power for three days, while if he lost the god could make him suffer. He made throws for the god with his left hand, throws for himself with his right, and won the match. He accordingly borrowed the god's power but then did not return it. After three days the god went to seek him, and as a consequence the grove around the shrine withered and died.

Surveying this and other episodes of gambling with the gods, Lewis observes that those who play *liubo* with the gods or spirits "are portrayed as figures bordering on the criminal who challenge the conventional order." This may be largely due to the association of the game with drinking and gambling. Additionally, it must be acknowledged that to challenge the gods is fundamentally a transgressive act. This is signaled by the stakes and by the mode of interaction, which Lewis even likens to combat: the game will establish a winner and a loser, and by winning humans seek to effectively become god-like, that is "to expand their own powers, alter their fate, and manipulate their world."

The instances of gambling with the gods in China come largely from literary sources where they feature in anecdotes and cautionary tales. Gambling with the gods enjoys a more prominent place in Indian mythology and narrative. As in China, in India there are myths about the gods playing dice with each other and those in which the gods dice with mortals. In one example of the former type of myth, from the *Kedārakhaṇḍa*, it is the game of dice that precipitates the fragmentation of the unifie , an rogynous go hea into its male an female constituents, Śiva an his wife ārvatī, when it/they are invited to play. In the course of a few rounds both the god and the goddess resort to cheating (*chalena*). Pārvatī wins from Śiva his crescent moon, his necklace, and his earrings, and then finally takes even his loincloth. In anger, Śiva stalks off to the wilderness to practice austerities in solitude. The story is full of humor and irony, but at its heart is the theme of oneness and se arateness, an the remain er of the story is about the loss of wholeness that both Śiva an Pārvatī feel, and their attempts to regain it.[7] A assage just after Śiva's e arture e icts ārvatī's ambivalent love for and frustration with her sore-loser husband:

> She was tormented by this separation and found no joy anywhere. She thought only about Śiva. Her atten ant Vijayā said to her, "You won Śiva by self-mortification; it was wrong to play dice with him. Haven't you heard that dicing is full of flaws? You should forgive him. Go quickly, before he is too far away, and appease him. If you don't, you will be sorry later." Pārvatī replied, entirely truthfully: "I won against that shameless man; and I chose him, before, for my lover. Now there is nothing I must do. Without me, he is formless [or ugly—*virūpa*]; for him, there can be no separation from, or conjunction with, me. I have made him formed or formless, as the case may be, just as I have created this entire universe with all its gods. I just wanted to play with him, for fun, for the sake of the game, in order to play with the causes of his emerging into activity [*udbhava-vṛtti-hetubhiḥ*]."

This exceedingly rich passage sets up a contrast between the usual way of winning a god's favor, such as through self-mortification, and playing a game of dice.[9] The game of dice is "full of flaws," possibly because of the cheating that accompanies it, possibly because the undeserving can win by chance, or possibly for both reasons.

It is curious that Pārvatī's reply is marked as having been given "entirely truthfully." The meaning here is surely not ironic, since she is in fact revealing the core of the myth and the heart of the game: it is about fragmenting the androgynous, holistic godhead, "a state of infinite density and interconnectedness, in which no discontinuities exist" into discrete, gendered entities, and doing so for play (*līlā*), for fun, and "for the sake of the game." As we will see, this playful fragmentation of holism has a powerful analogy in dice divination.

One other point that this myth conveys is also found in many other Indian myths about dice games, namely, that dice games disrupt the social and cosmic order. The game achieves this by almost invariably dealing a loss to the ontologically or positionally superior party. This dynamic is present in the shearing off of as ects of Śiva, re resented by his jewelry and garments, which then accrue to the winner, Pārvatī. The topsy-turvy sensibility of the dice game is even more apparent when human gamblers challenge gods. In one myth of this type from South India, a human gambler named "Unfettered" (Nirańkuśa) is reminiscent of the transgressive "bol youth" from the *Zhanguo ce*. He prefers erotic treatises to the *Vedas*, and instead of staying with his wife he whiles away his time playing dice with courtesans until he loses all of his wealth and is thrown out of his house. Destitute, he enters a ruine Śiva tem le, insults the go , an challenges him to a game of ice. Like the Chinese youth's game of *liubo*, "Unfettered" plays both sides, casting the dice for himself and for the god, who remains silent, represented by a stone *liṅga*. "Unfettered" eventually wins and demands his prize: Rambhā, the courtesan of the gods. Loudly demanding payment, "Unfettered" ties a red cloth around the "neck" of the stone *liṅga*.

He pulled the edges of the cloth even more tightly together, strangling the go . Śiva a eare before him—perhaps because he accepted his defeat at the hands of someone who spoke the truth; or because he respected his aggressive devotion, a reflection of the fact that Unfettered was more of a god than he was; or possibly because Unfettered was really an idiot, and this brought out the god's compassion.

The passage underlines the ambivalent status of the gambler: he is possibly an idiot, but he is also "more of a go " than Śiva. As for the meaning of this latter gnomic statement, Handelman and Shulman answer this by describing the characteristics of gamblers like Unfettered:

> They are impudent, supremely confident, unstable, unpredictable …; above all they are perfectly at home in the shifting and fluid world of the game—indeed they are in a sense analogues of the game itself, or human embodiments of its inherent trickiness and flux. Emerging from below—unlike the god, who enters the mode of play from his higher order

> level of wholeness—they act as solvents on any form of solid or static being, including the rules of the game they play.

Unfettere is more go than Śiva because in being rawn into the game of ice Śiva is rawn out of his own supreme confidence, instability, and unpredictability and is crystallized into one particular form, just as in his game with Pārvatī he was sheared off from a state of unbounded wholeness to become a wandering, bereft, gendered god. The game is tricky in part because it can invert the usual dynamics of human-divine relations, reducing or canalizing the fractal nature and ontological multiplicity of the god—its "trickiness"—while enabling and facilitating something very like this for the human gambler, who is transformed by virtue of his winning from the god some of these very powers.

There are several analogies to be made here between dice and the gods. As we have emphasized, they are both multi-faceted. This is obvious in that a die is defined largely by its number of faces, and it is also obvious in the case of a god with more than one head or face. But a die's simultaneously representing a potential range of possibilities and its decisively settling on one of these in a given moment also points to the tendency of gods and spirits to similarly shift through a variety of forms, modes, and affective states according to time, place, and ritual setting. Bernard Faure, drawing on the work of John Law, describes the dynamic and shifty nature of the gods as follows:

> a god is a 'fractional object'—that is, an object that is 'more than one and less than many.' Gods are also plural because they owe their being to a network of relations. There may not be two Nyoirin Kannon, Aizen Myoo, or Benzaiten exactly alike: sometimes an individual name designates a combination of several deities, at other times a specific aspect of a multifaceted deity. Their fractal nature also reflects an essential, ontological multiplicity that cannot and should not be reduced to historical accidents.

The difference between the die as it falls through the air and the die that has settled on the ground is very like the ifference between the unifie go hea an its constellation as, say, Śiva. More obviously, both dice and gods have the power to determine a winner and loser, to benefit or to harm, or to grant a boon or deal a loss. Dice do this unpredictably, at random, and their own transition from unrolled potential to one particular outcome both models and precipitates the god's movement from infinite density and holism to a fragmented specific entity. These movements transpire in the game itself, which invites reversals in which human gamblers can become tricky and unwieldy and gods can become static.

Not all dice games are fair, and cheating is often an expected part of the proceedings. But trickiness on the part of the players can also succeed too well, to the point of rigging the game. This is in fact precisely the point of the dice game that forms a part of the Vedic horse sacrifice, or *aśvamedha*. In part of this ritual the king plays a dice game in which the danger of his opponent's potential winning throw, a four, is ritually neutralized and further exorcised by the sacrifice of a "four-eyed dog," which represents and incarnates the winning throw. The danger thus averted, the ritual will succeed predictably as planned. Commenting on this and on another similarly staged and similarly

- predetermined g3(gam)-3.8(e)8 *part of* an another Vedic royal consecration *ritual*, the *Tc*

This dynamic of exerting control over the game, and eliminating its instability and unpredictability, is perfectly clear in a ritual dice game that has formed a part of the Tibetan New Year's festivities since at least the 17th century. Here a representative of the Dalai Lama plays a game of dice with a figure who is essentially a scapegoat king, or a monstrous royal double of the Dalai Lama, called the *lugong gyelpo* (Tib. *glud 'gong rgyal po*). But this unfortunate's black dice are customarily marked with all ones, and the Dalai Lama's white dice have all sixes. After his inevitable loss at the dice game, the *lugong gyelpo* is expelled from the city of Lhasa. Such manipulation of the die itself is a literal destruction of its multifaceted nature and a reduction to stasis and certitude.

The dice game is an arena for communication between humans and gods, where forces of instability and unpredictability pull against those of order and coercion. In the parlance of games and gaming, a dice game is ludic in the sense that it is governed by a clear set of rules, where there are winning rolls and losing rolls. *Alea* is the pure chance or unpredictability of rolling the dice to see who wins and who loses. *Agôn* is *alea's* opposite, the operative dynamic in a contest of pure skill. Roger Caillois describes *alea* in terms that lay bare its challenge to social and cosmic order:

> In contrast to *agôn*, *alea* negates work, patience, experience, and qualifications. Professionalization, application, and training are eliminated. In one instant, winnings may be wiped out. *Alea* is total disgrace or absolute favor. It grants the lucky player infinitely more than he could procure by a lifetime of labor, discipline, and fatigue. It seems an insolent and sovereign insult to merit.

Alea's "insolent and sovereign insult to merit" is very likely one of the "flaws" that Pārvatī's attendant Vijayā saw in the dice game. The ritual attempts to erase *alea* and to avert risk can also be seen as a response to the "trickiness" of the dice game. As the myths we've just introduced show, dice and the dice game are not impartial. Their disruption of the cosmic order is also a disruption of the status quo. They correct in favor of balance, which is itself an assertion of a different sort of cosmic or er. Even in a "fair" game of ice, such as that between Śiva an ārvatī, the ontologically weaker party usually wins. This is even more apparent in the game between a human gambler and the great god. A god-like figure such as a king or a Dalai Lama would therefore theoretically face great danger when dicing against a lowly figure like the *lugong gyelpo*.

Dice Gaming and Dice Divination

The die carries many of the sensibilities of gaming with the gods into the practice of dice divination. In some forms of Tibetan dice divination, as described in chapter three, the ritual approximates a dice game with a divine opponent, such that we refer to this type of dice divination as "oracular gambling" and to the diviner as an "oracular gambler." Dice divination's entanglement with dice games helpfully corrects the common misapprehension that divination is only about accessing hidden knowledge or seeing the future. While divination can be concerned with prognostication, this is not all that it does, and it is not simply a matter of revelation. Like the game, which creates a winner and a loser, divination is also creative, bringing into existence a new situation with respect to the actors involved. As Filip de Boeck and René Devisch put it in their study of Ndembu basket divination, "divination does not so much offer a mimetic model of a social context, but rather *makes* a world … [It] constitutes a space in which cognitive structures are transformed and new *relations* are generated in and between the fields of the human body (senses, emotions), the social body and the cosmos." It is this creative, world-making element of dice divination that its relation to the dice game spotlights. This is not to the exclusion, however, of divination's uses of models and microcosms as a part of its creative processes.

Dice divination differs from dicing with the gods in two important ways. Firstly, its communication with the gods is radically aleatory in a way that the dice game is not; secondly, it introduces the intermediary of the mantic figure or numerical trigram. Divining, the dice will bring one into contact

with a god or spirit, but which god or spirit that will be remains unknown until the dice have fallen through the air and settled on the ground. Divining with the *Divination of Maheśvara* is not a targeted communication like a prayer or sacrifice that is offered to a specific god or spirit. The gods and spirits of the divination text are on shuffle, "up in the air" like the dice themselves until a given roll summons forth one of their number. Until their number is called, these gods and spirits remain a pantheon in potential, unknown as a whole to any but perhaps the diviner or a habitual user of divination.

One cannot choose the god or spirit the dice invoke any more than one can choose whether this contact results in benefit or in harm. Moreover, because some combinations are almost inevitably missing in the dice divination book, sometimes there will be no response at all. This ability of a divination system to refuse to respond and to remain silent is known as "resistance," and it is an important indicator not only of perceived "objectivity," but also of the vitality of a given system. Also, whereas dicing with the gods instrumentalizes the game's ability to invert order and bring down the god as it raises up the human gambler, dice divination performs an interpersonal relationship with the gods that is less determined, less coercive, and less transactional in nature.

The second main difference between dicing with the gods and dice divination concerns their respective media. The bold youth's game of *liubo* with the soil god and Unfettered's dice game with Śiva were both more or less direct, even if the gods' rolls were done by proxy with the gamblers' "other" hands. There was a god, a human gambler, and dice. In dice divination, by contrast, there is an intervening medium, which is the mantic figure (Chinese *gua* 卦). As for the form and content of the mantic figure, the gods and spirits of the divinatory pantheon are invoked in the first instance not with words, but rather with one of sixty-four figures, or "numerical trigrams" randomly generated by the dice. This mode of communication between human and divine simultaneously insists on difference by avoiding the medium of human language, but also on some degree of commensurability by appealing to the language of numbers or of visual representations of numbered groups of dice pips, counting rods, or stalks.

The intermediary role of the dice-generated mantic figure, which in dice divination stands between the human divination user and the invoked god or spirit, further complicates the more direct communication found in the dice game. In the latter, there is a clear homology between the dice game and the cosmogonic process. This trades on the Vedic principle of homologies, or *bandhu* connections: "[t]he dice game, and the dice embedded within the game, are constituted through homologies. Since the dice model the cosmic process, their action effects the dice game. And since the dice game models the cosmic process, its action effects the cosmos." It is precisely these *bandhu* connections that priests exploited when rigging the royal dice game during the horse sacrifice, thereby controlling the processes of causality. With the introduction of the intermediary mantic figure generated by the dice, the *bandhu* connections seem to be randomized and potentially more difficult to manipulate: there appears to be no homology, for example, between a dice roll of three twos and the god Vināyaka. Even if the relationship between a given god or spirit and a given mantic figure can be said to be "arbitrary"—as loaded a term as one finds in divination—this does not negate the more consequential homology that remains: the shiftiness of the dice is captured or crystallized in the mantic figure just as the god or spirit is drawn out of the "pantheon in potential" and into invoked presence. It is the mantic figure, interposed between the dice and the god, that attracts them both in the manner of a magnetic opposite. Where gods and dice are shifty and equivocal, the mantic figure is solid and certain.

The intermediary role of the mantic figure in relation to gods and spirits and with respect to the material culture of divination has also been theorized in a Chinese context. Here, rather than the microcosmic-macrocosmic homologies of *bandhu* connections, one tends to speak of correlative

cosmology, the workings of *qi*, and the principle of creating a stimulus (*gan* 感) to elicit a response (*ying* 應) from the gods. A particularly utilitarian view both of the mantic figure and of the material culture of divination is offered by Yu Chan (287–340) in his treatise on milfoil and turtle divination.

After material things [e.g., stalks, turtles] are brought forth, there are images (or symbols [*xiang* 像]). After there are images, there are numerical appetencies (*shu* [數 decoding of the symbols/ mantic figures]). After there are numerical appetencies, benign and malign tendencies abide in them. The milfoil plant is the chief item for looking into numerical appetencies, but is not something that is made real by the divine spirits. The turtle is the basic substance for disclosing ominous signs, but it is not something that is brought into being by unearthly presences … It is the same as with the fish-trap which, although it captures the fish, is not the fish; or the rabbit-snare which, although it captures the rabbit, is not the rabbit. In this way one uses the image to search out the subtle message, and when the message is found, then the image may be forgotten. So, the milfoil is used to search out the spirit, and when the spirit is thoroughly understood, then the milfoil may be dispensed with.

Put simply, divination is here seen as a means to an end of communicating with gods or spirits. The mantic figure is there to be decoded, and rather than being fetishized it should be discarded once its purpose has been served.

Against this utilitarian approach to mantic figures as signs to be read, understood, and then discarded, there is the opposite extreme that treats the mantic figures as gods themselves. The Eight Trigrams that form the basis of the *Changes*' sixty-four hexagrams, and which are also arrayed in a variety of mantic figures, for example, are deified as the Eight Spirits (*bashen* 八神) or the Eight Archivists. This is comparable to the deification of other cosmological, calendrical, and astrological forces such as the Stems and Branches, the planets, and the Astral Lodges (*xiu* 宿).

The form of the mantic figure may be pertinent to whether it is understood as a sign to be decoded, an invocation to the gods, or a god itself. In the *Divination of Maheśvara* the mantic figures that stand at the beginning of each oracular response are simply numbers, as they are in the Sanskrit dice divination texts in the sixth-century *Bower Manuscript*. As such they are signs with phonetic values. In Tibetan and Turkish dice divination texts, however, the mantic figures are pictorial representations of dice pips. That is, the pips of the dice are not "translated" into numbers on the page. There are similar pictorial sensibilities in Chinese numerical trigram texts in which the array of stalks or counting rods that constitutes the mantic figure is similarly transferred rather than translated on the page. This choice of representation relates to the issue of "legibility," and to what Yu Chan assumes about reading or decoding the "numerical appetencies" of the mantic figure. Ade will see throughout the book, the *Divination of Maheśvara* and many otherhinese numerical trigram texts implicitly reject the premise that their constituent parts—the three individual numbers or symbols making up the trigram or mantic figure—are to be "read" and interpreted. This is the case even when these texts use some of the vocabularies of corrlative cosmology that might connect them to Yin and Yang and other standard interpretive strategies for reading and decoding mantic figures.

To complicate the status of the numerical trigram and its location between sign and symbol, the numerical trigrams of the *Divination of Maheśvara* are named after gods and spirits, and other Chinese numerical trigram traditions that use pictorial representations—as well as the hexagrams of the *Book of Changes*—are also given names. The precise relationship between the mantic figure and its name or the god or spirit associated with it is usually left undefined, to be teased out by the semantics of the oracular responses and by other hints in the text. But some gods appear more than once, and some are linked to one mantic figure in one text but to a different mantic figure in another text. The

link between a mantic figure and a given god or spirit is, if not random, characterized by flux and by a sense of play.

A Relational Network of Gods, Dice, Books, Divination Users, and Mantic Figures

This trickiness—of the mantic figure, of the dice, of gods, and of the game, has seeped into the fibers of this divination tradition, infusing it with a sense of movement that extends also to divination books. These books are found on their own in paper and birchbark scrolls and codices, but they are also often found as parts of compilations that variously include astrological texts, medical texts, ritual texts, and legal texts. This demonstrates that divination is one ritual mode among many, and that it usually falls short of offering a comprehensive program of diagnosis, prognosis, healing, and exorcism, to say nothing of cosmology and soteriology. But besides showing divination to be deficient as a panacea, or not fully self-sufficient, these partnerships or collocations of ritual modes and practices testify to divination's adaptability and malleability.

Divination has a tendency to work in tandem with other modes of ritual action. An oracular response in a divination text might, for example, prescribe that one perform a specific ritual in order to ensure good fortune or avert bad fortune. Similarly, divination might reveal the source of a malady as a preliminary to exorcism or to other more elaborate and well-established ritual prescriptions. And it might be employed at the end, to confirm that a ritual worked. Divination's use for diagnosis and prognosis also makes it a natural partner for medicine.

In addition to their tendency to join other texts within compilations or sometimes stand on their own, divination texts are also infused with movement themselves. A dice divination book should have sixty-four oracular responses, and as we will see, there are various strategies for how to array these responses (e.g., descending order) in a book so that there will be no repeated or omitted combinations. Nevertheless, every Sanskrit, Tibetan, Turkish, and Chinese dice divination text that we've studied features repetitions and/or omissions. As a result, very few dice divination books feature the prescribed sixty-four responses. In fact, the only dice divination books that include sixty-four responses without omission or repetition are those that have been "canonized"—the Sanskrit *Pāśakakevalī* and the Tibetan "Divination Calculation" (Tib. *Mo rtsis*)—later developments that we do not cover here. Faced with these and similar textual peccadillos in isolation, the textual scholar's tendency is to assume sloppy scribes and lazy editors, or to take these as indications of a text's popular or vernacular milieu. But given how widespread this phenomenon is across divination texts, and given also the dynamic instability of all of dice divination's other elements—dice, gods, mantic figures, and oracular gamblers—we additionally perceive here a tendency of the texts to shift, seemingly at random, under the hands of their users, scribes, and editors.

This textual shiftiness represents an extreme version of what Paul Zumthor, in a medieval European context, refers to as "mouvance." This is the process by which anonymous or semi-anonymous texts, as opposed to those with attributed authors, are prone to high degrees of variation on both structural and syntactic levels as a result of traditional modes of composition across the oral and literary divide. As a consequence, a given text is "materialized in an unstable way from manuscript to manuscript, from performance to performance." The aleatory mode of dice divination only compounds this instability, producing a more virulent strain which we call "divinatory mouvance." Like the genius of the dice game and its tendency to invert social and cosmic orders, divinatory mouvance similarly informs dice divination and frustrates human attempts to wield and control. Divinatory mouvance is infused with *alea*, the lifeblood of dice divination. The missing and repeated responses, unstable orthographies, and other traces of divinatory mouvance are the vital signs of a divination system that is alive, coursing with creative tension against human efforts to wield it. Where *alea* is exorcised, by contrast, and humans fully subdue a divination system by emptying it of

risk through "house rules," ritual adroitness, and other forms of "cheating," they only succeed in proffering a system that is inert and lifeless. It is no coincidence that only the "canonized" dice divination texts, which also suffer from creeping morality and soteriology, as well as impoverished oracular poetics, are perfectly ordered, with sixty-four responses.

There is a variety of ways in which one might approach this state of flux involving tricky and elusive dice, gods, mantic figures, divination users, and divination books. One might emphasize the mantic figure and its relationship to the concepts of sign and symbol. One might attend to the identities and biographies of the gods and spirits of divination on the one hand or to the determinative or interpretive agency of human diviners and clients on the other. Or one might make a fetish of the material culture of divination, so as to attribute autonomy and power to inanimate objects like dice and books. A safeguard against this latter approach, and against permitting any one of dice divination's moving parts—dice, gods, mantic figures, books, or divination users—to dominate or overbalance the others, is Michael Taussig's observation that "apparently self-bounded and potent 'things' are but the embodiments and concretizations of relationships which bind them to a larger whole." Taussig continues,

> Their identity, existence, and natural properties spring from their *position* in an all-encompassing organic *pattern* of organization in which things are understood as but partial expressions of a self-organizing totality … If attention focuses on a single thing, as it must at some point in any analysis, then the thing is to be seen as containing its relational network and surrounding context within itself; the "thing" is a system of relationships.

Attending to the gods, dice, books, divination users, and mantic figures as a "relational network" in this manner is further supported by actor-network theory as developed by Bruno Latour. This recommends itself for its emphasis on movement, and also for addressing itself to the situational and contingent dynamics that define dice divination. "A network is not a thing but the recorded movement of a thing. The questions AT [actor-network theory] addresses have now changed. It is no longer whether a net is a representation or a thing, a part of society or a part of discourse or a part of nature, but what moves and how this movement is recorded." The actor, or "actant" need not be human, and it is also characterized by movement: "actors are not conceived as fixed entities but as flows, as circulating objects, undergoing trials, and their stability, continuity, isotopy has to be obtained by other actions and other trials." In dice divination, the moving pieces—the dice, the mantic figures, the books, the gods, and the human divination users—act upon each other through movements. The dice fall through the air, the mantic figure is formed, the pages of the divination book are turned, a god is drawn out from the pantheon and invoked into presence, and the relations of divination users to their worlds are altered. The actor-network of dice divination might be visualized as a web of axons and neurons, with a given roll of the dice setting in motion one action and not another. But unlike the neuroscientific simile, the movements are multidirectional.

In applying actor-network theory to dice divination we are also inspired by how Bernard Faure makes use of Latour's concept of the actant in his study of Japanese gods.

By viewing the Japanese gods as actors in this sense, and by remembering that they are ever-changing nodes within a network constantly in flux, we can more accurately perceive the Japanese gods as the unstable aggregates that they are rather than as static projections of human minds, society, culture, or what have you. Furthermore, actor-network theory allows us to see that the relationship between gods and humans was bidirectional: gods were not only a product, but in taking on a life of their own, they too became active, productive elements within a larger network.

Dice divination makes a larger network than this bidirectional relationship by its injection of similarly "unstable aggregates"—dice, mantic figures, and divination books—and by the infusion of this

network with *alea*. Once again, if dice divination has something to offer actor-network theory it is its injection of randomization.

Besides Zumthor's concept of mouvance, Taussig's view of "things" as standing in for relational networks, and Latour's actor-network theory, we are also indebted to the gods of divination and to the oracular responses of divination texts themselves for suggesting to us a further interpretive framework. Although a dice divination book's sense of instability, born of the push and pull of order and disorder, might make it an attractive and sympathetic harbor for the gods, the gods of divination often convey something different from the oracular responses to which they are attached. In the *Divination of Maheśvara*, for example, there is a preponderance of gods associated with death and misfortune, and there are also a number of gods associated with the wind and with celestial phenomena, or who transit the liminal space between heaven and earth. Gods of the wind and sky also occupy central positions in Sanskrit and Tibetan dice divination texts. Similarly, poetic images of wind and clouds are a hallmark of Chinese oracular poetry. Coming up against these wind gods and images of wind and sky again and again, it dawned on us that the wind is the central element in dice divination in much the same way that fire is the central element in the *homa*/ *goma* ritual. Amidst the shifting gods, dice, books, and mantic figures, as well as the uncertain concerns facing the human divination users, the sense of being "in the wind" offers the perfect leitmotif for dice divination and its various movements.

Wind whips and batters or it gently cools; it bears along tidings of good or ill; it blows against the traveler or it fills one's sails. These are all relevant to divination, as is the fact that the wind is helpfully plural in the sense that there are many different kinds of winds, some of them named, and there are also various diverse, culturally specific ways of thinking about the wind. Wind blows across the dice as they fall through the air, and it blows through the pantheon of dice divination texts. The wind also whips through the pages of divination books, aligning it with mouvance and the tendency of the books' textual contents to twist or tatter, and also to move alongside medical, astrological, and other ritual texts. Like metaphor, which both "is" and "is not" simultaneously, wind conveys order and disorder. It might be disruptive, in the way that divinatory mouvance is disruptive and chaotic when restoring balance and *alea* in the face of manipulative diviners and clients. But winds can also be calming forces, and in an excavated Sanskrit dice divination text from Kucha it is the Maruts—wind gods associated with storms and battles—who ensure the truth of the divination process.

The wind is similarly ambivalent in various Chinese traditions. In the *Divination of Maheśvara* wind appears in oracular response [51]:

> 3-1-1 This is named the King of the Mountain Spirits set. Body and mind are like the wind neither stopping nor going. Nothing you want will be accomplished. Your thoughts are so unfixed that they cannot settle on their own. This matter will not be achieved. Inauspicious.

Here wind symbolizes prevarication, or pointless activity or thought that results in nothing.

In earlier Chinese numerical trigram divination texts, as we will see in chapter two, wind can be the source of a curse. This does not mean, however, that wind is inherently bad or destructive: it is the type of wind that matters, and one's relationship to that wind. The expression "Eight Winds" (*ba feng* 八風), for example, refers to the movement of the four seasons. Sages who live in harmony with the Eight Winds enjoy long life; those who go against the wind, or who are struck by wind from the wrong direction, suffer harm.

As a leitmotif for dice divination, and as the governing element of its relational network, wind points to divination's "shiftiness," and its restlessness to blow across the Silk Roads and embrace a variety of users who speak different languages and profess different beliefs. Wind also cannot be pinned

down or bottled, and our own attempts here to make sense of dice divination are offered with this in mind, and with a recognition of the limits of our powers to fully capture or comprehend a tradition that has not been practiced for hundreds of years.

Outline of the Work

These theoretical reflections could certainly be pressed further to include an even greater emphasis on the analogy between dice divination and the dice game as bounded models that act upon an unbounded world, as a map of an actor-network, and as a venue for constituting gods and humans interpersonally through an aleatory mode of communication. There are also further points on embodiment, gender, ontology, positionality, contingency, and eventuality that follow from our approach to divination. But this is not that kind of book. Its chapters are not theory driven but are shaped rather more like case studies out of which we draw observations about the dynamic exchanges between divination users, gods, mantic figures, and the material culture of divination books and the objects of divination.

Chapter one attends to the Dunhuang codex in which the *Divination of Maheśvara* is contained, and then offers a close analysis of the text's instructions, its semantic fields, and its treatment of affective states. The semantic analysis of the *Divination of Maheśvara*'s oracular responses lays bare the divination process that it imagines. Namely, the client's intentions interact with the dice, which then form a mantic figure. Through the act of naming the mantic figure after a specific god or spirit, that god or spirit is invoked and activated as an agent of either protection or harm. Chapter one also explores the *Divination of Maheśvara*'s pantheon of gods and spirits in some detail, attending to their fluid classifications, their various identities, and the question of their relationship with the mantic figures and the oracular responses. The chapter closes with a full translation and transcription of the *Divination of Maheśvara*.

Chapter two contextualizes the *Divination of Maheśvara* within a long history of divination with numbers and numerical trigrams in China, from the fourth-century-BCE excavated bamboo manuscript of the *Stalk Divination* to medieval divination codices from Dunhuang like the *Duke of Zhou Divination Method* (*Zhou Gong bufa* 周公卜法), and the *Guan Gongming Divination Method* (*Guan Gongming bufa* 管公明卜法) that are contemporary with the *Divination of Maheśvara*. It attends to the ritual process and material culture of divination with stalks, counting rods, coins, draughtsmen, and dice-like teetotums. It also focuses on the format of some of these books, particularly divination codices from Dunhuang. Additionally, chapter two emphasizes the role of divination in identifying the sources of curses to be exorcised, and it contrasts divination with the production of talismans and their differing modes of interaction with gods and spirits. Chapter two also attends to oracular poetry and the recurring images in divination texts, as well as to different forms of the mantic figure. Throughout, the chapter wrestles with questions about correlative cosmology and its (in)applicability to many forms of numerical trigram divination, and also considers the ways in which cosmological representations are used to variously lend further efficacy to divination and/or to attempt to fit it within Daoist, Buddhist, or other cosmologies and soteriologies. It finds divinatory mouvance at work in some Chinese numerical trigram texts, and identifies materials and methods that come close to those of the *Divination of Maheśvara*.

Chapter three surveys Turkish, Tibetan, and Sanskrit dice divination texts that share the *Divination of Maheśvara*'s method, and traces this tradition to India. It begins by introducing Old Turkish and Old Tibetan dice divination codices from Dunhuang that are contemporary with the *Divination of Maheśvara* and which use the same method of dice divination. It then examines a larger body of ninth-century Old Tibetan dice divination texts from Dunhuang and Turfan, and explores the "trickiness" of Tibetan diviners who interact with the patron goddesses of divination as their opponents and their partners in a contest whose ludic dynamics justify its being called "oracular

gambling." Chapter three also examines the two dice divination texts in the sixth-century birchbark *Bower Manuscript* from Kucha, which are the earliest extant dice divination texts of this tradition. Attending both to divination books and to the archeological record of the four-sided dice used in this form of divination, known in Sanskrit as *pāśaka*-s, the chapter demonstrates that the *Divination of Maheśvara* ultimately derives from a tradition of dice divination and of dicing with a deep prehistory in India. Across these texts, there are some striking continuities, but the most persistent constant is their "shiftiness,"—a simultaneous willingness to be adopted and adapted while at the same time resisting the full imposition of order.

The short concluding chapter considers the pantheons, poetics, and sensibilities of these various

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This comemorative publication on the occasion of Sebastian Schütze's 60th birthday is part o f the long and beautiful tradition of honouring scientists on the occasion of their milestone birthday. Nevertheless, this time is far too early to pay tribute to the life's work of the jubilee or even to draw a conclusion. With this publication, the multifaceted nature of his scientific achievements is shown in the mirror of the studies of friendly colleagues, employees and former doctoral students. Like a kind of photo mosaic, an idea of the diverse areas of interest and the topics of Sebastian Schütze's lively and always open scientific dialogue with his environment appears from the entirety of the contributions and coributors.

Requiring authors to closely read an object of their choice, the commemorative publication focuses on a central method of Sebastian Schütze's studies. This methodical approach is ultimately also to be understood as a commitment to an art history that, despite all the thematic and theoretical expansion of the subject, repeatedly focuses on the work of art. Each contributio esented here is based on a work or a small group of works and is dedicated to their interpretation and interpretatio Which methodological approach the contributors also choose depends othe subject matter and the research questions and can range from dating, attribution or restoration results to questions oconography, image and text relations and analyses of the context of origin. The chronological framework spans from the Middle Ages to the moern age.

The 72 contributions to this commemorative publication are to seen as a sign of the authors' friendship and solidarity with Sebastian Schütze. His biographical stations are inscribed in this international and interdisciplinary network of colleagues at universities, research institutions and museums. After studying in Berlin, Rome, Cologne and Bonn, he received a doctoral scholarship at the Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rome for his studies on the Neapolitan painter Massimo Stanzione and spent numerous research stays in Naples. Already in these early years he laid the foundation for his deep and long-standing connection with Italy, his colleagues on site and Italian art and culture. After his habilitatiothe art patronage oaffeoarberini, later Pope Urban VIII, at freie Univer sität Berlin, he was appointed interim professorship in Leipzig, Dresden, and Munster, and a research professorship at the Biblioheca Hertziana.In2003, Sebastian Schütze was appointed to the Bader Chair for Sohern Baroque Art in Kingston, Canada, and finally to the Chair of Modern Art History at the University of Vienna in 2009. Here he was head of the Institute of Art History and head of the doctoral program, since 2018 he has served as Dean of the Faculty of Historical and Cultural Studies. In 2016, the Austrian Academy of Sciences appointed him a w. member othe philosophical - historical class.

The importance that Sebastian Schütze attaches to exchange and dialogue can also be seen in his diverse scientific achievements, which can only be touched upon the conception of conferences, the publication of series and the implementation of study courses and exhibition projects. To name just a few examples: the conference series Dialogues - Reflections - Transformations initiated with Antonietta Terzoli, which has been held regularly in Vienna and Basel since 2014 and examines the interactions between art and literature; the series Perspektivenwechsel, which has been published since 2020. Collectors, collections and collection cultures in Vienna and Central Europe, which publishes the research results of the Vienna Center fo the History of Collecting, which he founded, as well as the series Hermathena, in which the editors and the editor of thiscommemorative publication published their dissertations or habilitations; the study courses on hand drawing, which are published in cooperation with the Albertina, or those he regularly holds at the Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Filosofici in Naples, with whose founder Gerardo Marotta he had a deep friendship; and last but not least the numerous and extensive exhibitio, by Bernini Scultore e la nascita del barocco in Casa Borghese (Galleria Borghese 1998, with Anna Coliva) to Der Gõtliche: Hommage an MichelangeloBundeskunsthalle Bonn 2015, with Geor g Satzinger) or

Friedrich Nietzsche and the Artists of the New Weimar (Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada 2019).

Among the contributors to this publication are several (former) doctoral students and staff. Sebastian Schütze shared and discussed his ideas and broad knowledge with them in the lecture hall and on excursions in front of the original. This long-lasting connection is not only based on many findings in terms of content, but also on shared memories. For example, with the same passion and with the same precision in content as in front of the objects, important everyday topics such as the quality of the "pyre" were debated in Viennese coffee houses. His research also reflects his enthusiasm for new and different topics - such as Stefan George or William Blake. However, the center of Sebastian Schütze's research is Italy and the art of the early modern period - from Michelangelo, Caravaggio, and Bernini to Baroque painting in Naples.

This commemorative publication conveys a central idea of the ongoing exchange between the contributors and Sebastian Schütze. In terms of content and chronological breadth, it presents many new research results. In the layout of the individual contributions, quite a few authors were inspired by a new reading of Sebastian Schütze's fundamental writings… <>

Essay: Marc Mayer: Resilient Obscurity

One sunny afternoon, when I was about nine years old, I got myself wrapped-up in a play on television. I could not figure out what was going on, but it fascinated me. Three characters, two women and a man, were conversing in barely comprehensible sentences; I struggled to understand what the motivations for the words might be, and who these three people were to each other. They did not correspond to my experience of how adults interact.

Twenty minutes into it, my father entered the room and broke my concentration by asking, with exasperation: "Why are you watching that crap? You should be out playing!".

"I like it," was my meek response. He left the room shaking his head. I felt guilty and confused by the reprimand, but defiant. Why shouldn't I like it? I really did find it interesting, probably because it was barely comprehensible.

Recently, as I considered the cultural underpinnings of modernist art for a forthcoming lecture, this half-century old interaction came to mind. An odd memory to have harboured for so long, it seemed somehow connected to my observation that a familiar characteristic of modernist culture, a defining one of sorts, and of which that play was an example, is its difficulty.

Modern art, and its continuation under the euphemistic synonym "contemporary art," often relies on obscurity as a deliberate effect. Abstraction is the most notorious example, but Dadaism, Futurism, Surrealism, Reductivism, Conceptualism, and so much else - well into our own moment - are evidence enough that obscurity is a modernist convention in visual art. The same applies to modernist literature, theatre, dance, etc. Why?

After thinking about the various ways in which art can be obscure, and finding many, I concluded that we moderns must be addicted to obfuscation for its own sake. Searching further, it became increasingly clear to me that this reliance on obscurity is, in fact, more than a mere convention, but rather a richly developed and central feature of modernist culture. There must be a reason.

A set of plausible reasons eventually came to me, but my childhood fascination with that vanguard play showed me the most obvious one, and I believe the most important: pleasure. Many of us enjoy the mental effort required to understand the world, we love the strain of devising our own explanations for things as a form of psychic calisthenics. We are stimulated by interpretive resistance, which may be why the arts happily provide so much of it.

VENUS DE MILO, CA. 130 BC. MARBLE, 203 CM. PARIS, MUSEE DU LOUVRE, INV. N 527

Art is a safe place to be unknowing. Unlike the larger world, where not understanding can be dangerous, even fatal, culture lets us enjoy our ignorance without harm, by being the place where we can go to exercise our capacity to overcome it. In fact, art is so benign that, should we not succeed in understanding a given work, the only consequence we would suffer is the distraction of its other pleasures.

New art attracts sensualists who want to escape a world of exhausted clichés, of pat sense and predictable sequences, an audience happy to put in the mental work this kind of escape requires. The tenor of much art criticism illustrates this mentality well with overly familiar put-downs such as "derivative "one-liner," "obvious," "facile "deja-vu," etc. Now that skill has become a secondary concern, the main complaints are either about a lack of originality or a lack of obscurity.

In an attempt to explain the phenomenon, let me borrow a term from computer science. "Cognitive friction" is to be avoided in user interface design. But it is experienced as pleasure by the intellectually —or at least the aesthetically — ambitious who are avid to explore the inscrutable. Resistance to rapid assimilation will be known to scientists as inevitable because inherent to their subject: inscrutable nature. Such resistance may also explain science's appeal, aside from its principal goal of advancing knowledge. Labour-savers, we design the world and organise our lives to avoid cognitive friction. Should one regret the loss, science and art are there to restore it.

Many of us enjoy strenuous thinking as much as we might enjoy physical exertion; in both cases, the reward is elation. Problem solving, theory building, the fashioning of speculative constructs are great ways to spend a day. For scientists, obscurity is reality, but artists invent their own because cognitive friction is the point. When things are too familiar and predictable, for example rote aesthetic transactions or formulaic entertainments, aesthetes are quickly bored. They look for things that resist rapid assimilation because they experience boredom as a form of pain. They also know that, given an open mind and a taste for new sensations, such pain can be avoided through art's constantly evolving enterprise of beauty.

Before returning to the justifications for obscurity as a cultural value, let's sample the evidence that its modernist typology provides. I have identified the following five types, though sustained consideration may uncover more. Esoteric obscurity is an especially common and longstanding feature of art. For example, Bosch and Breughel both painted riddles for the literate. Having always played a pedagogical role — both as a teaching aid and to enjoy one's education — art enlists esoteric obscurity most successfully when it appeals to those trained in art history and theory, its guaranteed audience. The success of Canadian artist Jeff Wall has been based to a large extent on his occult references to art historical precedents in genre painting, history painting, still life, and other canonical forms of the Western tradition. His large backlit photographs nod to the cultures of film, theatre, literature and photography, making his work especially rich for a broadly sophisticated audience who will also enjoy his flirting with subjects as diverse as psychoanalysis, racism, capitalism, urbanism, the gender agon, eros, politics, history, and so on. Like many artists today, Wall relies on a broadly literate audience that is simulated by iconographic puzzles.

Similarly, the ongoing development of abstraction has a strong appeal to those familiar with the idiom and its history. Monochrome painting, a particularly well-tilled soil in the field of abstraction, is notoriously esoteric and typically attracts mockery from the uninitiated, who will invoke Hans Christian Andersen's naked emperor. But for the happy few whose education and experience permit them to enjoy its wit, ironies, politics, spirituality and, especially, its pure retinal pleasure, monochrome painting is one of art history's glories. But it remains obscure, even for its lovers, who must acquaint themselves with the artist's specific intentions, as these are surprisingly varied.

That we have successfully developed an artistic means to communicate emotionally between strangers, outside of time, and without resorting to symbols or even surface detail, is a cognitive achievement that leaps over languages and customs to ennoble the whole enterprise of abstraction. Separating the picture from the image, so to speak, is on par with splitting the atom as a feat of ratiocination, though it is not discussed in such terms. Those who find abstract painting exciting are, famously, in a small minority, which may be another of its charms.

In our modern art world where the evacuation of all forms of orthodoxy is a multi-generational project, any subject will do, and the more esoteric the better. Today, art can be about anything or nothing at all and take any form, or none. But the imperative to "make it strange as an artist once admitted to me, is a unifying principle.

Absurdity has been a familiar form of obscurity since the early 20th century. Dadaism, its initiator, seems quaint by comparison to art's subsequent absurdities. This forthrightly risible form of obscurity became standardised and strategic, not to mention increasingly humourless under Andre Breton's theory-laden Surrealism. Once spent, Surrealism dissolved into a tributary of mainstream abstraction, buoyed along by its Freudian undercurrent.

After a second World War that ended in a nuclear holocaust, artists looked back at their Dadaist forebears' reaction to their own cataclysm, and the absurd was ripe for revival. A first glimpse of it came through the apocalyptic, "all over" sensibility of Abstract Expressionism, the outright

obliteration of the image (Pollock) or its uninhibited violation (de Kooning). It then reemerged more explicitly through the post-abstract Neo-Dadaism of Robert Rauschenberg and Jasper Johns. Pop art,

revenge of the background? Why not? Such a question reveals the interpretive play that mystifying fragments enable.

Perhaps the best-known artist working in the fragmentary mode today is Gerhard Richter, with his highly influential "blur" procedure. By scraping or smearing the painted surface of otherwise conventional renderings, Richter compels the viewer to fill in the missing information in the mind, and engage with the object through its violation. Although Richter has blurred far more abstract paintings than figurative ones, the fact that he has practiced the same procedure on both can justify our suspicion about the authenticity of his abstractions. Both types of his aesthetically damaged pictures can only be reconstituted the same way, suggesting that they can be similarly "read," making them equivalent on a technicality. Are Richter's works in the idiom an embodiment of its spirit, or rather an illustration of abstraction as a subject? The notion, then, that Richter's work might be an earnest example of non-objectivity is hard to swallow. His recent blurred paintings, based on four photographs taken by an inmate of the death camp at Birkenau, give yet more substance to this suspicion. Stricto sensu, these pictures are abstract because of the way they are fragmented, but the whole project of abstraction has been steering us away from seeking occult images, as this restores representation. Richter's abstractions are unorthodox in this tradition, a form of archaism. Be that as it may, by taking the path of fragmentation he fascinates us uncomfortably with the novel retinal effects of his auto-vandalism to achieve a high classicism of modernist obscurity.

A sound work by Ceal Floyer removes all the lyrics sung by Elvis Presley in Love Me Tender, except for the words "me" and "you," which occur where they do in the original recording, leaving silence where they do not. After much effort, we might eventually recognize the voice and then the song, though now we know that the word "me" occurs far more frequently than the word "you," with the negative implications that has for the sincerity of Presley's love song. South African artist Candice Breitz similarly explores fragments of film history towards an analogous feminist critique.

Another example comes from French artist Renaud Bézy, in a video where he has removed the _characters and the dialogue of Disney animations. Only the cartoon backgrounds and the background music are left, creating a hybrid desolation of uncanny familiarity. Yet another approach comes from Cree painter Brenda Draney, who simply leaves her subject unpainted, giving us only the context to look at, in compositions made lopsided by missing information. But this approach to fragmentary obscurity more properly belongs to the next type.

Private obscurity withholds information about the subject in works that are also personal talismans for the artist. Although such works are technically sentimental, their inscrutability saves the artist from accusations of sentimentality, a cardinal sin in an orthodox modernism that sees itself in opposition to the kitsch of those cultural industries that exploit empathy.

Private obscurity is the more porous type, as it might incorporate the esoteric, the fragmentary, or the absurd. Draney, for example, withholds aspects of her pictures through fragmentation to underscore the personal nature of her subject, usually a private anecdote. It reminds me of redaction, perhaps of a human resources report where the principals and respondents are unnamed in compliance with privacy laws. Draney leaves a blank field, or raw canvas, where there should have been an identifiable figure or a significant object. As a result, the artist and the viewer become estranged.

A more extreme approach to private obscurity, similarly, resulting in estrangement, was taken by the late American painter Thomas Nozkowski. Although his works look for all the world like the sincerest of abstractions, they are perfectly legible to the artist as schematic mementos of an experience, of an anecdote, or of a fleeting emotion that he wished to preserve. For the viewer, these are scrupulously non-representational pictures, but for the artist they are the opposite.

Nozkowski orchestrates incompatible perspectives between artist and viewer. As they both face his painting, the difference between them is categorical because they are not seeing the same thing. He was careful throughout his career to avoid revealing his paintings' subjects, so this alienation was deliberate. In my mind, Nozkowski invented a moot instance of irresolvable opposition as an analogy of democracy, about which he was passionate. The beautiful paintings that result from instrumentalizing privacy in this way form a compelling, if abstract argument for democratic conciliation.

If we consider the reliance on personal history of the artists Joseph Beuys and Louise Bourgeois, we might find their work private and esoteric in equal measure. If you know the story that Beuys told of his wartime adventures, regardless of its veracity, you will understand why there is so much fat and felt in his work. What remains, however, is the job of justifying it for yourself as art. If you know about Louise Bourgeois' childhood, you will understand the large spiders and the great lengths of thread in her corpus. As Bourgeois was more conventionally skilled than Beuys, her artistry is also more evident.

Unlike with Nozkowski, where there are no insiders but himself, privacy is enlisted as a form of seduction for both Bourgeois and Beuys. Their knowing viewer — and it's easy to become one — is like an intimate acquainted with private anecdotes that illuminate murky iconographies. If you do not know the stories that these artists told about themselves, if you are not an intimate, you are left to squint at their work's opacity. Meanwhile, initiates marvel at genius overcoming trauma. Which brings me to the final type of obscurity on my list.

Cultural obscurity results when the references in a work belong to a non-mainstream, or non-Western culture unfamiliar to the viewer. In this case, the insider/outsider distinctions are just as stark as in the other forms of obscurity, but they tend more toward the inadvertent, where they are not compounded by contemporary art tropes. For example, an Anishnaabe artist does not necessarily intend to be obscure by referring to her people's creation myth, but that will be the result for those who are not familiar with it.

The growing prevalence of cultural obscurity in art, no doubt the result of identarian aesthetics, also reveals the new, non-dogmatic, non-prescriptive, post-colonial, ecumenical and inclusive spirit of the contemporary art world. Chronologically speaking, this form of obscurity is both the most recent and the most ancient, because cultural misunderstanding has always troubled humanity. As to which we should credit for this very positive development, the new inclusivity of the art world or a taste for cognitive friction that constantly needs replenishing, is an open question.

Feminist art, Queer art, Indigenous contemporary art (the qualification is crucial), art by African Americans and other diasporic practices, new art from various global cultures participating in the great mosaic of the art world, often make references that will not be readily available to a Western audience. If the viewer learns about such cultures - which brings its own pleasures - obscurity can become exclusivity, just as it does in the esoteric, absurdist, fragmentary and private modes.

With the advent of modernism, Westerners put aside the ethnic peculiarities of Europe, not to accommodate foreign sensibilities, but as cultural hygiene to salve Western disenchantment with its own heritage. Whether through philosophy or science, those who had lost faith in their inherited myths and traditions wanted to open the windows and let in fresh air. What would high culture look like if it bore no resemblance to what had come before? What if the very premise and purpose of art were replaced, improved, elevated? Modernists had intended to build a world governed by reason and evidence, but that world has yet to be achieved, because modernists had more than reason and evidence in their baggage. Unfortunately, the obscurity that qualifies so much modernist art has hindered artists from participating effectively in the all-important bourgeois dialectic that

determines the quality of life in liberal democracies and their client economies. Obscurity has a downside.

Emancipated by modernism, artists emphasized the new over the established, and made originality their goal. Having overpowered orthodoxy as a value, the imperative of originality created the ideal conditions for art to accommodate a rich diversity of practices. Clearly defined ideologies are hard to come by in artistic culture today, where ambiguity, ambivalence and especially obscurity join intellectual and aesthetic freedom as core values. Intentionally or not, modern art, and the reverence for originality that it shares with science, set up the conditions by which contemporary art was able to become an inclusive culture on a planetary scale. Both the intelligentsia and the market are now in sync in their enthusiasm for a global art world. And because such a world is also necessarily transcultural, we are now experiencing a great nourishing tide of obscurity.

Nevertheless, although an artist may be from China, Egypt, or Ghana, contemporary art lovers will be familiar with the tropes, tactics, conventions and trends learned in today's art schools, experienced in art museums and illustrated in art magazines, for the time being still predominantly in the West. Though the details of specific cultural references may elude the bulk of the audience, the form and intentions are familiar. Such details can be learned, perhaps by reading an insightful exhibition catalogue or an explanatory wall label, after a sufficient amount of time is spent in pleasant obliviousness.

For those of us familiar with modernist art and its contemporary extensions, a cross-cultural language can be intuited. But modernist aversion to artistic prescription has discouraged the development of a standardized grammar that can be learned outside of experience. Experience, then, is still the great determiner of who gets to be an artistic insider. Consequently, it also supports economic class distinction, as experience is expensive to obtain in art, unlike music or literature. If you do not live in a major art centre; or if you do not have the time and resources required to travel and build a repertoire of direct experience large enough to produce such intuition; or, more typically, if you come from a background where such experience and intuition is deemed irrelevant, modern art will be opaque to you and may feel symptomatic of the class struggle.

Which brings us back to the reasons for obscurity's ascendancy, beyond mere pleasure. If the ever-expanding education industry has shied away from establishing a standard aesthetic grammar for modern art, my guess is that the anti-academicism of its modernist foundations remains sturdy and determining. A violent reaction against the constraints of the aristocratic regime, bourgeois modernism produced a field that still wants neither compass nor map. Human nature being what it is, the insider/outsider dichotomy, a result of modernism's fundamental agonism, is well served by a field that loves obscurity for its own sake, and that uses it as both sword and shield. Perversely, the dichotomy is also very appealing if you oppose the ideal of liberal democracy's illusory classless society. A snob is happy to belong to an exclusive minority, alone in its understanding that much of modern art is not meant to be understood.

But let's try out a more practical and less politically tendentious perspective. To maintain its ancient noble status, art has had to distinguish itself within the modern world's visual field, comprised mostly of superficial decoration, advertising, signage, pictographic instructions, pornography, all meant to be assimilated immediately. Obscurity slows assimilation. Slowing down the viewer by troubling the synaptic network between eye and mind has been a fruitful strategy for art, a guarantee of its distinction and a good path to its continued elevation. Conveniently, it undergirds a market that rewards novelty, scarcity and the extended "use value" of the inscrutable object. A work that holds its mystery stands a better chance of holding its value. In a consumer economy, the rare and increasingly valuable thing is the attractive product that resists definitive consumption.

There is yet another reason why obscurity has had such appeal, one that may give it renewed vigour as a new wave of insurgent calls for social justice faces an energized populism, causing upheaval within liberal democracies. An important new battleground for the left is on questions of decorum, taste and etiquette where modernist art has a solid history of antagonism. Freedom of expression, sacrosanct to liberal democrats, seems as illusive as ever in a time when a wrong word, a stupid joke or "unwanted attention" can instantly transform a hero into a pariah. Just as taboo subject matter was encrypted in modernist literature — think of Proust, Faulkner, Joyce, Eliot, and Woolf — obscurity provides its own encryption and its own quiet resistance. If art is a safe place to be unknowing, obscurity makes it also a safe place for candour.

If the left has made a provisional truce with a vanguard culture that still wants to "épater le bourgeois," modernist art continues to resist invitations to be socially instrumental. Its association with "bourgeois decadence," from the point of view of the traditional left, may seem old hat for the moment, given what we know of art's dialectical agonism within bourgeois society. But it is not a stable peace, as the left regroups for a different kind of revolution, one that implicates' art museums for the first time in decades. Although he abandoned abstraction in favour of a socially engaged return to iconography, it is precisely Philip Guston's fidelity to modernist obscurity, the ambiguity of his message to all but his knowing audience, that has recently frightened art museum directors into postponing his retrospective.

The fate of modernist obscurity, like the fate of modernism itself, is anyone's guess. From my perspective, it still has psychology, precedence and its own relatively robust economy going for it. The day that artists find a way to make compelling and relevant works of art that do not rely on the methods of obscurity, they will have finally become postmodernists. <>

THE SCHEMA OF THE THEORY OF REIFICATION by Wataru Hiromatsu, translated by John Hocking with an introduction by Makoto Katsumori [Historical Materialism Book Series, Brill, 97890043351O3]

Hiromatsu argues that the change from Marx's theory of self-alienation to the concept of reification is crucial in establishing a new relational worldview which is still relevant today. Amongst other topics, his discussion of the understanding of society sees such as a relational dynamic wherein the individual is constantly composed and composing in relation to others, including nature. This understanding is, he argues, the "single science of history" of Marx and Engels. It overcomes the hypostasizing subject - object relation still prevalent today.

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The present volume, **THE SCHEMA OF THE THEORY OF REIFICATION**, is a translation of Hiromatsu Wataru's (1933–1994) book which was published by Iwanami Shoten in 1983 and later included [Collected works of Hiromatsu Wataru], Vol. 13. The book consists of five chapters and an epilogue, and those chapters, except for the third section of the first chapter, were originally published as discrete essays in journals between 1969 and 1983. The third section of Chapter 1 and the epilogue were newly written for the book publication. While a number of Hiromatsu's major books, including the present one, have been translated into Chinese, translations into European

languages have to date been limited to some individual essays and excerpts from books. The present publication is indeed the first ever English translation of an entire book by the author.

Undoubtedly one of the most important philosophers in twentieth-century Japan, Hiromatsu has so far been relatively little known abroad, not least in Europe and North America, among other regions. As his German translator Raji Steineck rightly suggests, this hitherto limited attention to Hiromatsu's work may be attributed to the fact that his thought does not fit into the widespread preconception of "Japanese philosophy" as essentially tied to or rooted in the East-Asian cultural traditions. While such culturally essentialist notions of Japanese philosophy could be questioned even with regard to its supposed representative figures, such as Nishida Kitarõ or some other largely prewar philosophers, their inadequacy becomes all the more apparent with reference to Hiromatsu. His work may be characterized as a rigorous and critical engagement with modern philosophy whose scope and context are by no means restricted to, or centered on, the cultural or geopolitical entity of Japan or East Asia. In this introductory essay, I wish to situate in an appropriate context the author Hiromatsu, his philosophical thought, and specifically the present work The Schema of the Theory of Reification.

Born in Yamaguchi Prefecture in 1933, Hiromatsu grew up mainly in Fukuoka Prefecture, southwestern Japan. Immediately after the end of World War II in 1945, Hiromatsu as a schoolboy took a keen interest in Marxism and started extensively reading left-wing literature, notably the Japanese edition of The Collected Works of Marx and Engels. While in junior high school, he joined Communist-led political activities, and a few years later, he was expelled from high school for distributing fliers protesting the then raging Red purge. After passing the high-school equivalency examination, Hiromatsu entered the University of Tokyo in 1954, and studied philosophy while at the same time further engaging in political activities. During this process, he became increasingly at odds with the orthodox or "Russian" school of Marxism over a series of theoretical and practical issues, and consequently parted company with the Japan Communist Party. Shifting toward what was then taking form as the New Left, he helped develop a new orientation of the revolutionary movement, and this effort was, on the basic theoretical level, bound up with his seminal project of exploring and reinterpreting Karl Marx's thought.

During the 1960s, the young Hiromatsu emerged first of all as a new leading theorist of Marxism. Starting with his 1963 essay "Marxism and the Theory of Self-Alienation," he presented a novel interpretation of Marx's thought that differed from orthodox Marxism as well as from the "humanist" version of Marxism based on the notion of "alienation." As is well known, Marx's early critique of alienation, as developed in his Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts, revolves around the idea that the human subject externalizes itself into an alien object and yet eventually overcomes this alienation, turning back to itself. In Hiromatsu's reading, this idea of alienation is "inseparable from a specific concept of the subject" as represented by Hegel's concept of "spirit" – which was subsequently recast by the Young Hegelians into various notions such as "humanity," "self-consciousness," or "species-being" – and it was within such a conceptual framework that the early Marx set forth his critique of alienation. In due course, however, according to Hiromatsu,

Marx's thought underwent a radical change. In the middle of the 1840s, starting in his unfinished joint work with Friedrich Engels, The German Ideology, Marx developed a renewed critique of society no longer based on the abstract notion of the subject, but rather on his new conception of the human being as "the ensemble of social relations." This new orientation of Marx's thought had hitherto been obscured, however, by the then standard edition of The German Ideology, Part i, which, in Hiromatsu's view, was seriously flawed by an arbitrary compilation of the authors' manuscripts. Hiromatsu accordingly proceeded through a detailed textual criticism of The German Ideology, which eventually resulted in the publication of his own edition of the text (Marx and Engels 1974).

In his 1969 book The Horizon of Marxism and other writings, Hiromatsu characterized the development of Marx's thought as the transition from "the theory of alienation" to "the theory of reification." The mature Marx's critique of "reification" (Versachlichung) is no longer aimed at the subject turning into an alien object, but at the "fixation of social activity" arising from the naturally evolved cooperative relations between individuals. As succinctly summed up by Hiromatsu, 'reification' for Marx refers to the circumstance that "the relation between persons appears as a relation between things, as a thing-like substance, or as a thing-like attribute". Analyzing this idea of reification as it was introduced in The German Ideology and further developed in Marx's later work, particularly in Capital, Hiromatsu sought to show how this conceptual innovation implies surpassing the framework of modern philosophy marked by the subject/object schema. His new interpretive approach to Marx's thought as just outlined was received with fervor by a wide range of readers, especially among young students involved in the rising campus struggles during the late 1960s. Then teaching at Nagoya University, Hiromatsu himself acted in solidarity with the student revolt, and in 1970 resigned from the university in support of the movement. He remained outside academia until 1976, when he became assistant professor of philosophy at the University of Tokyo.

Notwithstanding its great intellectual impact, Hiromatsu's work in Marxism and Marx studies by no means covered the whole of his scholarship. As can also be perceived from his analysis of Marx's thought, he was deeply grounded in a broad range of Western philosophy, notably German idealism, neo-Kantianism, and phenomenology, as well as the thought of physicist-philosopher Ernst Mach. More importantly, however, unlike many other contemporary researchers in the field, Hiromatsu engaged above all in philosophizing with remarkable originality and systematic coherence. He developed his own philosophical project in his 1972 book The Intersubjective Being-Structure of the World and subsequent works, most elaborately in his masterpiece Being and Meaning, vol. 1 (1982) and vol. 2(1993). The basic motif of his philosophy was a systematic critique of the "modern worldview," which he characterized as substantialist and bound by the subject/object schema. He sought to overcome this modern worldview by extending Marx's innovative ideas, particularly his critique of reification, to the general philosophical dimension.

The starting point of Hiromatsu's analysis is that all phenomena in the world bear "meaning" or "value," or, in other words, that they appear as something. The phenomenon always appears as something more or something other than the phenomenal or real given. For instance, "[t]he sound that is just heard appears intuitively as a car horn; what is seen outside the window appears as a pine tree"). Any phenomenon thus consists of two factors, the given and the meaning/value, which are inseparably linked in such a way that the former appears as the latter. Further, Hiromatsu continues, the phenomenon is every time a phenomenon "for someone," and this someone is also of twofold character. For example, a hammer has an instrumental value for someone insofar as he/she "plays the role of striking a nail" with it. In this way, something appears to someone as a general "role-taking Someone." It is important to note that the formation of a meaning or value is correlative with the process through which different subjects make themselves "intersubjectively isomorphic" to become a general Someone. In this way, "intersubjectivity" serves as an essential link between meaning/value and Someone.

The above twofold structures of both subject-side and object-side are combined to form what Hiromatsu calls the "fourfold structure": "A given presents itself as something to someone as Someone". For instance, the sound dog bears the meaning of 'dog' for someone as an English speaker. It is also in terms of the fourfold structure that Hiromatsu analyzes Marx's account of the commodity: A product of labor appears as a value to someone as a subject of abstract human labor. As Hiromatsu stresses, the above four moments of the phenomenon are not independent elements, but exist only as terms of the fourfold functional relationship. This relational character of

phenomena has been missed, however, in the substantialist philosophical tradition, and Hiromatsu critically designates this tendency as “reification”.

comprehensively in line with the composition of the theory of reification Marx's system of "critique of (the study of) political economy" which encompasses the complete three volumes of Capital, but mainly because, on the other hand, in the matter of the influential determinant in my philosophy of praxis, especially in the arrangement of role action, it was difficult to see through to a necessary and sufficient methodological deployment. However, in the last year or two, in regard to the former, having gained as co-author the specialist Mr Yoshida Norio, I have come to be likely to achieve a revision and expansion of my old work The Philosophy of Capital and consequently a restructuring of interpretation containing the whole of the system of "Marx's critique of (the study of) political economy." In regard to the latter, too, as the draft of Being and Meaning Volume II "The Being-Structure of the World of Praxis" has gradually come together I have reached the point where my conception has more or less firmed. This is the reason that I am here putting forward this book which takes as its thematic content the "composition and range of the theory of reification" for public examination and am seeking correction from the well-informed reader.

This book is not, however, something which discusses abstractly and generally the composition of the theory of reification in the form simply of methodology. Moreover, this book is a collection of essays, and it contains an old essay published in an academic society journal more than ten years ago. In addition, although it takes the general title of The Schema of the Theory of Reification, the main body of the book is limited to the theory of reification of Marx and Engels, and my own conception is only revealed in the form of an epilogue.—Though by nature I am slothful, it's not that I didn't have in mind to write a "newly written text." Also, once I had decided on the form of a collection of essays I did, temporarily, draft a long introduction. However, after careful consideration, I decided on the current form, having a particular thing in mind.

I personally desire in mind that to more easily gain the understanding of the reader regarding the composition and range of the theory of reification, taking the form, as in this book, of restricting the ridge of the theory of reification in Marx and Engels to the primary "backbone" of discussion and fleshing things out in my description of such first, and then having done that stating in an abbreviated form my conception as a continuation and development of such would—rather than the normal forms of resolving to be too accurate and tending to stray into byways, or reducing complexity and describing things comprehensively—rather be more suitable. I sincerely pray that such thinking of mine is not complacent.

To the extent that they were written independently of each other, the five essays contained within the book should be comprehensible even if perused in a random order, but in order to ascertain the schema of the theory of reification it would be best to read them through in the order in which they are arranged. However, for a certain kind of reader, the first essay may be seen as an unnecessary preamble, and I fear that it may be felt to be boring. At such a time, I would ask that the second essay and the epilogue be read, and that the first essay be bypassed for the time being.

The first essay, "For an Extolling of Materialist History", whilst rejecting crude understandings of the image of historical materialism, extols the perspective of materialist history as world-view and its composition, but in the context of this book, it, in particular, is such that it should perform the function of an introduction in regard to Marx's theory of reification with discussion, in particular, of the continuous discontinuity = discontinuous continuity of the so-called "theory of alienation" in the "early Marx" and the "theory of reification" in the "later Marx." Furthermore, section 3 of this essay, "The Sublation of the Theory of Alienation, and The Theory of Reification", is newly written, and with this addition I have also done some revision of the text and notes (the notes are provided together at the end of the chapter)1 of the preceding sections 1 and 2.—In this book I do not go into the specific content of materialist history itself, and I would be grateful if this lack can be made up for through the easily obtainable separate work, The Original Image of Materialist History

(San'ichi shobõ, Shinsho Edition). In this separate work, whilst dismissing crude forms of materialist history, I discuss as main themes the view of society, the view of the state and the view of history of Marx and Engels, and I engage in an explicatory investigation of the fundamental concepts of materialist history. Also, regarding the features of Marx and Engels' discussion of human being, I ask that you see chapters 3 and 4 of the separate work, The Horizon of Marxism (Keisõ shobõ).

The second essay, "The Composition and Scope of the Theory of Reification", has the feature of originally being a rewriting in the form of an independent essay of the incomplete "Section 3" of the first essay, but, putting aside the circumstances of its formation, regarded just in the context of this book, it forms the central trunk of such. In including it in this book expansion and revision was undertaken, primarily in the notes.—No matter how much this essay has the features and the position of being a continuation of the first essay, it was published in the form of an independent essay and it includes points which to some degree duplicate those in the first essay, but, fearing causing jumps in the gist of the argument, I deliberately didn't undertake a large-scale cutting of material.

The third essay, "The Theory of Reification of the Historical World", is the manuscript for an academic society special lecture written in the late autumn of 1968 (it was published in the academic society journal beforehand, with corrections made in January 1969), fifteen years previous to now, and it discussed the proposal to extend the composition of the theory of the "world of the commodity" in Capital into the reificatory being-structure in the "historical world" in general. This old essay is worth commemorating for me as the essay in which I first state my interpretation of Marx's theory of the world of the commodity, and it is also, at the same time, the essay in which I first state publicly my "role theory composition", but I have until now refrained from including it in an essay collection. The reason for this is not because it contained points I wished to withdraw, but because, later, I published section 2 of this essay in an elaborated and developed form as "The Being-Structure of the Linguistic World" and "The Co-operative Being-Structure of the Historical World", (both are contained in my work The Intersubjective Being-Structure of the World published by Keisõ shobõ), and also, I published "Heidegger and Reificatory Misapprehension" (republished in my work An Outpost Towards a Koto-Centred View of the World published by Keisõ shobõ) which develops as the main theme points of critique from this essay, and further, I published as an independent book, The Philosophy of Capital (published by Gendai hyõron sha), the reading of Capital which supports section 1 of the essay, and so in this way, I developed as main themes foundational statements from this essay = academic society lecture in a variety of directions, and therefore published the essay in a different form. In this way, I abandoned the essay to an academic society journal which would never be read at all by anyone apart from the typesetter, but this old essay, no matter how much of a rough sketch it is, indeed, because it is a foundational rough sketch, can be seen as convenient in bringing into relief the main line of argument in the context of this book. This is the reason I have dusted it off and republished it.—Because the idea is to republish my first statements regarding the various aforementioned themes, I have stopped at correcting of misprints and have taken the expedient of inserting somewhat explanatory "translations" (within square brackets) of European words. I hope that I might be somehow forgiven for duplication with other essays. For this academic society lecture, taking into consideration the circumstance that the audience was a school of philosophers with little connection with Marx but with a close affinity with Heideggerian terminology, I make frequent use of Heideggerian jargon. Whilst I fear that I will invite the displeasure of a certain kind of reader I can only ask that attention to and distinction of Heideggerian terminology be made.—Although the fact that the essay is not on the whole sufficiently developed was beyond my control, for me the major dissatisfaction is the fact that I completely omitted relating discussion to Marx's "theory of value form." Of course, human relations in the "theory of value form" only fully applies to "the simple commodity producer model." It was having carefully considered this that I omitted relating discussion to the theory of value form. Even so, it

can't be denied that this lack is a cause of pushing the discussion into an abstract realm, and to you readers who are economists it is likely that you will have the impression that "with this kind of discussion in the end a consistent reading of the complete three volumes of Capital using the composition of the theory of reification can't possibly be believed." Certainly, in extolling, not only in this essay but in the book as a whole, the theory of reification which runs through the complete three volumes of Capital, I have left a large amount of work undone. To fulfil this work, however, concrete discussion focused along the lines of Capital, such as the "problem of transformation" etc, is necessary and would easily necessitate a book with this as its main theme. For this reason, I have deliberately refrained in this book from incomplete discussion of related, non-central matters. For the time being, regarding the "theory of value form" and the "theory of fetishism", I would be grateful if the lack in this book is supplemented through my previously published, separate book The Philosophy of Capital (incidentally, this existing work of mine is scheduled to be newly published by Keisõ shobõ next spring, having undergone expansion and correction).

The fourth essay, "The Historical Reification of the Natural World", is once again a republication of an old essay written for an academic society journal, and apart from a condensing of the notes at the end of the essay, and the supplementation of material in square brackets I have stopped at only correcting misprints. The points of argument and the quotations in this essay are almost all duplications with those in the first essay, the second essay and the epilogue, and it wasn't that I didn't hesitate to republish it, but this short essay is the only essay for me where I discussed as the main theme Marx and Engels' concept of nature, and recently, for reasons of its rarity, I have frequently been asked about it, so I chose to publish it here as an "addendum in a different place", refraining from altering the duplication of points of argument. I'd like to beg forgiveness.

The fifth essay, "Philosophy in Marx", is the record of a speech given under the auspices of "Terakoya", and it is not an essay which takes the theory of reification as a direct topic, but deals with the matters of the composition of "systematic description = systematic critique" mentioned in the second essay and the "realising sublation = sublating realisation of philosophy" in the place of practice, and in general it also has an aspect of generalising motifs (though from a particular vantage point) contained in this book, so this too has been included as an "addendum." Apart from omitting part of the preamble and addendum notes it is a mostly faithful republication.

The epilogue, "Expanding the Theory of Reification", is an outline of my own thoughts and proposals as to how I wish to continue and develop, on the basis of what kind of direction and with what kind of deployment, Marx and Engels' theory of reification. Even though, formally, it is an "epilogue", this long, new essay can be seen as, along with the second essay, the central part of this book. In the context of it as a continuation of the main text I haven't refrained from re-declaring points of discussion and reinserting quotations.

Reading the printer's proofs it is difficult not to feel embarrassed. Even though it was put together in accordance with a pre-established line, I am extremely ashamed of the duplication arising from the republication of material, especially the duplication of quotations. For example, a certain section of The German Ideology is not only quoted in every chapter but has ended up being used twice within the same essay, making things extremely unattractive. Also, from a different perspective, this book presents such a patchwork appearance, and in contrast to the more than ten essay collections I have previously sent out into the world being a unity furnished with an internal arrangement in their own way, in the case of this book, it is simply a completely distorted five-pointed star. In the group of my works this book is bound to be judged the most unattractive.

Rethinking things, however, being published in advance of the revised, new edition of The Philosophy of Capital and the volumes to follow it, and alongside Being and Meaning Volume ii, in the case of this book which promotes the composition of Marx's theory of reification and which ought to

present my own composition of the theory of reification, this clumsiness may perhaps be on the contrary well equal to its task. The essays contained in it have, for me, each been accompanied by catharsis, and all I can do now is hope for good luck. <>

Inhaling Spirit: Harmonialism, Orientalism, and the Western Roots of Modern Yoga by Anya P. Foxen [Oxford University Press, 9780190082734]

Recent scholarship has shown that modern postural yoga is the outcome of a complex process of transcultural exchange and syncretism. This book doubles down on those claims and digs even deeper, looking to uncover the disparate but entangled roots of modern yoga practice. Anya Foxen shows that some of what we call yoga, especially in North America and Europe, is genealogically only slightly related to pre-modern Indian yoga traditions. Rather, it is equally, if not more so, grounded in Hellenistic theories of the subtle body, Western esotericism and magic, pre-modern European medicine, and late-nineteenth-century women's wellness programs. The book begins by examining concepts arising out of Greek philosophy and religion, including Pythagoreanism, Stoicism, Neo-Platonism, Galenic medicine, theurgy, and other cultural currents that have traditionally been categorized as "Western esotericism," as well as the more recent examples which scholars of American traditions have labeled
"metaphysical religion." Marshaling these under the umbrella category of "harmonialism," Foxen argues that they represent a history of practices that were gradually subsumed into the language of yoga.

Orientalism and gender become important categories of analysis as this narrative moves into the nineteenth century. Women considerably outnumber men in all studies of yoga except those conducted in India, and modern anglophone yoga exhibits important continuities with women's physical culture, feminist reform, and white women's engagement with Orientalism. Foxen's study allows us to recontextualize the peculiarities of American yoga--its focus on aesthetic representation, its privileging of bodily posture and unsystematic incorporation of breathwork, and above all its overwhelmingly white female demographic. In this context it addresses the ongoing conversation about cultural appropriation within the yoga community.

Review

"Using the metaphor of inosculation, this fascinating and compelling study traces the Western roots of modern yoga, which Foxen (California Polytechnic State Univ.) argues "is only slightly genealogically related to Indian yogic traditions." She charts the development of physical culture in the West, particularly forms embedded within philosophical and spiritual traditions rooted in classical Hellenism, from Neoplatonic strains in Islamic culture, medieval Platonism, and magical traditions, into the movements of Emanuel Swedenborg, Franz Anton Mesmer, and New Thought. ... This text will be valuable to those interested in the history of ideas, esoteric studies, embodied religions, physical culture, women's studies, Orientalism, yoga, harmonialism, cultural appropriation, countercultural studies, identity construction, and dance." -- G. J. Reece, *CHOICE*

"*Inhaling Spirit* represents an extremely fascinating and engaging volume, that might serve as a fundamental read not only for scholars, but also for practitioners willing to delve into the history of 'their' yoga, in order to approach its practice in a more conscious and knowledgeable manner." -- Valeria Infantino , Sapienza University of Rome, *Recensioni*

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BREATHING: AN INSPIRED HISTORY by Edgar Williams [Reaktion Books, 9781789143621]

Our knowledge of breathing has shaped our social history and philosophical beliefs since prehistory. Breathing occupied a spiritual status for the ancients, while today it is central to the practice of many forms of meditation, like Yoga. Over time physicians, scientists, and engineers have pieced together the intricate biological mechanisms of breathing to devise ever more sophisticated devices to

physiology for many years. As a respiratory physiologist investigating the mechanisms of breathing, I have travelled the world working in the very laboratories where many of the great discoveries in the science and history of breathing were made. In any series of lectures on the physiology and pathology of breathing, the names of the scientists and physicians who first made these discoveries arise, since they often named the mechanisms they had discovered after themselves: hence we have the Bohr effect, Cheyne-Stokes breathing and Guillain-Barre Syndrome, to name but a few. Research into the cause and management of respiratory illness is important, as it remains one of the greatest causes of global morbidity and mortality, affecting young and old alike.

The history of how we gained our present understanding of breathing is both long and fascinating. It spans many centuries, progressing in fits and starts as major discoveries suddenly revealed new insights into the mechanisms of breathing, such as the first microscopic examination of the lungs by the anatomist Marcello Malpighi (1628-1694), the discovery of oxygen in the eighteenth century, and the identification of the tuberculosis bacterium by Robert Koch in 1882. Historical epidemics of polio, tuberculosis and influenza have shown us how important breathing is to our health. The twentieth century brought huge increases in chronic incurable respiratory conditions such as asthma and smoking-induced chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD). In the twenty-first century, methods of improving health and wellness, such as yoga and meditation, have been popularized. Central to their practice is the self-control of breathing, which helps to manage stress and ease the pressures experienced in everyday life.

Recently air pollution has focused the health-conscious public and governments of the world on the long-term impact of our health. Researchers have realized that ultra-small carbon particles from vehicle exhausts can enter the blood via the lungs and lodge in tissues within the brain and heart. Breathing has gained new cultural relevance with the emergence of the worldwide Covid-19 pandemic in 2020. The unknown virus, which originated in China and is new to the human species, spread rapidly around the world, infecting and killing millions of people. This coronavirus enters bodies through the delicate respiratory membranes in the lungs. On its arrival, suddenly breathing other people's breath became potentially dangerous to life, as nobody had any immunity to the virus (officially named SARS-COV-2). Quarantine, isolation and physical distancing became global watchwords as every country's economy shut down in an attempt to keep everyone safe. We all had to breathe within our own individual space, as did our nearest and dearest.

In most cases of Covid-19, the disease caused by the virus, the viral infection causes mild symptoms such as persistent coughing, a raised body temperature and aching limbs. Most people who catch the virus experience these mild symptoms, which pass quickly, but in a few cases, particularly vulnerable members of the public such as the elderly and those with heart disease, virus-induced pneumonia develops, making breathing difficult. Indeed, staying alive depends on breathing supplying the body with enough oxygen. Many of those who recover in full have commented on their struggle to breathe and how frightening this sensation can be. For the unfortunate few whose bodies overreact to the infection, in whom a `cytokine storm' develops into pneumonia, the only solution is mechanical ventilation and sedation until the storm is over. This book describes how, through the development of our understanding of breathing, we conceived the technology to support breathing, whether it be partially via a mask or fully by ventilator. It tells the story of how physicians and scientists sought to eliminate respiratory illness, and how they not only discovered the secrets of breathing but developed machines to support it. The innovations have helped to prolong life, and aid breathing on mountain tops or when diving beneath the sea.

Throughout, I have sought to answer a single question: why do we breathe the way we do? This book sets out the evidence.

We, Other Greeks

> In regard to the numerous other systems with which the world is deluged we have nothing to say, since the best results to be obtained from all of them can be found beautifully expressed in a judicious combination of the basic principles which underlie Greek art and the more practical training of the Swedish poet. The system of psycho-physical culture and the various exercises for the same given in this work are based chiefly upon those just mentioned, combined with others more occult and mystic in their nature, which have been taken from those ideal and charmingly beautiful motions of sacred dance and prayer practiced by various oriental nations for certain religious and metaphysical effects, while the whole is blended with a system of vital dynamic breathing and mental imagery. This perfect combination stimulates to healthy, vigorous action every power and molecule of the brain, so as to produce, by mental reaction, a life-giving, stimulating ecstasy upon the soul—the psyche; hence the true meaning of this especial system which is, in very truth, psycho-physical, and affects, simultaneously, the body to vigorous health, the brain to powerful mental action, and the soul to a higher aspiration. —Genevieve Stebbins, Dynamic Breathing and Harmonic Gymnastics (1892)

I would like to begin this book by making a clear and unequivocal statement: I am not setting out to argue that yoga has its true origins in Western civilization. Nor am I proposing that white women invented yoga. In fact, for a considerable portion of this book, I will not be talking about "yoga" at all.

If we want to boil this book's argument concerning yoga down to its basic essence—to distill its spirit, so to say—it might read as follows: many white women (for they are overwhelmingly white, and overwhelmingly women) practicing "yoga" in the United States today are actually engaged in something that is only slightly genealogically related to Indian yogic traditions. That is, had history taken a different turn, we might see the same practice taking place today under some completely different name. This is not a wholly original argument. In fact, the basic seed of it is inherent in Mark Singleton's statement, made in his seminal study of modern yoga, Yoga Body (2010), that "postural modern yoga displaced—or was the cultural successor of—the established methods of stretching and relaxing that had already become commonplace in the West, through harmonial gymnastics and female physical culture." This book digs deeper into precisely what these modes of stretching were (and, in reality, they were far more than stretching) and where they themselves came from.

My ultimate point is this: there is a Western history of practice here that was overwritten by the imported language of yoga, thereby becoming invisible. In this form, it has continually been used to inform and occasionally to colonize the category of Indian yoga. Modern transnational yoga is ultimately a deeply syncretized and amalgamated entity resulting from the interaction of Indian yogic traditions with this Western body of thought and practice, among others. (That is, this book is about the body of practices we call yoga in Europe, and especially in North America. If we want to understand transnational yoga as it is practiced in, say, Japan, we would have to grapple with a whole other set of traditions indigenous to that particular culture.)

To this end, the present book traces a specific cultural strand, which I am terming "harmonialism," that has profoundly influenced how practices such as yoga have been received and interpreted in the West. The larger thrust of this argument could easily be expanded to other cultural imports, such as Buddhist meditation, indigenous American practices, and any range of other such systems that have been appropriated as elements of "alternative spirituality." As I will argue, basic harmonial logics can be traced all the way back to antique Hellenic sources. As such, they are not specifically European in their origins. Likewise, they arrive in Renaissance Europe to a large extent by way of Arabic sources, both as novel philosophical tracts and commentaries and as preserved translations of Greek materials that might otherwise have been lost. However, starting in the Renaissance, this cluster of

ideas is elaborated in ways that are more or less specific to Europe and subsequently North America. And it is precisely this complex of concepts and supporting practices that, in the nineteenth century, gives rise to something that looks very much like modern postural yoga.

The broadest level of argument I mean to present deals with the dynamics of cultural exchange. To understand any kind of transcultural system of practice we must face something perhaps akin to the eternal problem of anthropology: To what extent is one really able to enter the culture of another? Transmission is a constant act of translation. The traveling idea or practice must be adapted to the logical structure and idioms of its new context, so that it can speak to a different set of cultural understandings and embodied experiences. When we look at traveling practices especially, it is never suffcient to assume that the practice has been transmitted wholesale, since practice involves not only a conceptual dimension but also an applied embodied component. This is operant on a micro level even within a culture—my experience of a practice will never be quite identical to yours—but it becomes amplified when transmission takes place transculturally. In other words, transmission always involves an act of syncretism, whether conscious or unconscious. What is received is always necessarily combined with and adapted to a preexisting conception of the world.

This book adopts an intentionally teleological approach: modern yoga is where we are "going" To those interested in modern practice and wrangling with questions of origins, meaning, appropriation, and authenticity, I imagine this will prove engaging enough in its own right. However, as I asserted earlier, there is a larger question implicit here, and therefore a larger argument. The larger question deals with our ability to ever define or historically delineate a practice and its evolution. The argument is that, actually, we do this constantly and necessarily both as scholars and as human beings (insiders, if you will). Whenever we undertake a practice or engage with a research question, we are defining and delineating and—above all—comparing. Specifically, we are comparing and, if we are doing this particularly unreflexively, immediately synthesizing our preexisting understanding with the objective data that we encounter. Therefore, no datum, no text, no historical narrative, no diagram, no embodied experience is ever "pure:' To say that we naturally understand the world by relating new objects, ideas, and experiences to our existing knowledge base is not a new or particularly exciting statement. Nor is it precisely a problem, but simply human. It does, however, present some complications when one is striving for objectivity, as a scholar might. conducted by Yoga Journal and Yoga Alliance found that 55% of yoga practitioners have never set foot in a dedicated yoga studio or center. Home practice followed by health clubs and gyms are the two leading venues. In these contexts, it becomes extremely likely that yoga is taught and practiced in a way that contains few of the specific features found in premodern Indian sources, whether the contemplative style of Patanjali's Yoga Sutras or the more physically grounded methods of medieval hatha yoga. As a result, it becomes easy for practitioners who are exposed to such sources to conclude that their practice is a feeble knockoff, a bastardization of some authentic ancient South Asian practice. There is much to be said for the difficulty that inevitably emerges when one attempts to establish a single and coherent "authentic" yoga originating on South Asian soil. However, treating modern yoga practice that diverges from these histories as simply a shallow bastardization also ignores the basic dynamics of cultural transmission. Transmission never results in a perfect replica, but neither is the receiving context a blank slate. The truth of the matter is that variants of postural yoga that apparently ground themselves solely in asana and eschew the complexities of premodern (or even certain modern) South Asian systems also have a history. This history is long and metaphysically complex—but it is largely not Asian.

As yoga has reached peak popularity in the West over the first two decades of the twenty-first century, it has become an epicenter of complex political negotiations involving nationalism, the blurry lines that separate the religious from the secular, and perhaps above all colonialism and cultural appropriation. If we are to talk about cultural appropriation constructively, we cannot

continue to replicate its basic assumptions. Specifically, it is a profound mistake to treat the dominant culture as a tabula rasa onto which distorted versions of colonized practices are imposed. The dominant culture is in these cases the very source of the distortion, and, if we seek to recalibrate and correct our skewed perception of the status quo, it is not enough to simply work backward to the "authentic" logics of the colonized cultural material. Or, at least, doing so will continue to obscure how we got into our current predicament, leaving the situation to repeat itself again and again. Allowing the dominant culture to persist in acting as a cipher is akin to insisting that whiteness is not a racially motivated identity or that masculinity should not be included in an analysis of gender. In other words, the colonizing and imperializing culture in question—in this case, that of the Euro-American yoga community—must be objectified, relativized, and historicized in the same ways that the Western academy has traditionally used to approach the cultures of "Others."

Part of this book's project is therefore deconstructive—a sort of debunking of the pedigree of Western yoga practice. However, this same project is also constructive insofar as it aims to trace the European and subsequently American traditions that share family resemblances, whether historically cognate or simply analogous, with Indian yoga systems as a way of contextualizing the synthesis that ultimately results in modern transnational yoga. It is my hope that this aspect of the book will be helpful not only to scholars but to practitioners who are seeking to understand their practice by restoring to them a history that actually legitimizes elements of modern yoga that may otherwise seem like corruptions. Finally, as a critical middle ground between these two goals, I seek to highlight the ways in which these genuine commonalities have been used in the context of imperialism and colonialism to assert Euro-American supremacy through a narrative of origins, authenticity, and ownership.

This book expressly does not address yoga's South Asian history, which it takes for granted as a point of origin for premodern practice as well as a primary component of the modern synthesis that yields Indian forms of postural yoga. "Yoga' is a Sanskrit word. It has a long and diverse history in the various traditions of the South Asian subcontinent, including Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism, among others. This is not up for debate. If anything, one might use this book to conclude that perhaps we should not be calling some of the practices that we find in North America and Europe "yoga" at all. Is this realistic in a practical sense? Almost certainly not. But, moreover, to assert such a position belies the basic reality that practices are never homogeneous, historically or geographically. Russian Orthodox Christianity has a very different history from Pentecostal Protestant Christianity, but we would generally not deny the label of "Christian" to a practitioner of either. In a similar way, modern Western yoga—different as it may be in its form and originating cultural assumptions—has been naturalized as one form among the many that now fall under the rubric of transnational yoga. The syncretism has been under way for over a century, and it seems unlikely that we can undo it—the inosculation is complete. What we can do, however, is take an honest, informed, and critical look at the branches and untangle their points of origin, at least to some extent.

The Structure of This Book

The initial chapters of this book are focused on establishing, in necessarily broad strokes, the long-view history of harmonialism in the Western world. Chapter 1 establishes the origins of harmonial ideas in the ancient world, focusing primarily on the Greek and later more broadly Hellenic world, ranging approximately from 500 BCE to 500 CE. It starts out by exploring the evolution of cosmological ideas of harmony (harmonic) and sympathy (sympatheia) on the one hand, and spirit (pneuma) and its relationship to notions of the soul (psyche) on the other. It then proceeds to focus on the idea of a subtle body and the two spheres in which its utility has been explored: religious soteriology (or "theurgy") and medical theory and practice.

Chapter 2 traces harmonial ideas from the end of antiquity through the metaphysically based religious and mind cure movements of the nineteenth century. It begins by briefly surveying developments in the early Islamic world and medieval Europe before proceeding to explore astrological medicine and theurgy in the European Renaissance, focusing primarily on the spiritus theory of Marsilio Ficino. It further argues that the legacy of astrological medicine on the one hand and theurgy on the other can be found in the eighteenth-century movements founded by Franz Anton Mesmer and Emanuel Swedenborg, respectively. It then concludes by examining the reconvergence of these two strains of thought in the New Thought movement of the late nineteenth century, focusing chiefly on the work of Warren Felt Evans, which synthesizes Swedenborgian ideas with contemporary medical thought, including the importance of breath and physical culture.

Chapter 3 examines the relationship between lingering harmonial ideas and the nineteenth-century evolution of physical culture. Specifically it relates the development of Ling Swedish gymnastics and its iteration as "Movement Cure" (alongside the more broadly examined Mind Cure movement) with the rise of alternative medical therapies on the one hand and gender dynamics on the other. In doing so, it points to two trends that speak to modern yoga's form as well as its gender demographics. First, modern yoga—especially the vastly popular dance-like flow styles—looks most like the light calisthenics that would have been prescribed for women during this time period. Second, these types of calisthenics were elaborated to address distinctly feminine concerns, such as dress reform, which led to a special focus being placed on elements that would become central to modern yoga practice in the West, namely a generalized emphasis on deep breathing (rather than the more specific techniques of pranayama) and attention to aesthetic form. The chapter concludes by examining the ways in which these currents—feminized physical culture, health reform, and harmonial aesthetics—converged in the late nineteenth-century rise of American Delsarteism.

Chapter 4 more closely examines American Delsarteism as a form of harmonialism, positioning it between harmonial breath and movement practices being advocated within the broader metaphysical New Thought movement and the development of modern dance. It focuses on the work of Stebbins, whose use of esotericism closely connects her to prominent proponents of New Thought such as Evans, but whose influence upon women such as Duncan and St. Denis makes her something of a grandmother to the first iterations of modern dance. It then traces the innovations within American Delsarteism exemplified by Stebbins into Duncan's work, which likewise exhibits a strong esotericist influence and a harmonial subcurrent. In this context it points out the lack of Asian content characteristic of these formulations as they culminate in Duncan's strong Hellenic neoclassicism. Finally, it positions St. Denis as a contrast to Duncan's Hellenism by focusing on her engagement with a resurgent and popularly explosive Orientalism. St. Denis exemplifies the standard historical tendencies of a Platonic Orientalism, starting with the origin myth of her career in the Egypta cigarette poster, ranging into her fascination with India and its yogis, and underpinned by her lifelong commitment to Christian Science and Western esotericism more broadly. However, her thought also betrays the ultimately Euro-American roots of this approach as her gradually deepening engagement with Indian philosophy and yogic practices constitutes only a fraction of her worldview.

Chapter 5 then grapples with the dynamics of Orientalism, specifically as enacted by white women with regard to India and its two central personas: the yogi and the dancing girl. It first addresses how the ambiguous gendering of yogis as Oriental men allowed white women to inhabit this persona as a specific way of legitimating their spiritual authority. It also briefly examines how certain white men (such as Pierre Bernard and Yogi Ramacharaka) adopted the same tactic to even greater effect, becoming early twentieth-century authorities on yoga despite often representing a deeply Westernized version of yoga that sometimes had little grounding in any Indian tradition. As a complement to this masculine model, St. Denis's popularity represents the rise of the nautch girl as the symbol of a specifically feminine Orientalism. Even more so than the yogi persona, the

appropriated image of the nautch girl reflects broader trends not only within the dance world but within popular culture, as Oriental imagery increasingly becomes co-opted by white women at the turn of the century to express their lingering fantasies and their newfound freedoms. Women's physical culture, which historically had cleaved closely to dance, quickly begins to mirror this trend as "Oriental dance" exercises are increasingly diffused through the preexisting practice of light calisthenics. However, just as in St. Denis's work, engagement with actual Asian concepts and practices remained superficial at best. Often the effect was simply one of masking older Western content under an exotic Oriental glamour.

Chapter 6 examines the effect of all of these historical dynamics upon the development of modern yoga practice, both in the United States and Europe as well as India. Previous studies have shown that European physical culture was a crucial ingredient of the syntheses effected by Indian yoga reformers in the early twentieth century. Here I seek to connect such developments with the parallel history of these practices in the West, including the ways in which yogis who traveled to spread their teachings abroad (including Vivekananda, Abhedananda, Yogananda, Yogendra, and others) found themselves at the center of a series of two-sided adaptations and appropriations. Indian yogis were intimately familiar with not only Western physical culture but also Western metaphysical traditions. For this reason, we can see a diffusion of Western harmonial language (such as a focus on ether, magnetism, resonant energy, cosmic influx, and so on) into the writings on Indian yogis, where such terms are used to express an entirely different school of metaphysical concepts. This is mirrored by the ways in which Sanskrit terms such as "prana(yama), "chakra; and "yoga" itself are being used in Euro-American sources to represent genealogically Western harmonial concepts. The chapter concludes by examining the multiple waves of synthesis affected by later teachers of this hybrid yoga, such as Indra Devi, who found themselves at pains to differentiate between the yogic teachings they brought from India from the naturalized content of the broader harmonial fitness movement.

In the short epilogue I return—in broad strokes—to some of these issues of definition, identity, origins, ideological imperialism, and colonial appropriation.

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Before we depart on this project, I want to once more restate explicitly something that I hope the previous pages have already elucidated: I am not arguing that white American women invented yoga. I do, however, want to claim that much of what we call yoga in the United States today, as it is practiced in fitness centers and studios not explicitly positioning themselves with reference to Indian lineages, is largely derivable from Euro-American harmonial physical culture as developed and implemented by white women at the turn of the previous century. This form of practice can be triangulated with more masculinized forms of Western and Indian physical culture, which are the primary sources that Singleton has referenced for the synthesis of modern postural yoga at Tirumalai Krishnamacharya's Mysore school and elsewhere across the Indian subcontinent. However, insofar as early Indian yoga innovators cite the work of American women like Stebbins alongside her male counterparts in positioning their own systems, this influence reaches all the way to modern yoga's immediate Indian roots. Furthermore, transnational Indian innovators are fundamentally imbedded in this context. Indeed it is they who first labeled these "psycho-physical" practices "yoga."

This complicates the debate over yoga's status as a culturally appropriated product. Without denying the colonial power dynamics that govern this exchange of ideas and practices, it would nevertheless be incorrect to imagine mainstream American yoga as some kind of stripped-down, corrupted, or bastardized version of an authentic Indian practice. Indeed, it is the more "authentic" forms of yoga—the ones that consciously lay claim to and imagine themselves as a continuation of premodern Indian sources or the lineages of certain gurus—that must most intensely grapple with the

implications of this history. For them, the synthesis goes much deeper, as it consciously draws on shared myths, rituals, terminology, sources of authority, and (perhaps most important) bodily and metaphysical logics that are grounded in Indian cultural and intellectual history.

For the majority of popularized American yoga, the kind we find in gyms and other nonlineage/nondevotional contexts, the case is surprisingly rather more simple. If a charge of cultural appropriation is to be leveled, it bears not on the practice itself but rather on the term used to Identify that practice. In those cases, what we call yoga is in reality simply a continuation of nineteenth-century harmonial gymnastics—a practice that can be derived with little to no reference to Indian sources. Indeed if cultural appropriation is truly a concern, it might be more intellectually honest to simply stop calling such practices yoga. To do so, however, aside from seeming rather unlikely given the situation on the ground, would deny that more complex history that embroils both the current forms of transnational yoga that make genuine efforts to engage with Indian roots and the historically Indian postural forms that developed at the turn of the century through dialogue with Western physical culture. Finally, it would obscure the "why" behind this process. The answer to that "why" is inextricably bound up in colonialism, capitalism, and consumer culture. However, it also points to deep and genuine connections between the therapeutic, metaphysical, and ultimately salvific concerns—the genuine commonalities of shared body and breath practices—that first led Indian men and American women at the turn of the century to call them by a common name.

In its most popular (such as in classes offered at multipurpose gyms) and corporate (such as exemplified by chain studios of the likes of CorePower and YogaWorks) forms, yoga is often not qualitatively different from other, similar modes of fitness, including barre and Pilates, that profess no Oriental pedigree. The phenomenon of mainstream American yoga, which often knows very little of said pedigree, cannot be understood apart from such practices and their predecessors over the past century and a half. It would not be going too far to say that the yogis who surround me at my regular noontime class at the local corporate yoga studio have nothing in common with the yogis I have spent years tracking through premodern Indian sources—except perhaps a shared preference for topknots. Yet if we are to say that this makes them "inauthentic," then it is in name only. They have a history too, just not the one they may imagine.

Examining this history can help us understand a number of crucial features found in today's Western, specifically American, yoga communities, such as their emphasis on asana almost to the exclusion of everything else, their nonsystematic engagement with breath, and their attention to aesthetic form even in the face of an emphasis on natural and intuitive movement. Music in yoga classes does not make a whole lot of sense if one tries to find precedent for it in Patanjali's Yoga Sutras or medieval hat/ia yoga traditions. It does make sense if one considers it in light of the long-standing Western notion that music is the closest thing to spirit, which is all over European Renaissance sources and can from thence be traced back all the way to Platonism and Pythagoreanism. Doing yoga in a vineyard (which is indeed a thing that people regularly do in California) does not make a whole lot of sense either. That is, until one considers that the Renaissance wage Marsilio Ficino once asserted that the spiritual body is fed by wine and its aroma, as well as song and light. I am being a bit facetious in making that second assertion—but only a bit. <>

Inspired Breathing

Breathing is such an ethereal and everyday occurrence that it is rarely the subject of poems, works of art, books or cultural phenomena. It does, however, feature in many English phrases and idioms. Before our modern understanding of breathing, early writers saw breathing in the context of pneuma, as a spiritual phenomenon. In fiction it was considered as a gentle breeze or as a spirit providing a vital life force. As we reach modern times, breathing becomes more visceral. Most modern works of fiction are permeated with a plethora of references to breathing, where it is used

to signify heightened emotional states. Films with a breathing theme do exist and feature stories about extreme environments or the consequences of chronic respiratory disease.

There many phrases and idioms in the English language associated with breathing, be they physical, psychological or comical. One can talk 'under one's breath'. Less complimentary is the expression, 'I wouldn't breathe the same air' or the sarcastic retort 'pardon me for breathing; which can be followed with 'what a waste of breath' (which is related to the more archaic saying about 'saving one's breath to cool one's porridge'). To have someone 'breathing down your neck' is not a pleasant experience, giving the sense of being overly pressurized by someone or something.

On a more positive note there are phrases such as 'like a breath of fresh air' or to 'take someone's breath away,' usually referring to an inspiring or cheerful event. 'Catching one's breath' can signify the straightforward act of resting to overcome a temporary bout of breathlessness or can be uttered in order to initiate a brief pause to collect one's thoughts or plan ahead for what to do next. The phrases `to breathe a sigh of relief', 'breathing room' and 'breathing space' all speak for themselves, as does 'take a breather'.

A common phrase is 'with bated breath', or sometimes the malapropism 'with baited breath', the title of a Warhammer novel by George Mann. This phrase is frequently used but has obscure origins. At first it may seem to imply that the subject has halitosis, but this is not the case. It was first used by Shakespeare in the comedy The Merchant of Venice, by the character Shylock:

> SHYLOCK: Shall I bend low, and in a servant's whine, with bated breath and whispering humbleness say, 'Sir you spit on me on Wednesday last.

'Bated' is a short form of the word 'abated: The phrase 'bated breath' was popular in Victorian times, especially in the numerous melodramatic novels popular at the time. Good illustrative examples can be found in the novels of Georg Ebers, the German Egyptologist who discovered the medical papyri that bear his name. Ebers tried to popularize his discoveries through writing historical romances. In his novel A Thorny Path from1892, his characters 'listened with outstretched necks and bated breath', 'stood at the window with bated breath' and 'listened with bated breath'.

'Don't breathe a word' is a usually issued as a warning, asking someone to keep a secret. The opposite is found in ‘long-winded’ when a person speaks for an unnecessarily long time. Even inanimate items can breathe, such as wine, and in times gone by the medical practice of breathing a vein was considered good medicine and used to treat many a condition or illness.

The ancient Greeks, without our modern view of breathing, saw only pneuma and aether. Homer made effective use of these phenomena in his epic poems The Odyssey and The Iliad. In the first, The Odyssey, Homer equates peace and tranquillity with breathing, often referring to the gentle breath of the wind and evoking a quiet and peaceful climate: 'the gods becalmed me twenty days without so much as a breath of fair wind to help me forward', or 'Minerva took the form of the famous sea captain Dymas's daughter . . . then, coming up to the girl's bedside like a breath of wind, she hovered over her head'.

In stark contrast, in the more bloodthirsty Iliad, which includes the siege of Troy, where the Greeks battled the Trojans, the loss of breath or pneuma signifies the loss of life. Many warriors die in this epic, such as Achilles: 'Long as Achilles breathes this vital air' and 'The corpse now breathless on the bloody plain: Furthermore, breathing is commonly attached to an emotion or behaviour: 'Breathing revenge, in arms they take their way' and 'Thus they, breathing united force with fixed thought, Moved on in silence:

The fiction of Geoffrey Chaucer (1343-1400) includes the notion of pneuma, and its function as a vital life force and as a mechanism to cool the body, with the lungs considered the engine of the

body.' In the Canterbury Tales the first tale, The Knights Tale (1386-8), explores the effects of love on two cousins, Palamon and Arcite, and ends with Arcite dying after being thrown from his horse. Here Chaucer describes the death in detail: after the heart stops beating, the 'pipes of his longes' 'shent with venym and corrupcioun', In other words, the circulation of the blood ceases, and the lungs cannot cool the body anymore. The final demise happens thus: `Dusked his eyen two and failled breeth' with the loss of breathing marking the point of death. This passage provides a good view of medical knowledge at the time, reflecting the view that breath was a vital life force.

Shakespeare's works contain many references to breathing, both dramatic and functional, such as in the following exchange from Romeo and Juliet:

> NURSE: Jesu, what haste! Can you not stay awhile? Do you not see that I am out of breath?
> JULIET: How art thou out of breath when thou hast breath to say to me that thou art out of breath? The excuse that thou dost make in this delay is longer than the tale thou dost excuse: (II.5)

Shakespeare even offers a new technical term to describe breathing: 'suspiration:','Nor windy suspiration of forced breath, No, nor the fruitful river of the eye' (Hamlet, 1.2). This refers to a long deep sigh, the windy and forced component implying that the sigh is falsely generated.' It is a useful word, but one rarely used in modern language or at all in medicine. An example is given by T. S. Eliot, who after surviving bombing in the London Blitz in his poem 'Little Gidding' (1942) muses on being destroyed by the fires of war or the fire of the Holy Spirit. The fourth stanza of the poem begins: 'The dove descending breaks the air' and ends:

> The intolerable shirt of flame.
> Which Human power cannot remove.
> We only live, only suspire
> Consumed by either fire or fire.

Some people argue that Shakespeare wrote his lines in such a way that they were best delivered with a pause after each line and a breath taken before the next line. Today this is known as Hall's pause. This idea is controversial, as this might suit the actor in delivering their lines to a rhythm, but most audiences find it a distraction.

Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) reflects the mechanistic view of breathing coming to the fore in his novel The Fair Maid of Perth: "Then I am so accustomed to the use of arms, and so well breathed, that few men can match me" said the little man, expanding his breast . . . "here is room for all the wind machinery":

The English poet and playwright John Dryden (1631-1700) used breathing to dramatize death: 'In vain: if sword and poison be denied me, I'll hold my breath and die' and 'The youth though in haste, / And breathing his last, / In pity died slowly, while she died more fast'. In the next verse a nymph persuades a young shepherd to revive himself so that she can die slowly and he more quickly, a noble act.

A book which covers many of the early twentieth-century issues concerning the discovery of industrial lung disease and thought by some to have influenced the Welsh Labour Party politician Aneurin Bevan (1897-1960) in his views on the structure of the National Health Service in the UK was The Citadel, published in 1937 by A. J. Cronin, a Scottish-born doctor-turned-novelist. It was an instant best-seller and in 1938 was made into the MGM film Citadel, starring Robert Donat and Rosalind Russell. The book follows the career of a newly qualified doctor, Andrew Manson, starting with his first job serving the coal-mining communities of the South Wales valleys as an inexperienced young doctor and ending with treating only wealthy private patients from his own practice in Central London. Apart from providing a commentary on medicine during the pre-Nils period, the book is notable because Manson is interested in pulmonary medicine. In the Welsh valleys he comes across

miners with pneumoconiosis and tuberculosis. At the time coal dust was considered inert. Conducting research on the miners and later guinea pigs, he discovers the cause of the miners' lung disease, postulating that exposure to silica leads to tuberculosis. This is of course wrong: the author, Cronin, was unaware of pneumoconiosis. In the book Manson is expelled from his post in the Welsh valleys after his unlawful vivisection is discovered. In London he falls for the luxuries afforded by treating wealthy clients. He practises in the leading London Chest hospital but soon realizes that London is too foggy and polluted for TB patients. He advocates the ideas of the sanatorium in the cleaner airs of the home counties. The book closes with Dr Manson facing the General Medical Council for trying to cure TB by assisting in the deliberate creation of pneumothorax. The idea behind the treatment being that the collapsed lung would recuperate while resting and unventilated. This was a fashionable but illegal idea at the time and was later proved not to work. The doctor is cleared in the end. Cronin went on to create the 196os television series Dr Finlay's Casebook.

Modern fiction writers show a good knowledge of the mechanism of breathing and its relationship to emotion and behaviour. An example can be found in the first chapter of Broken Ground, published by Val McDermid in 2018. It opens in 1944 in Wester Ross, Scotland, where two men are digging pits. `The slaps of spades in dense peat was an unmistakable sound. They slipped in and out of rhythm; overlapping, separating, cascading, then coming together again, much like the men's heavy breathing: Later, one rests with his `breath tight in his chest: After a night of hard toil, their task is complete, and the chapter ends with the line: `Even as he spoke, the Mycobacterium tuberculosis organisms were creeping through his lungs, destroying tissues, carving out holes, blocking airways'. The character dies of TB, setting the scene for the story firmly set in the twenty-first century.

In Jo Nesbo's detective novel Knife (2019), the leading character, Harry Hole, is about to hear from the police unwelcome news about his partner Rakel: `Harry held his breath. He had read that it was possible to hold your breath for so long that you died. And that you don't die from too little oxygen, but from too much carbon dioxide'. When told that they have found her, he wanted to ask why and thought to himself `But to do that [I] would have to breathe: He breathed. And that means "what?", he asked. "She's dead, Harry"

Perfume: The Story of a Murderer (1985) is a tour de force of the olfactory sense, breathing and the craft of perfumery, written by the German author Patrick Süskind. The main character is Jean-Baptiste Grenouille, born in 1738, abandoned by his mother at birth, brought up by the Church and fostered by wet-nurses and childminders. Born without an odour, he soon realizes in his childhood that he has a superhuman sense of smell and can identify not only very subtle smells but the components of the odour. The book begins in Paris, a crowded and very smelly city. He starts life working for a tanner, a very smelly occupation. He secures an apprenticeship with an aged perfumer who has fallen on hard times, lacking a new perfume with which to entice his rich clients. With some scepticism from his employer, Grenouille is given access to the perfumer's collection of chemicals and scents and in a few days produces dozens of new perfumes which are so popular that they are soon produced on an industrial scale and sold all over Europe, making the perfumer a wealthy man.

The book illustrates how we take our sense of smell for granted and how we are surrounded by many familiar smells. Breathing and olfaction sets our emotions and behaviours: the invigorating smell of freshly brewed coffee in the morning, the smell of freshly baked bread stimulating hunger. Breathing the fragrance of fresh mown grass brings back memories of a summer long past. We recognize the scent of our loved ones, of babies and pets. These scents are all different, but we learn to enjoy or detest them.

After leaving Paris, Grenouille gains his credentials as a perfumer and sets off to Grasse in southern France to learn more about creating scents from flowers and plants. On his journey he invents a series of personal perfumes, which he cynically uses to influences people's opinion of him. One

allows him to be the centre of attention, with everyone treating him like a celebrity; another keeps everyone away. They are scents that alter people's behaviour without the beholder noticing; something all modern scent manufacturers wish to do nowadays. Many of today's perfume- or fragrance-makers employ adverts to indicate that your attractiveness will be increased if you wear their fragrance.

On his journey south, at Montpellier, Grenouille meets the Marquis de la Taillade-Espinasse, a man influenced by the Enlightenment who has developed the idea that the earth generates a toxic gas which he calls Fluidium letale Taillade. Grenouille, who is looking rough after living in a cave for seven years, provides the marquis with a perfect example of the ill-effects of this terrestrial gas. His reasoning is that all living things move upwards away from the ground to avoid this gas. To test this theory, the marquis has invented a vital ventilation machine in his cellar, inside which Grenouille is sealed. The breathing machine is constantly ventilated with air drawn from a flue extended out of the house roof. Through an air-lock he is fed food from 'earth-removed' regions such as dove bouillon, lark pie and fruit picked from trees. The total recovery of Grenouille following this treatment proves to the marquis that his theory was correct. With this in mind the marquis departs on an expedition to the Pic du Canigou, in the French Pyrenees, which can be snow-capped for most of the year. The Marquis believes that living at altitude will make him superhuman by being free from the evil Fludium latale, the cause of all illness. The marquis is last seen ascending the mountain. Pic du Canigou was also visited by Sir Humphry Davy in January 1814, who was so impressed by its natural form and light that it inspired him to sketch the mountain and write a poem, 'The Canigou', which alludes to the geological forces of nature.

The portrayal of breathing is significant in some films. One of the most famous film characters known for their breathing is Darth Vader from the Star Wars films. In his youth, in his former life as Anakin Skywalker, Vader is severely burned, after which he can only breath through a full-face mask (rather like a motorcycle helmet). The mask gives his slow, steady breathing a very distinctive mechanical and sinister sound. Mask breathing also features in the psychological thriller Blue Velvet (1986). Here the character Frank Booth, played by Dennis Hopper, carries two cylinders of gas, which he breathes through a mask. These allow him to change his personality, swapping between 'Daddy' and 'Baby: The original idea was that the gas was helium, and when breathed it would raise the adult voice so that the character would sound like a child. In the end the gas is more 'pharmacological' than this and may act more like amyl nitrite.

Breathing is a common motif in films, not overtly, but in a subtle way, and is common in certain genres such as horror, melodrama and pornography. Here screaming, panting and hyperventilation are used to impart mood and promote the impact of the drama. Studies have shown that in general the emphasis of breathing on-screen is off-putting for the audience and is best left under the radar of perception and cognition. Thus the sound of breathing or lack of it is a conscious omission from many films and TV programmes. As one researcher states, `no one is ever just breathing:

While smoking is often depicted in films, there are few feature films that focus on respiratory disease. A recent example is the film Breathe (2017), a biographical drama about Robin Cavendish, who while living in Kenya in 1958 caught polio at the age of 28, having just married. He became paralysed from the neck down and could only breathe with a bedside respirator. After returning to the UK he was bedridden and given only a few months to live. After the birth of his son raised his spirits, he set about improving his quality of life by improving his bedside ventilator. The film illustrates his long struggle to convince his doctors and the medical profession that his improved ventilator, when incorporated into a wheelchair, is a great advance over the iron lung then used by many doctors to keep paralysed polio patients alive. His ventilator was so mobile that it allowed him to travel abroad and live a fuller life. It is an inspiring story with a tragic ending, as eventually the

many years of mechanical ventilation fatally destroyed his lungs. He died at the age of 64, one of the longest surviving responauts, as they are called.

The film Apollo 13 (1995) tells the true story of the survival of the astronauts of the NASA mission in 1970. Tragedy struck two days in as an oxygen tank exploded in the service module. Fortunately, this was not the only supply of oxygen, but the mission had to be abandoned and the astronauts returned to Earth by using a slingshot circumnavigation of the moon to propel the crew back to Earth just before their oxygen ran out and the carbon dioxide levels in the cabin became toxic. The astronauts all returned safely to breathe another day. Last Breath (2019), a remarkable film in documentary style, details the true story of a deep-sea diver who while repairing an oil installation on the bottom of the North Sea is suddenly left without an oxygen supply. On the surface the support ship loses its position over the divers owing to a stormy sea, and the umbilical cord connected to the diver via a diving bell lowered from the ship and providing him with heat, air and power becomes tangled around an underwater installation and snaps. The diver is left with a small rescue tank carried for such emergencies that only contains 5 minutes of air. With the ship moving, the refuge of the diving bell also moves away, leaving the diver alone on the bottom of the North Sea. The sea is so rough that the crew struggle to return the ship to its original position, eventually taking around 3o minutes. When the ship's main cameras refocus on the diver, he is lying motionless on top of the structure. His diving buddy, who had made it safely back to the diving bell before the ship had lost position, was tasked with recovering the body and bringing it back to the diving bell. Once inside the diving bell, the recovered diver is given mouth-to-mouth resuscitation, and to everyone's surprise he instantly comes back to life. After a few months, the diver recovered completely. It is thought that he survived so long without oxygen as his body was cooled and supersaturated with oxygen: he had spent a long time in a hyperbaric chamber before the dive.

The film The Aeronauts (2019) is a biographical adventure film about two balloonists, a scientist and a professional balloonist (based on Sophie Blanchard, the wife of the balloonist Jean-Pierre Blanchard) in the 1800s who attempt to explore the upper atmosphere, with disastrous consequences.

The English Language is rich with phrases involving the act of breathing, both mechanically and sensually. Literature has used this rich source to express and emphasize the drama and pathos of many works, from ancient times, through Shakespeare, to modern times. It is through the depiction of disaster, disease and adversity that we are told the consequences of not being able to breathe. In literature the boundary between life and death is often signified by the presence or absence of breathing and it is in the final chapter that we explore how we make one final great gesture before we pass away: our last breath. <>

THE LIFE OF BREATH IN LITERATURE, CULTURE AND MEDICINE: CLASSICAL TO CONTEMPORARY edited by David Fuller, Corinne Saunders, Jane Macnaughton [Palgrave Macmilian, 9783030744427]

This open access book studies breath and breathing in literature and culture and provides crucial insights into the history of medicine, health and the emotions, the foundations of beliefs concerning body, spirit and world, the connections between breath and creativity and the phenomenology of breath and breathlessness. Contributions span the classical, medieval, early modern, Romantic, Victorian, modern and contemporary periods, drawing on medical writings, philosophy, theology and the visual arts as well as on literary, historical and cultural studies. The collection illustrates the

complex significance and symbolic power of breath and breathlessness across time: breath is written deeply into ideas of nature, spirituality, emotion, creativity and being, and is inextricable from notions of consciousness, spirit, inspiration, voice, feeling, freedom and movement. The volume also demonstrates the long-standing connections between breath and place, politics and aesthetics, illuminating both contrasts and continuities.

Review

"The Life of Breath was born of a brilliantly varied years-long project in the critical medical humanities which brought together artists, humanists, medical practitioners, scientists and patients to study and perform arts and acts of breathing. This essay collection breaks new ground in establishing the foundational role of respiration in the (inter)subjective workings of desire, the interdependence of interior and exterior environments and 'conspiration'—the often-hidden commonality of breathing. Because we all breathe the same air, 'breath, intimately connected with life, connecting mind and body, opens onto profound—and timeless— ethical questions,' write the editors. Those questions are richly and magisterially addressed in essays that trace histories of living and thinking the breath, and articulate what the editors call 'the potential of the arts to help people live well with breathlessness.' This volume is required reading for anyone, in any discipline, devoted to any of the many arts of living, who recognizes the urgency, today, of returning 'to every living thing—human, plant, and animal—the space and conditions required for its breathing.'" —Aranye Fradenburg Joy, Psychoanalyst and Professor Emerita, University of California, Santa Barbara, USA

"Across centuries and countries, we have one thing in common: we all breathe. But after reading this volume it is not possible to draw breath without a nuanced and awed awareness of what that breath means, how attitudes to it differ and what it means to lack or be denied breath. Ranging from Homeric epic to the twenty-first-century clinic, this mesmerizing collection investigates highly diverse topics, but even more impressive than the variety of essays is their seamless intersection. The ways in which they relate to each other is testament to the ways in which breath and breathing affect every aspect of our body, our environment and our politics. It is easy to say that this is an 'inspiring' collection but such a pun does disservice to the complexity of the topics addressed. Just as it is rare to find a collection of essays of this span so integrated, it is unusual to find a medical humanities topic that is so symbiotically valuable to both medical and humanities communities. From start to finish, this book is a remarkable achievement." —Laurie Maguire, Professor of English Language and Literature, University of Oxford, UK

"An inspired collection of essays on the life, origin, meaning and metaphor of breath over the centuries in the sacred and secular worlds, a wonderful fruition of an interdisciplinary Wellcome research project The Life of Breath. It is timely, as breathing and breathlessness have been brought to the centre of the world's attention in the last year by the devastation and human suffering wrought by the coronavirus. It is rich, bringing to readers' attention the many interpretations of the significance of breath and breathing over millennia. It is definitive—there is no other volume that brings together such depth and breadth on this subject." —Sara Booth, Lecturer, University of Cambridge, and Honorary Consultant, Cambridge University Hospitals, UK

"The Life of Breath is a truly breathtaking panorama of the newly-formed respiratory paradigm of our time, taking in a vast range of philosophical, psychological, religious, medical, artistic and political articulations of the quality of air. Its own rhythm orchestrates the anxious or oppressive constrictions of breath with the many positive ways of producing, unloosing and augmenting it. The volume is truly voluminous in every sense—in the reach of its themes, occasions and instances, and the giant span of its historical focus, from the classical world to the contemporary agonistics of respiration. Breath gives life, but this unbated volume reciprocally imparts new kinds of life to breath." —Steven Connor, Director of CRASSH, Grace 2 Professor of English, University of Cambridge, and Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, UK

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The Life of Breath: Contexts and Approaches by David Fuller, Jane Macnaughton, and Corinne Saunders

Contexts and Approaches: 'The Age Of The Breath'?

'The Age of the Breath': in the view of the philosopher Luce Irigaray, this characterises the late twentieth century and beyond. Irigaray's idea is a variation of the threefold scheme of Christian history of the medieval theologian Joachim da Fiore: the Age of the Father (the Old Testament, the Law), the Age of the Son (the New Testament, freedom from the Law), and the Age of the Spirit (a utopian age of universal love). Like the Age of the Spirit, Irigaray's 'Age of the Breath' potentially transcends major limitations of history, specifically on issues of gender and all that follows from differently conceived relations between men and women. Breath is central to this in her reworking of a major philosophical predecessor, Martin Heidegger.2 Heidegger is admired: he thought radically, working not only from what had already been thought but attempting to see nakedly from the bases of thinking. Irigaray's critique is not of Heidegger himself, but of Heidegger as representative of even the best in the tradition of Western philosophy, limited by its unrecognised assumption of the thinking subject as male. For Heidegger the primary element is earth—solid, and for Irigaray, masculine. For Irigaray more primary, more utterly essential to Being, is the element of air—fluid, and feminine; the basis of life, the substance of the breath.

One need not accept Irigaray's arguments about gender to see the interest of her claim and the fecundity of its ramifications. Breathing can be recognised (often elicited in retrospective analysis) as a major issue in many areas of twentieth- and twenty-first-century thinking: in philosophy, in feminism, in the arts, in psychoanalysis, in education, in religion, in politics, and in cultural geography, especially ecological issues including the contemporary global problems of air pollution and climate change. As with other conditions of life so axiomatic that attention has often scarcely been paid to them, recent writing in many areas, by bringing breath more into view, opens up a wide variety of new perspectives. In the current context of a global breathing-illness pandemic, COVID-19, with all that has exposed about global health issues and national and international relations, and with myriad implications as yet far from fully recognised, it can hardly be contested that Irigaray's characterisation of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries has been prescient.

Many areas of thought elicit a related sense of the period, sometimes from quite different starting points. In philosophy, Peter Sloterdijk's Terror from the Air argues that the use of poison gas in World War I was a fundamental reorientation of warfare, attacking not the enemy's body but the enemy's breathing environment. Extended in other terrors of atmospheric violence, from the gas chambers of the extermination camps of World War II to recent attempts to control the weather for military purposes, this has brought the relation of human beings to the atmosphere on which life depends, formerly taken for granted, newly into consciousness. It has also generated a new counter-awareness of the need for atmospheric hygiene and techniques for monitoring and maintaining air quality. The issue of poison gas is only one element in Sloterdijk's argument. He presents the twentieth century as an 'age of explication', meaning that many aspects of existence formerly tacit are brought to more conscious notice and newly explored. As with Irigaray, a central focus is air and breathing, though brought to attention by a quite different route.

Sloterdijk's extension of his argument to include the arts, with Surrealism seen as initiating modes of art as 'atmo-terrorism' designed to attack audiences, has proved less persuasive than his central thesis, and can be detached from his fundamental claim about an age of explication. With the arts Sloterdijk's thesis might more convincingly be extended to the theatre, to the twentieth century's

revival of theatrical traditions less verbal, less cerebral, most obviously in the misleadingly named 'theatre of cruelty' of Antonin Artaud, in which the issue is not cruelty in any ordinary sense but the visceral nature of fully theatrical experience. It is a mode of theatre in which text is recognised as only one element, with movement, dance, costume, setting, lighting, but above all the body of the actor in all the viscerality of its emotional experience: the blood, the breath. The total art work with its address to the whole mind–body; but activated not with the familiar defamiliarisation of Brecht, addressing the detached intellect, but with what is permanently unfamiliar to the composed social being: myth, by which, 'using breathing's hieroglyphics', the audience is assaulted, disconcerted, disturbed, as by anxiety, fear, the erotic. Artaud's ideal is more truly an aesthetic 'atmo-terrorism' than Sloterdijk's Surrealism.

Sloterdijk's 'age of explication' thesis might more comprehensively be extended not to what the arts are in the twentieth century and beyond but how they are understood, with explication—an ever-increasing sophistication of consciously-applied critical techniques—replacing education through practice (the teaching of rhetoric, drawing, musical performance), with its concomitant address to cultivated intuition. Nevertheless, twentieth-century art has thematised breathing, most famously in Samuel Beckett's textless playlet-cum-happening, Breath, written originally (with Beckettian humour) for Kenneth Tynan's erotic review, Oh! Calcutta! (1969). A recent study has shown the resonance of Beckett's birth-cry to death-rattle encapsulation in a range of creative work before and after Beckett, including ways in which breathing can be presented in new modes of visual art (often with associated new problems for art criticism about the very nature of art), from happenings, performance-art, and anti-art to conceptual art and work in more traditional modes.

Breathing can also be seen as foregrounded in relation to Lacanian psychoanalysis, drawing on Lacan's seminars on anxiety of 1962–1963. The fundamental idea of this series is that the object of anxiety is not known: anxiety is fear without focus. Lacan calls the hidden provocation 'object (petit) a' (autre/other). While the syndrome comes into being through post-Freudian Lacanian norms (primary deprivations of desire) which to the non-believer may sound unpersuasive if not fantastical, the syndrome itself—fear without focus, dependent on desire concealed by displacement—may be recognised outside specifically Lacanian frameworks of origin. Given the obvious relation of anxiety to breathing (constricted breathing, suffocation, as symptom or effect) it is surprising that Lacan himself has so little to say about breath—little more than a brief serio-comic episode on the conception of Christ by the entry of the breath of the Holy Spirit (spiritus of the Sanctus Spiritus) through the Virgin's ear, in which he relates the (divine) mouth to other orifices and the (divine) breath to other excretions.

In Staying Alive Aranye Fradenburg includes an extended discussion of Lacan on anxiety which suggests what he might have said about breath.11 A passionately-written anti-utilitarian defence of the arts as fundamental to the possibilities of humane living, the book is also a deeply well-informed critique of the contemporary university as semi-automated learning-factory, in which the aim is not knowledge and understanding but certification as a passport to employment. Exchange between intellectuals (albeit a great deal of what passes for this in universities is a parody of the real thing), real exchange, models a humane community. This is reflected in the organisation of Staying Alive, in which Fradenburg is in dialogue with an interactive counterpoint of related views ('fugues'). It is a mode that conveys a human presence relating felt thought to the subtle, mysterious, even bizarre—those aspects of human experience to which the arts are addressed, which are antithetical to the antiseptic of institutional bureaucracy.

In the chapter specifically concerned with Lacan and breathing, Fradenburg takes the highly interpretable objet a to be a 'conceptualization of the embodied mind's experience of change' (Staying Alive, 164), an index therefore of the crucial presence of the body in intellectual activities, which are often (wrongly) understood as not shaped by their basis in corporeality. As the primary

experience of change, respiration, suddenly independent at the trauma of birth (thrust from a protected to a vulnerable condition—to anxiety), helps us to think, she argues, about the psychosomatic nature of rhetorical structures—the not unusual modern argument that writing is from the body, which when (as here) performed as well as affirmed requires an active and sympathetic reader. In Ruth Evans' response objet a, as reconceived by Fradenburg, becomes breath as a catalyst that sets off love: respiratory shapes in literary language (Frank O'Hara, Margery Kempe) brought off the page by real interaction with a responsive reader; breath heard and seen in the work of performanceartists (the duo, Smith/Stewart). Evans exemplifies the claim made from various perspectives by the whole book: the arts (and not the arts alone, but the arts understood in relation to contemporary conceptions of the life sciences as comparably interpretable), the arts are as necessary to living as breath.

One aspect of the fundamental issue Fradenburg addresses—'staying alive' in an academic context—involves escaping norms of academic 'professionalism' which encourage people to act as semi-automata, minds without bodies, not as human beings emotionally as well as intellectually responsive to interpretive complexity. In the liberal arts some traditions of criticism connecting literary study with life values and experience continue to recognise interactions between culturally situated and individually idiosyncratic readers from whom art requires active, engaged responses. In academic contexts, however, these have often been displaced by a pseudo-science of scholarship designed to demonstrate supposed objective presence (in a text, in a context) analogous, as Fradenburg argues, to a superseded notion of 'hard' science. Fradenburg aims to reverse this dehumanising process, which funding difficulties created by the COVID-19 pandemic have now newly intensified in universities worldwide. As institutions seek to fund their activities by moves to online learning that do away with people meeting together physically, with all the interpretable signals of actual life such meetings entail, and replace these with virtual meetings significantly evacuated of human presence—the living, breathing, emotionally-signalling body—the breathing illness potentially contributes several turns of the screw to intellectual-emotional suffocation. But, like properly holistic medicine, teaching in the Arts and Humanities must engage, Fradenburg argues, with the embodied mind.

Philosophy, feminism, the arts, psychoanalysis, structures and practices of higher education: and the editors of a recent collection on air and breathing offer re-orientations in yet more directions. Like Irigaray, they begin from a critique of Western philosophy (tendentiously exemplified by a reading of a famous passage of Descartes), though they also acknowledge predecessors in Western tradition: apart from Irigaray, Gaston Bachelard, Elias Canetti, Merleau-Ponty and Levinas. The collection draws positively too on the place of disciplines of breathing in ancient Chinese philosophy (the Daoist philosopher traditionally known as Chuang Tzu, now Zhuang Zhou), modern Sufism (the Sufi master, Inayat Khan), and (again like Irigaray) in Eastern religious and spiritual traditions. From this they propose a 'respiratory philosophy' based in more conscious attention to and practice of breathing. If their critique of the Western philosophical tradition seems less substantial than Irigaray's this is in part because it is simpler. Whereas Irigaray grapples—tentatively, speculatively—with a profound problem of ontological consciousness in Heidegger, they convict Descartes of straightforward error: his supposed new beginning ignores his breathing. Descartes, one imagines, would have thought this critique readily answered: the observation is correct, but has no bearing on his reorientation of thinking. Descartes' writings began a new phase of Western philosophy not because he, and the most powerful minds of succeeding centuries, failed to identify this supposed omission, but because of his work's genuine and powerful originality. (Irigaray's new beginning is quite different: fundamentally she agrees with Heidegger about the aims and methods of philosophy, but plausibly— like Heidegger himself—looks to a new place for a first ground. The questioning, tentative and often syntactically inconclusive openness of her critique also recognises—as did Heidegger—that a new mode of thinking requires new modes of expression.)

That the critique of Descartes is tendentious does not, however, impugn the renewed and new attention to breathing drawn from it, the validity of which can be best considered in terms of its results. Much of the new reading in the collection is concerned with issues and figures in Western culture examined afresh in relation to theories and practices that variously foreground breathing from a range of Eastern traditions. The stress on practice is recurrent. The new philosophy is a new way of being: not on our lips only but in our lives also. This is exemplified by a discussion of Derrida's exploration of breath in Artaud, background to a new way of performing philosophy: in their different spheres both Artaud and Derrida match new ideas with new modes of expression. Similarly with a phenomenology of breathing illnesses: it requires a new imagination of mind–body integration; a holistic understanding of the subjective experience of illness complementary to objective clinical analysis, treating the whole person in his or her context.

The collection as a whole, like Sloterdijk's Terror from the Air, and much other recent writing on breath, breathing and breathlessness, recognises ramifications that are international and urgently relevant, as indexed by the relatively new focus of the World Health Organisation on air quality (http://www.who.int/airpollution/en/). As well as involving elements of individual choice—the choice to evolve and exercise a 'respiratory philosophy'—there is a larger sense in which 'atmospheres of breathing' affect health issues with the widest social ramifications. Choice can be exercised about these only by international political co-operation, and through negotiations in which the principal sufferers are often those with least political and economic power. Nevertheless, understanding that air pollution is a major cause of poor health—not only of breathing illnesses directly but also of heart disease and strokes—underlies efforts to clean up the polluted cities of developing industrial economies. Along with its consequences in climate change it also underlies the drive for clean air legislation in many parts of the world, with its potentially radical consequences for how we all live.

A comparably international perspective on the twentieth century and beyond as an 'age of the breath' in religion has two prominent and very different strands: Christian Pentecostalism, emphasising direct personal experience of God through baptism by the descent of the Holy Spirit, the breath of God; and the discovery in the West of ancient practices derived from the Sutras of Patañjali (ca. 400 BCE to 400 CE), texts connected with Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism, concerned with disciplines of breathing in relation to spiritual awareness. In the second of these areas Irigaray is again a significant figure, though interest in the Sútras in European culture dates from earlier, one of the most prominent early translators, Charles Johnston, being a member of the late nineteenth-century literary and theosophical circle which included the poet W. B. Yeats.

Irigaray's Between East and West presents the issue of learning new practices of breathing as fundamental to a positive redirection of consciousness.16 Only through this new practice, bringing into being a new relation of the mind to the body, Irigaray argues, is it possible to move beyond what she presents as the destructive elements of Western metaphysics and the spiritually empty (male) struggle to dominate nature: its aim is a new relation between the sexes, new possibilities of community, and the coexistence of diverse communities required by contemporary societies. Irigaray's argument has the strength of her training in Western intellectual traditions and their modes of critique complemented by profound reorientation through her own lived and evolved knowledge of Indian spiritual practices. She writes, that is, from a complementary basis of intellectual analysis and whole-person experience. While Irigaray's specific arguments about gender and community are her own, her fundamental approach is congruent with a general tendency in contemporary Western societies, more than ever conscious of religious diversity and the cultural bases of belief, to value religion less in terms of faith and doctrine and more in terms of spiritual knowledge and practice.

Pentecostalism is quite different—a version of an antithetical strand in contemporary religions, the return to renewed fundamentalisms, Christian, Muslim, and Hindu. The understanding of the

Christian God as a triune figure, Father-Son-Spirit, means that breath, and the crucial multivalent terms—Hebrew ruach, Greek pneuma, Latin spiritus—have always been central to Christianity. Disciplines of breathing, though more prominent in Eastern religions, have also been present in many periods of the history of Christian prayer—in the prayers of medieval mystics,19 in the practices of prayer proposed in the widely-distributed Spiritual Exercises (1541) of St Ignatius of Loyola, and in the methods recommended for saying the 'Jesus prayer' (sixth-century) from the quite different background of Eastern Orthodoxy. This became widely known in Western Christendom through the nineteenth-century compilation, The Way of the Pilgrim, which, after its translation in the 1930s, became one of the most widely-circulated books about Christian practices of prayer, conveying something of its background in an eighteenth-century collection of fourth- to fifteenth-century texts, the Philokalia, the most significant and authoritative compilation in Orthodoxy after the Bible. Here too psychosomatic techniques of prayer, based on a view of the body as 'an essential aspect of total personhood', emphasise the importance of disciplines of breathing.

Nevertheless, breathing disciplines are less evident in Christian practices of prayer and meditation than in those of Eastern religions. Even the visitation of the Holy Spirit, the breath of God, though important in the scriptural account of the accomplishment of Christ's mission of salvation (Resurrection, Ascension, Descent of the Spirit), became suddenly prominent in a new way in the early twentieth century. Now a worldwide church with an estimated 280 million adherents in Africa, India, the Americas, Europe, and Scandinavia, Pentecostalism takes its origin and much of its character from African American charismatics meeting in Los Angeles in 1906. Central to Pentecostal belief is baptism by the Holy Spirit, the breath of God, characteristic manifestations of which are the mutually-inspired in-and-out-breathings of congregational communities in whooping, shouting, laughing, singing, and speaking in tongues. It is a religion with political implications: unstructured forms of worship in which any member of a congregation can take the lead model nonhierarchical forms of society in the world beyond the church. One recent account of black Pentecostalism sees it as rejecting the whole of Western civilisation as fundamentally white supremacist and hetero-patriarchal, in its intellectual frameworks (philosophy, theology) as well as its social and political structures; its positive aim as to imagine 'otherwise' modalities and epistemologies, which connect the movement with whatever is broadly non-heteronormative and liberationist.

Stressing embodied thinking, this account, though ostensibly a radical rejection of Western traditions, can, nevertheless, be seen as congruent with other contemporary critiques of dualist mind–body modes of thought. How difficult it is to think embodied experience, however, is strikingly demonstrated by the account's contrast between an experiential narrative of breathing and emotion in episodes from two Pentecostal sermons, incorporating community responses, and a 'scientific' version of the relationship between breathing and emotion. The two approaches are so radically different that the language of the scientific account positively excludes the mode of what is to be conveyed in the Pentecostal experience. The associated critique of major European and Scandinavian theologians of Pneumatology and the Pentecostal-Charismatic (Jürgen Moltmann, Veli-Matti Kärkäinen)—that they exclude black Pentecostalism because they are unable to deal with the physicality of its breathing—may be weakened by overworked invocations of 'otherwise' possibilities; but the book certainly succeeds in avoiding the all too usual intellectual's embarrassment about emotion and in illustrating the difficulties of intellectualising about bodily experience. As with Irigaray on Heidegger, as with Fradenburg on Lacan, as with Derrida's interaction with Artaud, it indicates the need for new modes of intellectual performance to match and engage with more embodied conceptions of intellectual experience.

As with breathing and air pollution, the issue is not only how to think but also how to live. Pentecostal practices of worship imply practices of social organisation, particularly because in its

early twentieth-century beginnings the co-breathing of brothers and sisters in sharing the spirit recognised no racial limitations: black and white members of a congregation prayed together, contravening then current segregation laws in the southern states of the USA. Pentecostalism was therefore an early example of political movements in which breathing becomes a metaphor for freedom, constriction of breathing a metaphor for oppression.

'I can't breathe': the last words of Eric Garner, an African American who died as the result of a prohibited chokehold applied during arrest by police in New York in July 2014. 'I can't breathe': also the last words of George Floyd, an African American who died as the result of violent arrest by police in Minneapolis in May 2020. As a result of the death of George Floyd there were demonstrations against police brutality, and more generally against racial oppression, in every state of the USA, and internationally. 'I can't breathe': the words originally associated with protests against the killing of Eric Garner, after the death of George Floyd became the slogan-symbol of an international movement against racism and racial oppression, Black Lives Matter.

Even before the death of George Floyd the wider political implications of the words had been developed by the political theorist, Achille Mbembe.26 'Caught in the stranglehold of injustice and inequality, much of humanity is threatened by a great chokehold' (§2): in terms that refer back to the death of Eric Garner but are also prescient of the events that gave rise to Black Lives Matter, Mbembe interprets the international inequalities exposed by the COVID-19 pandemic as quasi-apocalyptic signs. Dehumanising digital communication; oppressive exploitation of postcolonial and developing communities; destructive exploitation of nature, all on an international scale: the political metaphors of oppression and the literal consequences of polluted environments point in the same direction. They are signs of the need to return to every living thing—human, plant, and animal—the space and conditions required for its breathing.

The Life of Breath Project

This book was inspired by the Life of Breath project (https://lifeofbreath. org/), a collaborative interdisciplinary study based at the Universities of Durham and Bristol, UK, and funded by the Wellcome Trust. The project has brought together researchers in arts and humanities, social science and clinical science, healthcare professionals, activists and also 'experts by experience'—those with personal experience of breathing-related diseases. It takes up the complex, mysterious yet crucial aspects of experience connected with breath and breathlessness. It speaks to the present as an 'age of breath'. At the same time it addresses the relative invisibility of breath within the medical community, the silences surrounding breathlessness and breathing illnesses, and the continuing need for language and ways of expressing breath and its lack—needs so powerfully evoked by thinkers and writers from the late twentieth century onwards.

The project was founded on the proposition that breathing and breathlessness can only be understood fully through the insights of cultural, historical, and phenomenological sources, and through incorporating perspectives derived from the arts and humanities into the clinical understanding of the physical symptom of breathlessness. By transforming understandings of breath and breathlessness the research aimed to reduce stigma and empower those who live with breathing illnesses. It also aimed to offer new possibilities for therapy and the management of diseases for which breathlessness is the primary symptom.

The integration of cultural and clinical understandings has been central to the Life of Breath as a 'critical medical humanities' project. While medical humanities was for many years associated with broadening the education of clinicians, in particular medical students, it is now recognised that the humanities also have a key role to play in influencing the evidence base for clinical interventions that goes far beyond enhancing the empathy of practitioners. 'Critical' medical humanities is characterised by interdisciplinarity, ensuring that knowledge and methods from arts and humanities as well as

social sciences are mobilised to understand and address health problems in ways that are integrated with clinical knowledge. The force of 'critical' asserts the value of the humanities in calling attention to the richness and importance of the contexts in which lives are lived and illness experienced. The arts serve both to reflect and to illuminate experience: they play crucial roles in offering language and other forms of expression to articulate experience and frameworks for understanding.

The Life of Breath project took up the approach and methods of critical medical humanities to explore breath and breathlessness from an interdisciplinary perspective alongside the insights of those who live with breathlessness. One aim was to use the outcomes of research drawing on medical humanities perspectives to inform and improve clinical practice, expanding the evidence base, addressing the lack of knowledge surrounding the embodied experience of breathing and breathlessness, and exploring how this connects with cultural attitudes and assumptions concerning breath. Research strands spanned varying cultural conceptions of breath, the medical history of breathlessness, the development of a phenomenology of breathing, including through work with trained and aware or 'interesting' breathers (diving, exercising, singing, playing a wind instrument, and even sleeping), and the experience of clinical breathlessness, with a focus on the ways in which the clinical encounter shapes notions of breathlessness and the problems of 'symptom discordance', the mismatch between objective measurements of lung function and patients' experience of breathlessness.

Though common to many diseases, chronic breathlessness is most often caused by the condition known as chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD), the third most common cause of death globally. In western countries, COPD is frequently caused by smoking, which is highly stigmatised. Physical constraints which are consequences of COPD are often compounded by shame, with the result that breathlessness sufferers hide away from society and may feel undeserving of help. Conditions causing chronic breathlessness are also typically associated with older age groups and with low socio-economic status. Partly because of this, research into respiratory diseases has had few energetic champions to redress the pressing need for improved funding and political action.

The COVID-19 pandemic has, however, brought breathlessness into sharp relief with peculiar global urgency. The Life of Breath project thus seems eerily prescient. In 2015 when the project began it was on the basis that breathing illnesses were relatively unnoticed and research into them was underfunded. In 2017 when the essays in this volume were commissioned, in 2018 when the contributors met together to hear and engage with each other's work, in 2019 when the essays were completed, that situation had not substantially changed. In 2020, as the editors worked on putting the volume finally together, and in 2021, as the volume goes to press, the pandemic has transformed the world. A virus that literally takes away our breath has caused many thousands of deaths—at the time of writing (late February 2021) in the UK over 120,000 people, in the USA over 510,000, and globally over 2,520,000, with over 110 million cases confirmed worldwide. The illness has devastated the lives of individuals, families, and communities. Its as yet incalculable but evidently huge repercussions are a primary preoccupation of medical research, national governments, and international relations and organisations. Attempts to limit the spread of the virus have driven economies and businesses to ruin, and radically changed how we live, work, and relate to each other. Breath—and its lack—now seem more than ever to signal the ways in which human beings are united: every act of care taken not to spread the virus contributes to the common good, every act of carelessness to the common suffering. It has also shown how we are different. 'We're all in this together' has been a common statement of solidarity by politicians, but COVID-19 has emphasised that some are more vulnerable than others, in Europe and the USA especially Black, Asian, and minority ethnic communities. COVID-19 has underlined the key role of social deprivation in making people more vulnerable to ill health and shown that the poorest communities are often among those that have suffered the most. While 'conspiration', 'breathing together', is a unifying

theme of this book, so too is its converse: as the Life of Breath project has also shown, at the individual level obstructed or difficult breath is a profoundly isolating and lonely experience.

When the Life of Breath project group welcomed contributors to this book to Durham in 2018 to reflect on and initiate a critical medical humanities account of breath in Western culture, a world so engaged with breath was unthinkable. In our transformed world, it might seem that the rationale for this book is less urgent. If everyone is now talking about breath, can we still assert its absence in our culture and the need to raise awareness about it? In fact people are still not really talking about breath or breathlessness, except in a specific context. Major restrictions on the lives of people around the world may be in place to prevent the spread of COVID-19, yet the focus of attention is not on the symptom of breathlessness itself but rather on ways of preventing the spread of the virus and ways in which lives have changed. Paradoxically, COVID-19 seems to be deflecting attention from the articulation of what breath means, and how we cope with its lack in less extreme, more everyday contexts. Breath and breathlessness are subjects with powerful contemporary resonance, literal and metaphorical. Nevertheless, we do not have adequate terms and conceptions with which to discuss the actual experience of illnesses of the breath.

This theme of invisibility was a key stimulus to the development of the Life of Breath project. A major aim was to fill a gap in critical writing and awareness of breath and breathlessness in Western thought because the lack of articulation of the meanings and significance of breath can adversely affect those who suffer from breathlessness. Research undertaken by the project emphasised the negative consequences of the difficulty of explaining or expressing breathlessness for those who suffer from it, for societal understanding of it, and for political investment in addressing the growing incidence of lung disease. Findings highlighted the lack of language to express breathlessness, its 'incommunicable' quality, its isolating effects on sufferers, who experience an absence of social connection and a 'shrinking lifeworld'. They revealed too the neglect and underfunding of the condition from a research perspective, with the result that the mortality rate across the last decade has remained static, by contrast to that for heart disease, which has reduced by 15%, reflecting significant material and scientific investment. Research benefited from bringing together analysis of lived experience from empirical field work with philosophical phenomenology and literary insights to show that breathlessness is invisible in a complex range of interconnected ways that need to be addressed not just by clinicians but by changes of attitude in politics and society. This change of attitudes requires enhanced awareness and understanding of deep-rooted, culturally driven ideas and assumptions about breath.

The invisibility of breath, then, may be considered in relation to the self, society, and the sphere of policy, where evidence and political will are needed to make real changes for people whose breath is problematic. Individual experience of breathing, like many important bodily functions, occurs largely in the background and is not usually the object of conscious awareness. The philosopher-physician Drew Leder describes these functions as aspects of the 'recessive body', that is, the body outside our conscious influence. However, unlike other 'recessive' functions, such as the cardiac or gastrointestinal systems, we have some control over breathing. And breathing becomes more conscious as it is taxed by high levels of physical exertion. This provides some experience of breathlessness but, as Havi Carel emphasises, it does not replicate the existential fear of pathological breathlessness: 'it is not like running for a bus; it is not like hiking in high altitude; it's more what I imagine dying is like'. Carel, who herself suffers from chronic breathlessness, speaks of it as expressible only through comparisons such as 'like dying' or 'like drowning'. Breathlessness is 'an overwhelming sensation, to which we are deeply sensitive, but it is also behaviourally subtle, and so often invisible to others'.

Breath and breathlessness were brought into focus by the Life of Breath project through co-produced and engaged research activities, externally focussed communications, an exhibition and

public events, and hence, the creation of a diverse and unprecedented community, including expertsby-experience, healthcare professionals, artists, and academics from a range of disciplines dedicated to exploring breathing and breathlessness in their own right. A research partnership with British Lung Foundation 'Breathe Easy' support groups for people with respiratory illness both informed the research and led directly into the development of creative writing, singing, and dance programmes which explored the potential of the arts to help people live well with breathlessness. These initiatives led in turn to the creation of online resources for breathlessness sufferers, made freely available on the project website and recommended in national health guidance. Further work addressed the culture of pulmonary rehabilitation, and the barriers presented by clinical settings and language, while collaboration with clinicians built on insights into the cultural formation of experience and the deep connections between breath and embodiment. This generated new hypotheses concerning the sensation of breathlessness, the cultural contexts that shape the experience of breathlessness, and the problem of symptom discordance.

Central to the project's aim of transforming public understanding of breath and breathlessness was the curation of the public exhibition Catch Your Breath. The first exhibition ever to focus on breathing and breathlessness, Catch Your Breath drew on the project's research both to raise public awareness and challenge individuals to think differently about a bodily activity often taken for granted. The exhibition (running from November 2018 to February 2020) was hosted by venues academic, medical, and public: Palace Green University Library, Durham, the Royal College of Physicians, London, Southmead Hospital, Bristol, and Bristol Central Library. A smaller version toured libraries and scientific and medical conferences. Each venue attracted different communities and was accompanied by public events ranging from lectures and poetry readings to interactive activities, writing workshops, and mindfulness breathing classes. The exhibition included literary and cultural artefacts from medieval manuscripts to contemporary glass sculptures and short films, and newly commissioned interactive displays exploring the embodied experience of breathing. Through the themes of visibility and invisibility, the exhibition traced historical and cultural connections between breath, body, mind, creativity, and spiritual inspiration. Cultural, religious, and literary conceptions of breath and breathlessness from the classical period to the present were set alongside the medical history of breathlessness, its diagnosis and treatments, the histories of tobacco and air pollution, and the narratives of breathers themselves.

Another focal point of the project's exploration of invisibility was a 'Breath Lab', which brought together those with lived experience of breathlessness, their families and carers, clinicians, and policy-makers to explore the 'language of breathlessness'.43 Discussion revealed the difficulty of describing breathlessness. Whereas a wide range of words existed to convey the 'character' of pain, there were few words to characterize breathlessness. The language of breathlessness seemed to have been usurped by the clinical context: the three 'characters' employed by clinicians, 'air hunger', 'the work of breathing' and 'tightness', left those suffering from breathing illnesses dissatisfied and struggling to find more accurate ways to express their experience. Life of Breath researchers also found that similar linguistic issues render clinical questionnaire tools for assessing the sensory experience of breathlessness confusing and difficult for patients. Clinical language also inhibited those suffering from breathlessness from taking up opportunities for pulmonary rehabilitation. For the participants in the 'Breath Lab', the inability to find words to describe their experience was not only frustrating but also compounded the invisibility to others that defined their experience. Just as the ability to breathe easily facilitates ordinary social life, so breathing illness inhibits normal social interaction. Those with lived experience of breathlessness described stratagems they adopt to avoid being seen to struggle for breath in public, actions also prompted by the stigma they perceive as associated with their condition on account of its negative connections with smoking, age, and social deprivation.

Language and its lack, the Life of Breath project suggested, are at the heart of the problem of the invisibility of those experiencing breathlessness. The lack of language to express what breathing means, how it feels, and especially what it is like not to be able to breathe, renders understanding opaque for people with breathlessness and for those around them. The inadequacies of the abstract, detached language of the clinic removes agency from those who struggle to breathe and be in the world. Jean-Paul Sartre's characterisation of the nexus of language, body, and the Other captures such disengagement:

> Language by revealing to us abstractly the principal structures of our body-for-others ... impels us to place our alleged mission wholly in the hands of the Other. We resign ourselves to seeing ourselves through the Other's eyes; this means that we attempt to learn our being through the revelations of language. Thus there appears a whole system of verbal correspondence by which we cause our body to be designated for us as it is for the Other by utilizing these designations to denote our body as it is for us.

Those experiencing breathlessness found it frustrating and shaming, as well as inaccurate, that their experience was articulated only through clinical terms, or the real or imagined disparagement of others. They were also seeking ways of articulating this experience that made sense to themselves. For one support group, working with a writer-in-residence at the Catch Your Breath exhibition to produce poetry expressing their experience was revelatory. They described their 'gratitude' at being offered, through the skill of the writer, metaphors that enabled them to find ways of explaining what breathlessness meant for them:

> We have the thoughts.
> Mostly hidden.
> But words?
> Denied, or rather not asked for
> Over the millennia.
> (From 'A Chance', by Jill Gladstone).

This book explores the language and conceptions that have been used in relation to breath and breathlessness 'over the millennia' from the classical period to the present, and the richness and power of ideas associated with them. It is one step in the larger project of rendering the invisible visible.

The Life of Breath: From Classical to Contemporary

The imaginative worlds of literature from the classical period onwards demonstrate the complex significance and symbolic power of breath and breathlessness across time, illustrating both cultural shifts and continuities. Breath and breathlessness are flashpoints in a range of discourses, complex terms linked to ideas of health and life and to their converse, illness and death. Breath can signal the most fundamental aspects of human existence—and the most ephemeral.

While breath and breathing have never been such resonant and urgent subjects as they are now, they have not been the subject of systematic cultural or literary study. Studies have focused on particular topics related to breathing—allergy, asthma, the air and pollution, smoking. This collection, the first of its kind, adopts a wider perspective, tracing the origins and development of ideas concerning breath and breathlessness to explore their imaginative power and to demonstrate how literary texts and the cultural discourses that shape them reflect and reflect upon current ideas, understandings, assumptions, and preconceptions.

The collection was developed through an invited international conference, which brought together contributors to tease out cultural attitudes and understandings, and to probe the imaginative and affective power of ideas connected with breath across time. Discussion and dialogue were informed by the clinical, sociological, and empirical work of other members of the project team as well as by researchers across a range of literary and cultural disciplines. The volume also draws on The Arts of

Breath, a series of public workshop-performances, lectures, and interviews exploring breath in creative arts contexts and forms—poetry, fiction, drama, solo and choral singing, and dance. These events laid the foundations for a volume reflecting the full trajectory of historical ideas of breath and breathlessness, their cultural and creative significance, and their resonances for contemporary understanding and experience.

The book is structured chronologically to present a wide range of cultural reflections within a framework of historical development—classical, medieval, and early modern to the present, with the period from the late sixteenth century to the present represented by some exemplification from each half-century, and over a range of literary, scientific, and cultural discourses, because, with the development of science in every area (but particularly with the chemistry of air, the physiology of breathing, and the more general comprehension and treatment of illness and disease), understandings shifted more quickly in this period. Within this structure contributors trace connections, contrasts, and continuities, with a view also to speaking to current experience of breathing, normal and pathological. The history of breath is not linear: rather, it circles and loops around essential, recurring, often difficult concepts. It is written deeply into religious belief—and into concepts of nature and being. It is inextricable from notions of spirit, inspiration, voice, and movement. It underpins the performing arts—poetry, music, drama, and dance. Its lack—breathlessness—can signal profound emotion but also illness and death. Breath may liberate, but also poison, infect, and contaminate. Breath is longed for, its purity guarded, and its loss feared: synonymous with life and being, it connects body, psyche, and world. While the volume focuses on writing in English and the western cultural discourses that underpin it, individual essays look beyond—to earlier and other literatures and discourses, to other nations and continents, to different epochs and modes of thinking.

The presence and meanings of breath are elicited in a variety of ways. One need not be a Nietzschean to accept in some form the famous proposition of Nietzsche that 'Against positivism, which goes no further than the phenomenon and says, "there are only facts", I would say: no, facts are precisely what there are not, only interpretations. We can establish no fact "in itself"'. The issue with critical medical humanities is where and how to look for interpretations. Its typical terms for method have anti-methodological implications of unpredictability: entanglement, entwining, imbrication (where the usage has left behind the word's origin in geometric patterning [tiling] to imply interactions of a more free-wheeling kind). Its 'weaving' voices may be on different wavelengths. Its 'dialogic' voices may be speaking at a tangent to each other. In its 'polyphony' dissonances can be passing or unresolved (Palestrina or Ligeti). In its 'heteroglossia' multiple languages may understand each other and communicate, or speak in terms that profoundly complicate if not defy translation and harmonisation (Pentecost or Babel). Binary oppositions are more than superseded: they are extended to a dissolution of boundaries: interdisciplinary becomes 'post-disciplinary'. The interaction of a range of disciplines—arts and humanities and social science with biomedical science and medical practice—often involves experiments in interpretation, taking the view that nothing has meaning in and of itself but only within some context or mode of understanding which more or less inflects its meanings. While in some modern philosophies of science this is seen as apparent within science itself (Michael Polanyi, Paul Feyerabend, Thomas Kuhn), the kinds of contextual and cultural interpretations offered by arts and humanities and social science disciplines are characteristically of a different kind. In this collection they are seen, for example, in complexities of history and usage of multivalent words, the complexities of how contexts that inflect interpretation may be assumed, or implied, or change over time, and how meanings arise not only from the reconstructed past and the actual present but also from the accreted history of meanings. As the Romantic-period polymath Friedrich Schlegel puts it, 'every great work, of whatever kind, knows more than it says': in new contexts works may acquire new

meanings, ideas may acquire new applications that were not visible to their author, originator, or earlier interpretive communities.

The volume takes as its starting point classical literature, philosophy, and medical theory from Homer to Galen, which lay the foundations for much later thought, through the Middle Ages and beyond. Anthony Long demonstrates the long roots of the connections between breath, mind, and body and the startling contemporaneity of ancient ideas concerning breath. Breath and breathing are essential concepts in Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy: breath is a fundamental principle of both individual life and the universe. Stoic philosophers took up the notion of pneuma or vital spirit, air and fire, the active generative principle of the universe, which was connected by Galen with the individual physiology of breath and breathing. Late classical philosophy also developed radical ideas of 'conspiration', the subject of Phillip Horky's essay. This notion of the reciprocal breathing of human and divine came to be central not only to classical cosmology but also to early Christian thought. As Thomas Hunt shows, Christian theology drew on both classical concepts of pneuma, the life-giving spirit, and Hebrew notions of ruach, the breath of God, to develop and debate conceptions of the Holy Spirit—conceptions that had political resonances, relating to ideas of order and mastery. From the start, concepts of air, life, spirit, psyche and soul, external and internal pneuma, interweave: blurring into each other, they provoke dynamic responses embedded in changing notions of vitality, consciousness, and power, while the idea of co-breathing resonates with later notions of the interdependence of human and natural worlds.

Medieval medical theory was deeply rooted in classical thought and its Arabic reworkings, invoking the notion of the vital spirits to explain the physiology of the emotions and the intersection of thought with feeling. Corinne Saunders explores how the interrelated ideas of breath and vital spirits underpin and shape representations of affective experience in medieval imaginative texts, from popular romances to the medically alert fictions of Chaucer, arguing that representations that may seem to modern readers purely conventional are rooted in the medieval physiology of the breath. A similar understanding of the apparently conventional as physiological can also be seen, she argues, in devotional and visionary works, in which the concepts of vital spirits and the Holy Spirit intersect, giving breath a peculiar force. The Book of Margery Kempe offers an extended narrative of these intersections of physical and spiritual in Kempe's deeply embodied piety. Medieval physiological models provide a context and framework for Kempe's experience allowing the reader to place it not simply as performative or conventional but as rooted in learned ideas that were passing into general currency. The play of breath in tears, sighs, and swoons writes feeling on the body, creating a living tapestry of emotional experience from romantic love to mystical vision. Denis Renevey explores the possibility that medieval mystical experience was in part rooted in 'volitional breathing' resulting in changes to consciousness, drawing, in the absence of evidence in mystical texts themselves, on the insights of professional brass-players, eastern spiritual practices and the breathing techniques of 'new age' therapies. The repetition of prayers such as that on the Name of Jesus, he suggests, may have allowed for the conscious manipulation of the deep connection between breath and consciousness. At the same time, as Carole Rawcliffe shows, consciousness of the dangers of breathing infected air manifested itself in actions designed to improve air quality in medieval cities in a period repeatedly threatened by plague and epidemic. Being in the world depended not only on the movement of the bodily spirits but also on the purity of the air breathed in to form the vital spirits and influence the health of mind and body.

In turning from the medieval period to the early modern, the collection explores how, over the following centuries, these notions endured but took on new forms as understandings of physiology, disease, and the spiritual changed and developed. Katherine Craik and Stephen Chapman offer a novel perspective on present-day breathlessness by considering this within the unfamiliar context of early modern literature and culture. They argue that cross-disciplinary study can work not only by

of inspiration were both shadowed and enhanced by the threat of the loss of breath and the fading out of vitality through illness, in particular, the Romantic disease of tuberculosis, more commonly known as 'consumption' owing to its effects on the body. Consumption was 'fashionable', a disease that in the popular imagination illuminated the spirit as the body wasted, and which became a powerful artistic and literary topos, while in reality mortality was marked all too acutely on the consumptive breath. In Romantic constructions of consumption, ancient connections of breath with death, life, spirit and genius take on new force, heightened by the experience of breathlessness.

Nineteenth-century writers sustained such images of consumption, with their complex interweaving of respiratory difficulty with intensity of life. The industrial revolution also brought a new interest in the possibility that disease could be carried by air and inhaled, and in new subjects connected with breath and illness: emphysema and other diseases caused by, for example, cotton processing and mining. Victorian engagement with breath in relation to industrial shifts was marked by duality. Progress could seem to signal movement towards immortality, as Francis O'Gorman demonstrates in relation to the invention of the mechanically powered pipe organ—an instrument with seemingly endless breath, which inspired new literary engagements with the eternal. Yet the contrast with limited human breath also signalled the frailty of human life, the limits of possibility and the inevitability of death. A similar duality characterised the ways that the nineteenth century engaged with the effects of industrialisation on the natural environment, which had severe negative consequences for breathing, most marked in the phenomenon of London fog. Christine Corton explores how, in literature and culture, this densely polluted air came to be represented as food, a soup that was inhaled and ingested—a metaphor that paradoxically appeared to celebrate this aspect of London, perhaps delaying legislation for clean air, even as fog's breath-damaging qualities were acutely recognised by Victorian medicine, as contemporary records and reports connecting high mortality rates with dense fogs demonstrate. The intersection of ideas of poison and nutrition offered rich and enduring creative possibilities for both writers and artists. Alongside this emphasis on the relation between air and illness, at the fin de siècle, as Fraser Riddell shows, new sexological discourses placed the breathing body centre stage. In both aesthetic theory and poetry, the ideas of consumptive wasting, lung disease, and air that kills came together to shape queer notions of embodiment that highlighted forbidden but all-consuming and inspiring experiences of materiality, loss, and desire. Breath and breathlessness animated treatments of the homosexual subject.

Modernism acted as a crucible for ideas of breath and breathlessness. Within a context of dramatic scientific, intellectual, cultural, and aesthetic shifts, new forms of writing emerged to which breath was central in radically different ways. The notion of divine, life-giving breath was questioned and complicated in a world where religious faith was profoundly challenged. New developments in medicine and psychoanalysis extended and altered understandings of body, mind, and affect, and their connections. As Arthur Rose and Oriana Walker argue, breath played a complex role in psychoanalysis from the late nineteenth century to the 1930s, as a potential signifier of psychic experience, and as a psycho-physical variable in its own right for the theorists who followed and challenged the founders of the discipline. Breath becomes an 'uncanny object' and a key to the unconscious: it also continues as a focus for debates concerning vitality, materiality, spirit, and consciousness. Breath and its politics illuminate in new ways the histories of psychoanalysis and psychotherapy. At the same time, changes in relation to the lived environment led to new ideas of breathing in the world. Abbie Garrington explores the encounter of science, culture, and art in modernist attitudes to mountaineering, an activity that tested the limits and possibilities of breath, engaging with deeply ingrained ideals of masculinity and bodily endurance. New developments in the oxygen rig, like the Victorian invention of the mechanical organ, promised more enduring breath, yet also pointed to man's limits on the mountains, challenging ideas of heroism. Such possibilities and paradoxes contributed to the new poetic breath of modernism, as did new questions concerning the relation of mind and body. Taking up William James's idea of 'consciousness-as-breath', Marco

Bernini probes Samuel Beckett's interweaving of physiology and psychology in representations across his oeuvre of breath as intimately bound up with mind, revealing the workings and textures of consciousness and prefiguring more recent ideas of embodied cognition. The long-standing connection between breath and inspiration was newly rewritten not only in European thought but also by American poets from Walt Whitman to the Black Mountain School, who located the formal and rhetorical structures of poetry in the rhythms of breathing. David Fuller takes up the subject of breath in poetry and aesthetic theory in America with a particular focus on Charles Olson's concept of the breath-line and the related experiments with poetic form of William Carlos Williams, setting these experiments alongside those of the German poet Paul Celan, whose poetry and poetics of difficulty enact a 'breathturn', a profound change of direction, a new beginning, in response to the chilling questions for art raised by the cataclysm of World War II. The poetry of breath is necessarily embodied, intimately connected with the voice, a topic Fuller also addresses through consideration of the implications of and need for reading poetry aloud. Twenty-first-century poetics, as Stefanie Heine shows, has returned to the 'pneumatic turn' of the 1950s and 1960s. The contemporary African American writer M. NourbeSe Philip develops from Olson her own ideas of respirational poetics, beginning from the ethically positive idea of pre-natal 'conspiration', a mother breathing for her unborn child. Heine elaborates Philip's exemplification of a poetics of fragmentation in her anti-narrative narrative poem, Zang!, which engages with and radically remakes Olson's interests in the syllable and in word-materials taken over from a problematic 'mother-text', a case report related to a massacre of African captives thrown overboard from a slave-trading ship in the late eighteenth century in order to collect insurance on the 'cargo'. Philip's 'conspiration' is also a deconstruction of language, speaking to the violent silencing of the voices which Zang! evokes and to conspiration/conspiracy against black lives.

Modern technology has yielded new possibilities of realising breath in art. The contemporary visual artist Jayne Wilton has drawn on the possibilities offered by modern technology to examine the relationship between breather and spectator, individual and environment. Her work translates breathing into art, rendering the unseen visible—an extraordinary moment in the long history of the art of breath and breathlessness, which reaches back to primitive art and is refigured across cultural epochs. Wilton's work engages directly with sufferers from breathlessness, a refiguring of conspiration that challenges comfortable assumptions but also shows the potential of the arts to articulate embodied experience. The potential unease and violence of conspiration are presented in a radical new light by the contemporary English poet Michael Symmons Roberts, whose novel Breath (2006) explores a lung transplant that also becomes a deeply political act within a context of civil war. Breath opens onto questions of the intersection of mind and body, identity and consciousness, spirit and voice. These issues emerge across Symmons Roberts' writing, which is also concerned with how the poet, poem, and reader may realise structures of breathing implied by the printed page. In the arts of breath, frailty and resilience meet.

As Peter Adey shows in his After word, across the book themes and issues interweave: the body and pathology, vitality and emotion, soul and spirit, inspiration and creation, conspiration and community, politics and environment, nature and technology, voice and silence, and, above all, identity and consciousness. He also returns to the contexts in which the book was completed of an international breathing illness pandemic and the Black Lives Matter movement. As he suggests, the movements, meanings, vocalisations, and violences of breath are among the defining moments of our time. Lives, beings, and imaginings are inextricably bound up—for better or worse—with breathing in the world. From the ancient world to the present, philosophy, literature, and the cultures they reflect and shape write the life of breath. <>

THE CHINESE LIBERAL SPIRIT: SELECTED WRITINGS OF XU FUGUAN translated and edited by David Elstein [State University of New York Press, 9781438487175]

Xu Fuguan (1903–1982) was one of the most important Confucian scholars of the twentieth century. A key figure in the Nationalist Party, Xu was involved in the Chinese civil war after World War II and in the early years of the Nationalist government in Taiwan. He never ceased to believe that democracy was the way forward for the Chinese nation. Making his ethical and political thought accessible to English-speaking readers for the first time, these essays analyze the source of morality and how morality must be realized in democratic government; they also provide a sharp contrast to the claim that democracy is not suitable for China—or that Confucian government should be meritocracy, not democracy. They also share the reflections of a man who lived through the Chinese revolution and remained strongly critical of the governments in both the People's Republic of China and Taiwan.

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Some explanation ought to be offered for an entire book dedicated to ^u Fuguan's thought, who is not the most prominent New Ruist thinker. He is by no means a household name in Chinese communities, and I would speculate that his writings are not frequently read in philosophy classes. He never had the ambition to develop the kind of philosophical system that his contemporaries Tang Junyi and Mou Zongsan did. While like other scholars of the period (including the two just mentioned), he wrote voluminously, he never published anything in English, other than the jointly authored "Declaration on Behalf of Chinese Culture Respectfully Announced to the People of the World," and how much of this document his contributions represent is not clear. The present volume represents the first appearance of any of his individually authored works in English.

The question, then, is why we should be interested in the thought of this particular twentieth-century Chinese scholar. I will answer that in several ways. First, due to his background he had greater connections with the significant historical and political figures of the time than most scholars. I would surmise not many had personal relationships with both Mao Zedong and Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek). As a general in the Nationalist (GMD) army, he had a closer look at the military and political situation than most. Xu's writings thus provide an intriguing perspective on the fall of mainland China and the early years of GMD rule of Taiwan.

Second, ^u is both more accessible and more congenial philosophically for most modern English speakers than Mou or Tang, his contem poraries who are more widely studied in the Sinophone academic world. Both were fond of neologisms based on classical Chinese works, frequently reference nearly the entire history of Chinese thought, and constructed their philosophical systems in response to dense German philosophers (Kant in Mou's case, Hegel in Tang's). Without significant acquaintance with these philosophers, as well most of the history of Chinese philosophy, it is very difficult to understand their systems, which tend toward elaborate metaphysics. ^u was very critical of this metaphysical turn, arguing that it misconstrues Chinese thought. While his works are not always easy—the frequency of classical Chinese quotations from a wide variety of sources being the most troublesome for the translator—he generally is more approachable for the reader. This is surely in part because most of what is translated here was published in semipopular journals that aimed to reach an audience outside of academia.

Philosophically, his rejection of metaphysics means he turns out to have more in common with the more ontologically reserved positions common in Anglo-American philosophy. ^u is not committed to naturalism at all; it is difficult to pin down his position precisely, but certainly he believes that there are truths that are neither logical nor scientific. Yet he is closer to that than many other representatives of New Ruism, and it is not hard to see how his thought could be modified to fit within a naturalistic woridview. In his rejection of anything like divine revelation as a source for morality, he shares a great deal with many modern Western ethical philosophers.

Finally, ^u is an excellent representative of the dominant New Ruist view of democracy, a view which only recently has found any representation in Anglophone works on Ruist political thought. The interpretations of Ruist political thought that get the most attention are mainly antidemocratic to some degree, strongly critical of a focus on individual freedom, and favor a significant meritocratic component to government to avoid the problems of voter ignorance and bias. ^u rejects all of these positions. He was an unfailing supporter of more democracy in Taiwan (and China, eventually), he strongly believed in the importance of individual freedom (while having grave reservations about liberalism in the British tradition in particular), and having lived in such an environment, he was highly suspicious of any claims to meritocratic rule. Instead, his interpretation of Ruism is that it requires democracy. It would not be too strong to say modern liberal democratic institutions at long last provide the environment where it would be possible to realize Ruist political goals.

I have found his arguments here fascinating and incisive, and while he may be overly optimistic about the reality of democracy, his claims are worth serious consideration. At the very least, as someone well acquainted with life in a dictatorship that claimed to be governing in the people's best interests, his criticisms of it deserve attention by anyone who thinks meritocratic government is a realistic possibility. Scholars who hope for that should perhaps be careful what they wish for: Xu's own life illustrates that those in power often don't look kindly on criticism from intellectuals.

My Father by Hsu Woo-Chun

My father, Professor Xu Fuguan, was one of the leading members of the New Ruist movement of the twentieth century. His life, faith, and learning were strongly related to the modern history of China.

My father wasorfof J6(a)3.4(f)10.8999996u.8(a)3.1(r)4.6999998.6(y)3.31.8(s)418(t)-34(h,)1.194(f)10.8999996034(h,)1.

After my retirement in 2001, by reading my father's commentary articles and from memories and documents, I came to have a better picture of my father's life. He was a man who stood by the people and tried his best for them. And I believe that the major difference between his academic works and the other scholars' is his believing that a true Ruist should take the well-being of the people as the first priority, not the perfection of academic research.

Among other things, I found that I lost my Taiwan research job in 1979 because I am Xu Fuguan's son. And my father did not visit Beijing to protect me from the KMT. I wish I could say to him: "Please just do as you wish, Daddy."

I want to sincerely acknowledge Professor Elstein's great effort in introducing my father's works to the Western world. <>

PROTEST AND RESISTANCE IN THE CHINESE PARTY STATE edited by Hank Johnston and Sheldon Zhang [Rowman & Littlefield, 9781538165003]

Although contemporary China is a repressive state, protests and demonstrations have increased almost tenfold between 2005 and 2015. This is an astounding statistic when one considers that Marxist-Leninist regimes of the past tolerated little or no public dissent. How can protests become more common as the state becomes more repressive? This collection helps to answer this compelling question through in-depth analyses of several Chinese protest movements and state responses. The chapters examine the opportunities and constraints for protest mobilization, and explains their importance for understanding contemporary Chinese society.

Review

"This timely volume provides us with a detailed overview of the changing landscape of social contention in China. As this book makes clear, after a surge that started in the 1990s and peaked in 2014, protest has declined under Xi Jinping's increasingly repressive watch. The individual chapters present both a systematic assessment of the development and characteristics of rural and urban protest in China during this period and a set of fascinating accounts of the multi-faceted contentious politics under China's techno-authoritarian regime from the petitioning tactics of forced Three-Gorges-Dam migrants to bureaucrat-assisted contention and the extraordinary tenacity of Hong Kong's anti-extradition movement."—Hanspeter Kriesi, European University Institute

"Protest and Resistance in the Chinese Party State provides a long overdue update on the state of contentious politics in China. Drawing from social movement theory and leavened by China-specific events and circumstances, the chapters in this volume provide a rich array of conceptual lenses and analytical approaches to understanding mobilization and protest in China up to and including the Xi Jinping era. This volume helps us appreciate the changes wrought and continuities preserved—in the era of high-tech surveillance and increased political illiberalism in China and within the international authoritarian turn more broadly."—Andrew Mertha, Johns Hopkins University

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This volume is the third in the Hansen Collection of Peace and Nonviolence Research. It has been my honor to occupy San Diego State University's (SDSU) Hansen Chair of Peace and Nonviolence for the past five years. The social science of protest, nonviolence resistance, and—the other side of the coin—how protest descends into violent confrontation are important foci in understanding contemporary societies. The appointment afforded generous resources to address contemporary topics about peace and nonviolence and, broadly, to promote world peace through scholarship and academic engagement. Supporting a collection of research monographs on these topics is one part of a robust Hansen program on our campus. Sponsoring conferences is another dimension of the program, and this volume is based on a conference on nonviolent resistance in nondemocracies and authoritarian states held at SDSU in 2019. I am grateful to the Hansen Foundation and its trustee, Anton Dimitroff, for supporting these conferences.

This volume in the series touches on an area of study that has come to the foreground of contentious politics research recently: the challenges to democracy that one-party authoritarian systems of governance pose. It is a theme, I believe, that will gain momentum in the coming decades of the twenty-first century and, especially, the violence-nonviolence dynamic as states employ more intensive modes of policing and surveillance based on new technologies. These are topics that are highly relevant because democracies are challenged in the twenty-first century, and insights from contemporary China are compelling because protests there wax and wane and because state methods of social control are sophisticated and intrusive.

Although a focus on China has always been present in the contentious politics field, the preponderance of research concentrates on the democracies of the West, where protest is normatively accepted, frequent, and protected by law. The goal of this volume is to cast a brighter light on the protest horizon in China, which broadened significantly during the 1990s and continued

to expand in unprecedented numbers until 2012. Then, limited by Xi Jinping's more authoritarian approach to governance, the number of protests events began to diminish. Many protests in China are small expressions of anger at officials and local governments, mostly nonviolent, and never directly challenging the authority of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). The vast majority of them remain relatively constrained events or campaigns. The Hansen-SDSU conference in 2019 hosted a thematic thread of several sessions focusing on the unique repertorial characteristics of protests in China and their relations to the state. This collection is partly the fruit of that initiative. A stronger synergy of the social movement field and China-area research has been underway for more than a decade, and our intention is to contribute to its enrichment.

When China began its modernization after the death of Mao Zedong, events of "mass incidents" and "troublemaking" were quite limited, but as the economy and society opened and modernized, protests increased rapidly. Chih-Jou Jay Chen has constructed an important data set of protest events in China. His finds that there was an increase in collective-action events between 2005 and 2014 at a rate of 9.5 times (see chapter 2). Another study estimated that the number of protests in 2010 could have been as high as 230,000. Although most were small gatherings at a village police headquarters or party offices to voice complaints or deliver petitions, these totals also included larger protests against chemical plants and toxic waste incinerators. Chef's chapter shows that the number of large protests (more than one thousand participants) increased during the same period. He refers to China as a "protest society," recasting the term popularized twenty-five years ago by David Meyer and Sidney Tarrow regarding Western democracies, "social movement societies."

To contextualize these numbers, we can consider protest figures from the U.S., where politics was especially contentious during the Trump administration. In the first three years after his election, there were an estimated 16,500 protests, with about 11.7 million total participants, including the massive Women's Marches at the outset of the new administration with 3 to 5 million participants. More recently, the wave of Black Lives Matter (BLM) protests in 2020 sparked by the killing of George Floyd during an arrest by the Minneapolis police, peaked on June 6, 2020, when five hundred thousand people mobilized on a single day. One study suggests that as many as 26 million people participated in 2020 BLM campaign, which would make it the largest social movement in the history of the U.S. While the absolute number of protests events in China and the U.S. may be comparable, participation in China is more constrained, and overall figures for participation are not available.

We can be certain that on a per-population basis, protest rates are not as high. Mass protests characteristic of BLM—campaigns that span the country—are highly unlikely in China. Protesters there have a keen awareness of what we could characterize as the KISS principle: Keep it small and segmented. Protests there are self-limited. Large events and campaigns that potentially could extend in geographic scope—suggesting major faults in CCP leadership—would be severely repressed in China as threatening to the party's power.

Another way to contextualize the high number of protests in China is with comparisons with other communist party regimes. In the Leninist regimes of the twentieth century, high levels of repression and surveillance meant that social movements and citizen protest campaigns—at least as we know them in the West—were not common. Like China, the organization of society and civic life in the Soviet Union, East Germany, Poland, Hungary, and the other Eastern bloc countries was highly constrained, less open, and widely surveilled. The development of any independent civil society groups or organizations was seen as highly suspicious. When large movements did occur, they were crushed by state repression: Hungary (1956) and Czechoslovakia (1968) and martial law in Poland (1981)—state responses reminiscent of Tiananmen Square. China, like the communist states of Eastern Europe, monitors any networked relations among groups and individuals who might express shared collective grievances. For social movement theorists, China stands out today when seen in

the context of protest incidence from the Cold War era. The high levels of protest in China raise questions about different configurations of repertorial characteristics that might operate there, which are major thematic threads developed in this collection of research.

I close with the observation that the twenty-first century will be China's century. Researchers of contemporary societies must pay attention to its model of governance, state security, and geopolitics to fully understand trends in the future. One of these trends is especially portentous: how the People's Republic of China applies cutting-edge surveillance technologies with goal of maintaining social harmony. Digital technologies are unprecedented in their potential for monitoring citizens, and Chinese party-state uses social media strategies to shape public opinion and promote official perspectives and propaganda intensively. It also applies them extensively for social control. The need for social scientists to comprehend and analyze these trends is compelling. Moreover, as political parties in Poland, Hungry, Turkey, Brazil, and the U.S. erode both the rule of law and the institutional protections characteristic of liberal democracies, this weakening of citizen protections opens the door even more for the use of digital surveillance. Johnston and Zhang's introduction discusses the chilling implications of real-time virtual surveillance in which, hypothetically, a smartphone could capture a frown on someone's face when a story comes across a WeChat feed. If the story is about Xi Jinping, we might have a "face crime," to borrow from the Orwellian newspeak lexicon. In the early 2020s, this kind of monolithic and coordinated web of surveillance does yet not exist. The People's Republic of China is not alone in the use of new surveillance technologies, but today it seeks to take a global lead in their application.—Hank Johnston, Professor of Sociology, San Diego State University. December 22, 2021 <>

THE VAKATAKA HERITAGE: INDIAN CULTURE AT THE CROSSROADS edited by Hans T. Bakker [Gonda Indological Studies, Brill, 9789069801483]

In what is often considered to be the heyday of classical Indian culture, the 4th and 5th centuries AD, the dynasty of the Vākāṭakas emerged as one of the major patrons of religion and art. Covering the greater part of the northern Deccan, the Vākāṭaka kingdoms were situated at the crossroads of the main north-south and west-east caravan routes.

This situation in the heart of the South-Asian subcontinent may partly explain the prosperity of the Vākāṭaka kingdoms and certainly accounts for their cultural diversity and richness, to which the Hindu temples on and around the Rāmagiri (Ramtek Hill) and the Buddhist Caves at Ajanta still bear witness. Here, at the crossroads of the Indo-Aryan north and Dravidian south, the northern culture of the Gupta kingdom reached the Deccan and developed a character of its own. The articles collected in this volume intend to augment our knowledge of how the Vākāṭaka culture came into being, which forces and influences contributed to its flourishing, and how its achievements informed the historical and cultural developments after its fall.

Richly illustrated contributions address the Vākāṭaka Heritage from a variety of disciplines: history (Kulke, von Stietencron), archaeology (Kennet), numismatics (Raven), political and religious history (Willis, Bakker), iconography (Brown, Yokochi), and art history (Williams, Spink, Wood, Stadtner, and Nigam).

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In what is often considered to be the heyday of classical Indian culture, the 4th and 5th centuries, the dynasty of the Vákátakas emerged as one of the major patrons of religion and art. Covering the greater part of the northern Deccan, the Váktaka kingdoms were situated at the crossroads of the ma^n north-south and west-east caravan routes. The highway from Prayága (Allahabad), via Vidi^d (Beshnagar) in Malwa, to Pratisthána (Paithan) at the upper course of the Godávar^ River, ran through the Western Vákátaka kingdom along Ajanta; the other north-south highway, running from Kausámbi (Kosam) to the Krsná-Godávari Delta passed the capital of the Eastern Vákátakas, Nandivardhana/Pravarapura (Nagardhan/Mansar). These two north-south routes were intersected by the west-east road that connected the ports at the Arabian Sea, Súr^draka (Sopara) and Kalyána (Kalyan), with the hinterland; this highway ran through the kingdoms of the Western and Eastern Vákátakas and ended in Sarabhapura (Malhar?) and Sr^pura (Sirpur) in Daksina Kosala (Chhattisgarh State).

This situation in the heart of the South-Asian subcontinent may partly explain the prosperity of the Vákátaka kingdoms and certainly accounts for their cultural diversity and richness, to which the Hindu temples on and around the Rámagiri (Ramtek Hill) and the Buddhist Caves in Ajanta still bear witness. Here, at the crossroads of the Indo-Aryan north and Dravidian south, the northern culture of the Gupta kingdom reached the Deccan and developed a character of its own. The major religions of the times, Buddhism, Bhagavatism and Mahesvarism, all had important settlements in the Vákátaka kingdoms; constructions in stone, brick or rock testify to the high standards of the arts reached in Central India by the middle of the 5th century.

With the collapse of the Vákátaka and Gupta dynasties at the turn of the 5th century an era came to an end. At this juncture, at the crossroads of the Classical and Early Medieval Periods, so to speak, the culture of the Vákátaka realm diffused to west and east (Mandasor, Tala), north and south (Nachna, Badami). Studying Vákátaka history, religion and arts therefore means studying the foundations of the political, religious and artistic achievements of the early

Indian Middle Ages, which emerged in a gradual process of cultural diffusion and change.

The articles collected in this volume grew out of the papers and discussions presented in a colloquium held at Groningen from 6 to 8 June, 2002. The colloquium was intended to augment our

knowledge of how the Vákátaka culture came into being, which forces and influences contributed to its flourishing, and how its achievements informed the historical and cultural developments after its fall. The specialists' answers are arranged by and large in accordance with this broad question.

Hermann KULKE investigates the historical background from which the Vákátakas emerged and establishes that we should think of the Vákátakas as two different, largely autonomous kingdoms: the Eastern and Western Vákátakas. He shows how the state of the Eastern Vákátaka can be seen as a transition from which the early medieval kingdoms emerged. Derek KENNET provides a critical assessment of the archaeological state of affairs on which much of our knowledge concerning the Vákátakas is based and argues that `urban decay' in the period may be due to a methodological illusion. Ellen RAVEN addresses the moot question of the absence of Vakátaka gold coinage and points out the relationship of the copper coins ascribed to the Eastern Vákátakas with coins found in Eastern Malwa. The Malwa connection is further elaborated in the contribution of Michael WILLIS, who focuses on Udayagiri and develops an integral picture of how under Candragupta II, father of the Vákátaka queen Prabhávatiguptá, this hill was reshaped into a sacred landscape that reflected the king's greatness in astronomical and religious terms. Robert BROWN reexamines the iconography of several images found in the Eastern Vákátaka kingdom and points to Andhra as a possible source of inspiration. Hans BAKKER gives an assessment of the excavations in Mansar and speculates on a funerary monument of Prabhávatiguptá. The Western Vákátakas and their main monuments in Ajanta are the subject of the following three contributions. Walter SPINK focuses on the doorways of the Ajanta caves and argues in his inimitable way how their development can present us with clues for a relative chronology. The absolute (short) chronology underlying Spink's work is put to question in an open letter by Heinrich VON STIETENCRON. Leela WOOD presents an interpretation of Ajanta Cave 17 and shows how the epigraphs and the art of the Vihára reflect one another and form an integral whole. The last four contributions address the theme of how the Vákátaka heritage lived on in 6th-century artistic developments. Joanna WILLIAMS looks at Mandasor in western Malwa, Laxmi Shankar NIGAM surveys Vákátaka influences in the art of Daksina Kosala, whereas Donald STADTNER investigates how this process of cultural diffusion may actually have taken place. Vuko YOKOCHI, finally, demonstrates on the basis of the Mahisásuramardini icon, how a model developed in the Vákátaka realm mixes with a similar model of the Gupta north and eventually informs the iconography of the buffalo-slaying goddess throughout India. As such it epitomizes, as it were, the theme of this volume: the Vákátaka heritage, Indian culture at the crossroads.

Hans Bakker All Souls College, 25 March 2004

Some Thoughts on State and State Formation under the Eastern Vákátakas by Hermann Kulke, Kiel

When Hans Bakker invited me to the Groningen Oriental Studies Colloquium or the Vakatakas, I gladly agreed to his suggestion to talk on aspects of state formation under the Vakatakas. But, as I have to admit frankly, I was rather unaware of the pitfalls of such an undertaking. So far I followed the conventional perception of the greatness of the Vakatakas as successors of the erstwhile pan-central Indian Sátavahanas and as counterparts and temporary allies of the Imperial Guptas. Despite several controversies, e.g. on their original home arid details of their chronology, the history of their two branches appeared to be firmly based on the corpus of their inscriptions, exemplarily edited by V.V. Mirashi in 1963 (CII V) and complemented by more recent discoveries. Above all, their culture is perceived as an unparalleled synthesis of Ajanta's Buddhist marvels and the creation of Rámagiri as a unique monument of late classic Hindu kingship.

But in the course of my attempt to detect features of the administrative structure of the Vakatakas state I felt increasingly troubled about their imperial greatness, particularly in view of the existence of the two so-called branches of the Vakatakas. Today most likely nobody would subscribe to K.P.

Jayaswal's statement, which he made during the first heydays of Indian national historiography in the mid-thirties, that in the early 5th century the Eastern Vakataka king Pravarasena II was the lord paramount of the whole of India. In central Indian history, however, their imperial greatness seems to have lost nothing of its fame as one can realise, e.g., from Walter Spin's unsurpassable, recent statement about Harisena of the so-called Western or Vatsagulma Branch: `Already the lord of vast domains when he came to power in 460, by the time of his unexpected death in 477 he controlled all of central India from the western to the eastern sea. Possibly the most illustrious ruler in the world of his own days.' For Mirashi, too, Harisena `became the undisputed suzerain of the entire country extending from Malwa

in the north to Kuntala in the south and from the Arabian Sea in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east.' Ajay Mitra Shastri on the one hand contradicts these estimations as they are based merely on the `otherwise unsubstantiated statement of Harisena's court poet.' But on the other hand, Shastri, too, asserted already under Pravarasena I 'a mighty imperial fabric,' which in course of its development gained the `status of one of the greatest political powers with a pan-Indian image and impact.'

A more general problem, well known of course from other local and regional histories, is the rather uncritical treatment of the ahankara-like eulogies of inscriptions by modern historians. A.M. Shastri, for instance, quotes at length from Varahadeva's famous Ajanta inscription (CII V, 107ff.) in order to prove the greatness of Vindhyasakti I, the founder king of the Vakatakas. Passages like 'he [Vandhyasakt^] augmented his valour by fighting great battles,' `when enraged, he was irresistible even by gods,' `he had acquired the whole world by the powers of his arms,' `he had humbled his foes' furnish for Shastri 'a vivid but general account of his [Vindhyasakti's] military successes.' Although Shastri admits that `these eulogizing adjectives are vague and do not specify the enemies defeated by him [they do show that] he was constantly engaged in military activities for carving out and expanding his empire.' The gravity of this kind of misleading source interpretation is emphasized by the fact that Varahadeva's inscription was not even a contemporary eulogy of Vindhyasakti but was composed about 200 years after the latter's death. It has its value, e.g. for a study of Sanskrit poetry of late 5th century, but is insignificant for the political history of the Vakatakas in the early 4th century. It appears that much of the modern imagination of the political greatness of the Vakatakas, particularly of their early history, is based not only on eulogies of contemporary kings but on hagiographic-like prasastis, composed generations after the imagined `events' had taken place and finally inflated by modern historians.

However, it was the division of the Vákátaka kingdom into so-called branches rather than the historiographical construct of an alleged imperial greatness which creates problems. After all, it is well attested by literary traditions of the Purgsnas, and since 1939 by epigraphical sources, that Pravarasena I (ca. 275-335), its second ruler and most likely its veritable founder, parcelled out his kingdom to his sons. Two of them, Sarvasena I and Rudrasena I (for his prematurely deceased father Gautamiputra) established kingdoms which obviously continued to exist independently till their very end in the late 5th century. Historians in fact do agree on this matter. Thus D.C. Sircar spoke of 'the division of Pravarasena's empire,i and A.M. Shastri was inclined to believe that Pravarasena I had partitioned the kingdom.' B.N. Mukherjee remarked that 'the rule of the original family of Vindhyasakti ended [...] with the foundation of at least two kingdoms by two branches of the Vakatakas after the end of Pravira's [= Pravarasena's] rule. c 15 Hans Bakker assumes that the actual division of the united Vakataka kingdom occurred under the impact of Samudragupta's southern expansion. But historians usually refrain from explaining what happened to the Vakátaka kingdom after Pravarasena I. Generally speaking, there are at least three possible `models.' First, the kingdom continued to exist in one way or another, despite its division and existence of two `branches'; second, one of the two branches remained dominant or they subjugated each other temporarily,

thus reestablishing the unity though with shifting centres; third, the so-called branches became and remained independent kingdoms.

To my knowledge, the overwhelming majority of Vakataka historians tends to favour the first interpretation. They speak of the Vakataka kingdom (in singular) and its two branches, usually named after their respective capitals Nandivardhana and Vatsagulma. In this context A.S. Altekar offered the seemingly plausible explanation that Pravarasena appointed his sons `as viceroys over different provinces of the rapidly extending empire and they became independent after the death of the father, thereby considerably weakening the power of the Central Government.' But he is silent, as in fact all other adherents of this `model,' about the nature and the locality of the supposed `Central Government.'

The second `model' finds its expression in the distinction between the `senior (or main) branch' of Nandivardhana and the `junior branch' of Vatsagulma. A.S. Altekar for instance designated Vatsagulma as a `subsidiary dynasty,' whereas D.C. Sircar referred to Nandivardhana as 'main branch' and Vatsagulma as `collateral branch.' These distinctions are certainly justified in dynastic terms, as both

branches traced their origin to the mutual ancestor Vindhyasakti I, who established the erstwhile unified dynasty. In view of the much greater number of inscriptions in comparison to those of Vatsagulma as well as their archaeologically much better documented centre around their capital Nandivardhana, it may even be quite understandable to designate Nandivardhana as the `main branch' of the Vákátaka. And a dynasty may, of course, split into two branches. Politically, however, a kingdom will continue to exist under these circumstances only if one of its dynastic branches lays claim to a kind of predominance or even hegemony and is able to enforce this claim at least temporarily. But none of the Vakataka branches appear to have ever demanded a status of seniority. Instead, after their division, rulers of both dynastic branches edited their inscriptions as `Mahárájas of the Vakatakas,' thus clearly demonstrating their relations, but also their mutual independence.

History offered at least one opportunity to each branch to change this dynastic balance in its favour. The marriage of Rudrasena II with the Gupta princess PrabhSvatiguptá, her long reign as dowager queen and the successful and even longer rule of her son Pravarasena II strengthened the Vakatakas of Nandivardhana to such an extent that Vatsagulma temporarily may even have become `subordinate to the eastern kingdom.' But although Pravarasena extended the area of his land donations to Brahmins considerably towards the west, he avoided to encroach on the heartland of Vatsagulma and to establish there a kind of `ritual sovereignty' through land donations and the construction of temples. His and his mother's impressive `religious policy' was instead clearly limited to their Nandivardhana kingdom and focussed on their `state sanctuary' of Ramagiri.

A similar situation occurred during the period of temporary predominance of the Vatsagulmas under Harisena in the late 5th century. In the Ajanta inscription of his minister Varahadeva he is praised for having subdued seven kingdoms in Central India. But here, too, we hear nothing about the reestablishment of a `united' Vakataka kingdom under his rule, although Bakker assumes that 'one of the first victims [of Harisena] might have been his eastern kinsman Narendrasena.' But Harisena, too, is not known for having extended his predominance into the realm of his eastern relatives by religious donations.

The much disputed Mandhal inscription of Prthivisena II, whose father Narendrasena had to face Harisena's expansionism, contains another interesting information about the relationship of the two Vakataka branches. It reports that 'the royal fortune of his [Narendrasena's] house [vamsa] to which he initially had succeeded, was taken away from him by a kinsman who possessed virtue.' ^ few lines later of the same inscription, Prthivisena is praised as 'the resurrec tor of the sunken family [vamsa].'

We are not concerned here with details of a possible war between Vatsagulma and Nandivardhana. What matters in our context is the fact that the term vamsa, which Bakker translates as `house' and `family,' is also the usual term for `dynasty.' It refers strictly to the Nandivardhana dynasty of Prthivtsena II and not to an allegedly united `Vákátaka dynasty.'

The inscriptions of both so-called branches of the Vákátakas thus neither contain any hint at a united dynasty nor at the quest for some kind of superiority by one of the two branches. We may therefore come to the conclusion that, despite the consanguinity of their rulers and alternating temporary predominance of one of the `branches,' they ruled over two separate and independent kingdoms throughout their history after Pravarasena I's death. Despite the continuation of certain dynastic relations (e.g. in the correspondence between both dynasties), their political and even cultural relationship differed in no way from normal relations between other independent kingdoms, however, with one possible distinction. Even in periods of predominance of one of the two kingdoms, none of them appears to have ever thought of extinguishing their temporarily subordinate relatives. But even this distinction does not suffice to speak of one kingdom with two branches. On the contrary, the fact that the Vakátakas of Nandivardhana and Vatsagulma, despite their temporary predominance, preferred to retain the identity of their own vamsas, is an additional `proof' of the existence of two independent Vákátaka kingdoms. <>

GLOBAL TANTRA: RELIGION, SCIENCE, AND NATIONALISM IN COLONIAL MODERNITY BY Julian Strube [AAR Religion, Culture, and History, Oxford University Press, 9780197627112]

Tantra has formed an integral part of Asian religious history for centuries, but since "Arthur Avalon" introduced the concept to a global readership in the early twentieth century, Tantric traditions have exploded in popularity. While it was long believed that Sir John Woodroffe stood behind Avalon, it was in fact mainly a collaboration between learned South Asians. Julian Strube considers Tantra from the Indian perspective, offering rare insight into the active roles that Indians have played in its globalization and re-negotiation in local Indian contexts.

In the early twentieth century, Avalon's publications were crucial to Tantra's visibility in academia and the recognition of Tantra's vital role in South Asian culture. South Asian religious, social, and political life is inexorably intertwined with various Tantric scriptures and traditions, especially in Shaiva and Shakta contexts. In Bengal, Tantra was central to cultural dynamics including Vaishnava and Muslim currents, as well as universalist tendencies incorporating Christianity and esoteric movements such as New Thought, Spiritualism, and Theosophy.

GLOBAL TANTRA contextualizes struggles about orthodoxy and reform in Bengal, and explores the global connections that shaped them. The study elides boundaries between academic disciplines as well as historical and regional contexts, providing insights into global debates about religion, science, esotericism, race, and national identity.

Review

"GLOBAL TANTRA is an important and original book that shows the complex exchanges and entanglements between East and West that helped shape the modern category of "Tantra." Strube

sheds new light on the key role played by movements such as the Theosophical Society and authors such as John Woodroffe and his Indian collaborators. The book should be of real interest both to general readers and to scholars of religious studies, South Asian studies, globalization studies, and other disciplines." -- Hugh B. Urban, Distinguished Professor, Department of Comparative Studies, The Ohio State University

"In Julian Strube's delightful book, the modern manifestations of Tantra shimmer like beads of dew on a sun-drenched spiderweb; the critical eye wanders and wonders in turn. Here are the Theosophists, there are the Spiritualists; now the Orientalists, then the Brahmos; look at the Mesmerists and the Aryas, the nationalists and the feminist emancipators; Oxford comparativists and their neglected counterparts in Bengal's district towns. But wait, Global Tantra also reminds us that Indra's Net is an illusion. To look for modern Tantra you will have to look elsewhere, again and again." -- Brian A. Hatcher, author of *Hinduism Before Reform*

"Julian Strube's reconstruction of Tantra in colonial Bengal offers fascinating new vistas of the recent religious history of the Indian subcontinent. It places the debates on Tantra in a global context by thoroughly investigating Bengali and English sources side by side with all their internal implications and international ramifications. Further throwing open the black box called Arthur Avalon, Strube redistributes agency among Bengali and international players, making the story more Bengali and more global at the same time. This book, in its unpretentious and appealing style, has the potential to lift the state of the art in the colonial history of Tantra to a new level." -- Hans Harder, Professor of Modern South Asian Languages and Literatures, South Asia Institute at Heidelberg University, Germany

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Agency under Colonialism: The Case of Theosophy

Theosophy is an outstanding example of how a substantiated global perspective can lead to radically different insights into these intricate developments. In recent years, Theosophy played a central role in debates about the notion of "Western esotericism" and its relation to broader issues of global history, (post)colonialism, and comparativism. Several attempts have been made to address the theoretical-methodological shortcomings and ideological ramifications of its "Western" demarcation.1 This elicited what I refer to as the "diffusionist reacti^n." In a recent article, Pouter Hanegraaff describes the "globalization of esotericism" as a diffusion of "Western esotericism" into a world populated by passive recipients. Asserting that "originally European esoteric or occultist ideas and practices have now spread all over the globe;' Hanegraaff holds that there have been "mutations" of those ideas that "traveled back to the West, only to be (mis)understood there as the 'authentic' voices of non-Western spiritualities." In this model, "non-Western" reactions to European ideas are merely inauthentic "mutations" produced by "Westernized" individuals. Consequently, Hanegraaff insists on an investigation of the "globalization of Western (!) es^tericism."

This model is misleading for a number of reasons, among which I would like to single out a more historical and a more theoretical one. First, the category of "Western esotericism" is itself a polemical identity marker that, as I have demonstrated elsewhere, was employed by nineteenth-century occultists who rejected the "Eastern" orientation of the recently founded Theosophical Society in the 1880s.167 In France, it was the Theosophical Society that had stimulated the emergence of occultist orders at the same time, and prominent French occultists such as Papus (i.e., Gerard Encausse, 1865-1916) coined the notion of esoterisme occidental precisely as a polemical counterpart to the "aberrations" of Theosophy. A similar development took place in what has been termed the "Hermetic reaction" in English-speaking nations. Evidently, the notion of "Western esotericism" emerged as a reaction to global developments, and hence Within a global context. That it is nowadays used as the demarcation of an academic field of study raises a number of problems, not only because it is a polemical "insider" concept but also because its very context of emergence highlights its global dimension.

This leads us to the second reason pertaining to broader theoretical and methodological questions revolving around the idea of European diffusionism. As Chakrabarty has argued, the idea of "first in Europe, then elsewhere" lies at the heart of the assumption that "non-Western" societies must always be passive recipients of European knowledge. One result of this assumption is that scholars of "Western esotericism" do not engage with any "non-Western" sources or scholarship devoted to them. This is not the result of ill intent, but it must be viewed as the "result of a much more complex theoretical condition under which historical knowledge is produced." Although many disciplines have reflected on this issue in the past decades, the study of esotericism remains largely unaffected by this. The idea prevails that esotericism has emerged in the West and then spread to the Rest.

Dwelling on the case of Western esotericism is especially instructive for ongoing discussions about how scholars should deal with the issues of colonialism and orientalism. The many contradictions and ambiguities resulting from these issues manifest forcefully in the context of Theosophy. In contrast to most other Westerners, the Theosophists did indeed look up to India as the origin of ancient esoteric wisdom. At the same time, this admiration for "the East" was rooted in the orientalist ideas that operated within, and often served to legitimize, colonialism. Often they were more or less implicitly reproduced by the Theosophists. This repeatedly erupted in open conflicts, both among Western Theosophists and between them and their Indian interlocutors. In the 1890s, a dispute between Annie Besant and William Quan Judge revolved around the Theosophical leaders' relationship to their Indian partners and informants. While Judge proclaimed the superiority of "Western occultism," Besant defended its "Eastern" variant. This conflict was one factor that contributed to a widespread disillusion among Indian Theosophists, and sometimes to open criticism of the racial dynamics within the Society.

Another factor was the debunking of the so-called Mahatma letters in the middle of the 1880s. The Theosophical leaders had significantly based their authority on instructions that they allegedly received from hidden Indian "adepts," referred to as the Mahatmas or Masters. When a report by the Society for Psychical Research—a Spiritualist organization with a high reputation among prominent academic scholars—concluded that the Mahatma letters were forgeries, this plunged the Theosophical Society into a deep crisis.174 It also laid bare one of the most ambivalent aspects of Theosophical knowledge production and its relation to Indians, as it now appeared that the leaders were presenting their own ideas as those of Eastern initiates.

Not least because of the hugely ambiguous Theosophical race doctrine, racial stereotypes and racial hierarchies were by no means absent from the Society. Christopher Partridge has argued that the orientalism of Theosophists, however benevolent in intention, "happened within the context of

Western political dominance and colonial expansionism." While the specifics of orientalist attitudes among Theosophists might be subject to debate, "in the final analysis it was Orientalism and functioned, as all Orientalism does, as a form of c^l^nialism." Partridge's argument is an important one, but it tends to obscure the complexity of the relationship between Western and "non-Western" Theosophists in ways similar to its other extreme, the notion of "positive orientalism" that is widespread in "Western es^tericism." Surely a distinction can and should be made between outright malicious and derogatory forms of orientalism and the romantic admiration for "India' that characterized Theosophy. Yet "positive" images of "Orientals" as spiritual bearers of ancient wisdom are inexorably intertwined with notions of being effeminate, static, childlike, degenerate, and so on. As Sanjay Subrahmanyam has cautioned, criticism of postcolonial perspectives focusing on the oppressive structures of orientalism should not lead to naive perceptions of "good Orientalists." In the case of Theosophy, it is impossible to strictly differentiate, as Isaac Lubelsky does, between a somehow harmless "racial discourse" and more dangerous "racial politics" This is so not only because the two are inextricably linked but also because Theosophy was, as Mark Bevir has shown, a highly political endeavor despite its ostensive apolitical stance.

Gauri Viswanathan has focused on these tensions in some detail and interpreted the role of the Theosophical Mahatmas as a form of "ventriloquism" that appropriated (allegedly) Indian voices to effectively spread and legitimize the ideas of the Westerners behind them. At least to a large degree, this "ordinary business of occultism" was a mirror image of colonial adminstration. While this certainly highlights very relevant aspects that every historian of Theosophy should be mindful of, Viswanathan too tends to overemphasize the colonial-oppressive structures within Theosophy, while neglecting the exceptional agency that it offered to Indian members. This becomes perhaps most clear in light of the fact that Viswanathan, like other historians of Theosophy, focuses only on white, Western Theosophists and Anglophone sources without paying any close attention to "non-Western" Theosophists. Surely it is difficult to view Theosophy in more complex ways from such an angle.

In order to paint a more comprehensive picture, it is imperative to take into full account the Indians who were members or interlocutors of Theosophy. Although the colonial framework in which they moved was certainly an unequal one, Theosophy provided the colonized with an agency that was arguably unique. This is another aspect of Theosophical orientalism, which, as Baier has pointed out, stimulated a vivid exchange of ideas and mutual associations of traditions, for instance of fringe sciences and yogic practices. It also entailed the striving for direct contact with Indians, a fact that the latter, as we will see in the following chapters, explicitly noted when they highlighted differences between the attitudes of colonial administrators and orientalist scholars on the one hand, and Theosophists on the other. Baier, then, concludes that "Theosophical orientalism" was not based on a "static juxtaposition of fast and West but instead established a community of intercultural learners."

These Theosophical "welcome structures" had concrete and significant sociopolitical ramifications. Van der Veer has highlighted that Theosophy, as well as Spiritualism, "played a significant role in the development of radical, anticolonial politics both in Britain and India." Similarly, Green remarked that the "global occult" created "new forms of sociability that, in their more radical and transgressive expressions, overturned familiar hierarchies of empire, race, and gender." He noted, however, that occultists did abuse "the social power that their claims of mastery over hidden forces undoubtedly afforded them" and that even "progressive occultisms were involved in co-opting the cultural heritage of the colonial world." Again, it becomes apparent that for all its romantic admiration for India, Theosophy was a decidedly political movement that was deeply enmeshed in the context of colonialism and must be approached as such. If scholars of esotericism are eager to point out its modernity, they must come to terms with its colonial context.

This directly pertains to the question of the language of esotericism, both with regard to its use by historical actors and within present-day scholarship. Hanegraaff, for instance, has insisted that an investigation of esotericism outside "the West" would constitute a "terminological imperialism if we now tried to project this terminology on to the rest of the world" Indeed, some Indian scholars, such as Ashis Nandy and Vinay Lal, have criticized global history for being a masked imperialistic project. In the words of Fischer-Tine, these critics "stress the uniqueness and incommensurability of South Asia and its past, rather than its embeddedness in broader global structures or processes." This is exactly what global history wants to overcome, a goal that can be achieved only if all participants in global exchanges are investigated in their own right. Surely the solution to the historical fact of colonial conquest and oppression cannot be a retreat to "indigenous" historiographies, as this would blatantly reproduce the strict binaries that non-Eurocentric scholarship should complicate and unravel. This is where a genealogical perspective proves to be specifically helpful: it is a matter of fact that "non-Western" actors have used the language of esotericism to describe their practices and ideas since it emerged in the nineteenth century. As in the case of religion, esotericism was and is used globally, and quarrels about its "Western specificity" arise only when one insists on its origins in Europe and links this claim with one of ownership, the prerequisite for export. In this light, warnings of "terminological imperialism" are manifestly self-contradictory.

Reflecting on the act of translation is thus crucial for proposing a resolution to the politically connoted conflict between "indigenous" and "global" approaches. Lydia Liu has argued that translation should not be viewed as the production of equivalents in two different languages, but that the equivalence of two terms becomes possible and is, in fact, produced in a specific historical context. This is not simply the outcome of either innovation within "indigenous tradition" or foreign impact; neither is it a rupture between tradition and modernity, but a product of cross-cultural interpretation. Instead of assuming the incommensurability between languages, but also instead of assuming the complete translatability of concepts, Liu proposes to understand translation as a historical pragmatic practice. An investigation of that translingual practice, then, focuses on the conditions for the possibility of translation.

Liu's perspective helps to explain the "global circulatory networks of translated knowledge" that were shaped by different actors despite the power asymmetries inherent in the colonial context. 194 What can be observed in the following chapters is not a meeting of Eastern and Western religion or esotericism. Rather, different understandings of religion and/or esotericism were produced and constantly negotiated through global exchanges throughout the nineteenth century. Theosophy provided an exceptional structural basis for such exchanges, as it actively sought contact with "non-Western" people and created a platform that, as in the case of the Bengali intervention, opened up global lines of communication.

Outline of the Chapters

Tracing the work of Arthur Avalon back to Shivachandrás efforts and the exchange in the Theosophist reveals a network of individuals with vastly different backgrounds, including the Bengali authors, their Theosophical interlocutors, Woodroffe, and the members of Shivachandrás society. The main goal of this book is to shed light on the Bengali context in which the project of Arthur Avalon emerged, rather than focusing on the project itself or Woodroffe as an individual. To this end, the book will depart from the global exchanges that manifest in the Theosophist debate, circling closer and closer into the regional and local contexts connected to it, before finally contextualizing the emergence of Arthur Avalon against that background. As I have identified the Bengali intervention as a pivotal moment in the global propagation of positive understandings of Tantra, the first chapter will open up the frame of this book by introducing three of the main strands that meet in the nodal point of the Theosophist exchange: the emergence of the Theosophical Society and its

relocation to India, the regional background of Bengali Tantra, and an outlook on the Avalon project and its implication for Indological and South Asianist scholarship until today. The main protagonist and guiding thread of this overview is Baradakanta.

Chapter 2 details the entrance of Theosophy into the Indian intellectual landscape. I demonstrate how core ideas of Theosophists and Bengali actors were shaped by a shared global background, which prepared the structures of exchange that facilitated an influential and lasting encounter. This background was marked by social reformism and the notion of "Aryan" in relation to the search for the origin of religion. Focusing on diverse engagements between Theosophy and members of the Arya and Brahma Samaj, I provide examples of disagreement and skepticism, but also of the widespread opinion that Theosophists radically differed from other Westerners because of their self-proclaimed willingness to learn from Indians. When the Theosophical Society was established in Bengal in 1882, Blavatsky and her de facto coleader Henry Steel Olcott were enthusiastically welcomed by the Calcutta intelligentsia. This enthusiasm was fueled by the Theosophists' ostentatious denunciation of English education and their reverence for the "science" of the ancient Aryan rishis.

At the core of that science stood yoga. Chapter 3 demonstrates that perceptions of yoga as an occult science prepared the setting for the entry of the Bengali authors in the 1880s. The Theosophical conceptualization of yoga was highly ambivalent, as it attempted to map yoga on occultist concepts, idiosyncratically differentiating between Hatha and Raja Yoga. However, this process was mutual and significantly determined by Indian viewpoints. Baradakanta claimed the superiority of Indian occult science over Western mesmerism, and several Indians, including Dayananda, turned their backs on the Theosophists not least because of disagreements about understandings of yoga. The crucial point is that the Theosophists' conceptualization of yoga was not fixed but subject to controversies among learned Indians. It is in that context that the Bengali intervention introduced Tantric elements into Theosophical understandings of yoga. Following Dayananda, Theosophists tended to look down on Hatha Yoga as gross and exoteric and praised Raja Yoga as subtle and esoteric. A rejection of Tantra as "black magic" used to go hand in hand with the rejection of Hatha Yoga, but Baradakanta and other Bengali authors established concepts such as kundalini, chakras, and related Tantric elements as an integral part of Theosophical understandings of yoga. The controversies revolving around these interpretations allow for instructive insights into the ambiguous power dynamics between Western Theosophists and their Indian partners, as well as into the problems of translating and comparing notions such as occultism, occult sciences, and yoga.

The Theosophists and their interlocutors were driven by a wish to "revive" the Aryan wisdom that should form the basis of a new age. Yet they also promoted decidedly "reformist" ideas that highlight the necessity to explore the meanings of the notions of reform and revival. In chapter 4, the emergence of Spiritualism in Bengal will help to flesh out the role of Tantra in social reformist programs that were characteristic of Bengali Spiritualists, as elsewhere across the globe. I will discuss prominent figures such as Pyarichand Mitra and Shishirkumar Ghosh, who extensively and creatively engaged with Theosophy, Spiritualism, New Thought, and Transcendentalism. This serves to demonstrate that Theosophy was indeed a main factor in these exchanges, but that Bengali intellectuals maintained global correspondences beyond Theosophy and that they engaged with the respective ideas independently and actively. It will become obvious that Tantra played a key role in these processes and that its discussion within Spiritualist contexts allows for instructive contrasts with Bengali Theosophists such as Baradakanta.

Chapter 5 will further illustrate that demarcations between reformism and revivalism are anything but clear, and indeed often are more misleading than helpful. The focus will rest on the ambiguous role of Theosophy within "Hindu revivalism," as contemporaries perceived the Society as part of the

"revivalist" camp, while it clearly harbored "typically reformist" ideas. First, I will open up a diachronic perspective on this ambiguity by discussing the ^ahánir^ana Tantra and its reception since the eighteenth century. This will provide insights into why Tantra played such a prominent role in the debates about revival and reform: it was central to the debates about sanatana dharma and related struggles about Hindu identity. So-called orthodox efforts were usually decisively marked by reformist agendas, while reformists often shared the same notions of sanatana dharma and a revival of Aryan civilization. What emerges is the deep involvement of the Theosophical Society in these debates, which had developed since the early colonial period.

Chapter 6 will further zoom into the local Bengali context and explore the thought and activities of Shivachandra, which were shaped by the intellectual atmosphere of his hometown, Kumarkhali, and the famous Baul circle around Kangal Harinath. Taken out of school by his father because of the supposedly negative influence of English education, Shivachandra was educated at Navadvip, Benares, and Calcutta. His rejection of English education and defense of what he regarded as orthodoxy led him to the foundation of the Sarvamangala Sabha. The society proclaimed opposition to Western material science (jarabijnán), promotion of the "eternal Vedic dharma" (sanatan vaidik dharma), and a struggle against "the propaganda of Western materialist capitalists" (pascatyer dhanatántrik1diger annadás'kuler apapracar). Shi^achandrás Tantratattva was essential to these efforts and is hence examined particularly with regard to his understanding of Tantra as sanátan dharma, as well as to the conceptualization of sádhana in relation to science.

Nationalist tendencies emerge as an outstanding feature of these contexts. Hence chapter 7 explores the activities of Shivachandra and his associates in the context of the Swadeshi movement and the relationship between science, education, and nationalism more generally. It also turns to the writings of Shashadhar, and his concept of a "spiritual science" (adhyatmabijñán) in particular, in order to demonstrate that Bengali debates about the relationship between religion and science paralleled, and were inherently intertwined with, debates that could also be observed in the Theosophical context as well as in the writings of Avalon. Another direct link to the latter will be explored through one of Woodroffe's closest partners and another disciple of Shivachandra: Pramathanath Mukhopadhyay, the later Swami Pratyagatmananda Saraswati. Special attention will be paid to his concept of "national education" and the role of Tantra for the regeneration and eventual emancipation of India.

Chapter 8 surveys how the aspects discussed in the previous chapters resurfaced in the writings of Avalon and informed Woodroffe's understanding of Tantra. The latter's relationship to Shivachandra and the broader personal network behind Avalon will be inspected in some detail, also with regard to the role of Theosophy and the colonial elite in Calcutta. On that basis, I analyze the Avalon and Woodroffe writings by first foregrounding the relationship between religion and science, and how the notions of occultism and esotericism were employed to transgress what was perceived as the destructive division between them. Second, I show that Woodroffe's adamant advocacy of national education and an awakening of Indias shakti directly mirrored the ideas of his Bengali associates. Third, these notions were closely linked to universalist approaches to religion, as they presumed the existence of the same esoteric doctrine at the core of every great tradition—a perception that was linked to Catholicism by Bengali Tantrikas before Woodroffe would state similar ideas.

In sum, these chapters will reveal a complex picture of fascinating exchanges that defy clear boundaries. What will emerge, most fundamentally, is the historiographical need to relate global, regional, and local developments in order to understand the multidirectional, unstable, and ever-changing negotiations that shaped different modern understandings of Tantra, and by extension of the meaning and role of religion in modernity. <>

HANDBOOK OF HINDUISM IN EUROPE (2 VOLS) edited by Knut A. Jacobsen and Ferdinando Sardella [Series: Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section 2 South Asia, Brill, 9789004429420]

HANDBOOK OF HINDUISM IN EUROPE portrays and analyses how Hindu traditions have expanded across the continent, and presents the main Hindu communities, religious groups, forms, practices and teachings. The Handbook does this in two parts, Part One covers historical and thematic topics which are of importance for understanding Hinduism in Europe as a whole and Part Two has chapters on Hindu traditions in every country in Europe. Hindu traditions have a long history of interaction with Europe, but the developments during the last fifty years represent a new phase. Globalization and increased ease of communication have led to the presence of a great plurality of Hindu traditions. Hinduism has become one of the major religions in Europe and is present in every country of the continent.

CONTENTS

In these two volumes on Hindu traditions in Europe we have tried to cover the most important topics and across all the countries of Europe. Europe is understood in this book as a geographical space that is larger than the political entity of the European Union (EU), which only includes member states and not all of Europe.

Part I covers historical and thematic topics that are of importance for understanding Hinduism in Europe as a whole. These topics include: the translation of Hindu texts into European languages; Hinduism and the Catholic Church; Protestant views on Hinduism and their impact; the impact of German Indology; Hinduism and the impact of Western Esotericism; Hindu soldiers in Europe during World War I; Hindu gurus in Europe; temples and processions; movements, groups, and organisations with a greater European presence, such as the Sri Lankan Tamils, Swaminarayan, Ramakrishna Mission, ISKCON, Brahma Kumaris, Vedānta, Āyurveda, and the great variety of yoga traditions; the presence of Hindutva in Europe; Hinduism and education; Hindu children; and Hindu tropes in European culture and languages.

Hinduism as a religious presence in Europe is rapidly expanding across the Continent. In Part 2 we have included chapters on every country in Europe with the exception of the microstates including the larger microstate Luxembourg. The further microstates of Europe are Andorra, Monaco, Liechtenstein, San Marino, and the Holy See (Vatican), which have less than 100,000 inhabitants. The Republic of Cyprus is also not covered. The southern part is member of the EU but the United Nations considers Cyprus as being part of Asia. Although Gibraltar has a Hindu population, mostly of Sindhi origin, who has had a presence there since the middle of the nineteenth century and who in 2000 inaugurated the only Hindu temple there, it is a British Overseas Territory and is not covered in a separate article. British and French overseas territories outside of Europe are also not included as they geographically belong to other continents. Réunion island has a significant Hindu population and is part of France, but it is an overseas territory and is geographically part of Africa. Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan are considered part of Asia and are not included, but Russia and Turkey, which are partly in Europe and partly in Asia, are included and have separate articles.

A note on diacritics and style: We have included diacritics on words, concepts, and texts from South Asian languages, but mostly not on place names and not on modern (post-1850) South Asian figures and organisations. So Brāhmo Samāj (founded 1828) is spelled with diacritics, but Arya Samaj (founded 1875) is spelled without them. We have allowed for both Sanskrit and vernacular spellings such as Rām and Rāma, *yug* and *yuga*. Yoga refers to the philosophical system, yoga in lower case refers to the general phenomenon. In the book the terms ISKCON and Hare Krishna are used interchangeable. The numerous European languages have different traditions of writing terms and names from South Asian languages and some variety of spellings can be found in the book, especially in quotations from these languages.

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The chapters in the *Handbook of Hinduism in Europe* trace the complex histories of a plurality of Hindu traditions in Europe and describe and analyse their current manifestations on the continent. The book is defined by space and religion: the manifestations of Hindu religious traditions in the geographical space called Europe.[1] The chapters included in these volumes analyse: the religion of Hindus from South Asia who have settled in Europe and their establishment of a number of different Hindu religious traditions on the continent; some Europeans' responses to Hindu traditions, which include adoptions of ideas and practices and conversions to Hinduism; and some influences Hindu traditions have had on European culture. The chapters map the current state of Hinduism in different European countries. There are strikingly different histories among the various European countries because of different historical, political, and economic relations to South Asia. Some European countries, such as Britain, Portugal, France, Netherlands, and Denmark, were colonial powers with colonies or trading stations in South Asia, and South Asians were also moved (as indentured labour) or were able to move within the different colonial empires. The Netherlands had a colony in Surinam, South America, with South Asian indentured labourers, many of whom moved to the Netherlands in the postcolonial period. Indians from Goa worked in the Portuguese colonies in Africa, and they moved from there to Portugal. The largest population of South Asians in Europe is of course in Britain, which is also a result of colonial rule and postcolonial migrations. In the postcolonial period, some countries have attracted larger numbers of migrants due to different reasons, such as economic and educational, as well as due to both push and pull factors.

The volumes present the current state of knowledge of the Hindu presence in Europe in two parts. Part one portrays pan-European histories and developments and presents: histories of the encounters of groups, associations, and institutions in the European geographical context; translations and publications of Hindu texts; traditions of interpretations; Hindu gurus in Europe; Hindu soldiers in Europe during World War I; religious organisations and traditions with a pan-European presence, such as the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON), the Ramakrishna Math and Mission, Swaminarayan, Brahma Kumaris, Vedānta, and the numerous traditions of yoga; the Hindu traditions of particular migrant groups such as the Īlattamils (the group of Hindu Tamils in Sri Lanka claiming descent from the Jaffna Kingdom); and ritual practices such as temple Hinduism and procession. Part two details the situation in every country in Europe. The material gives opportunities for reflections on the Hindu communities and traditions in Europe, encounters with Hindu traditions in Europe, and the current state of Hinduism in Europe.

The European encounter with Hindu religious traditions is both old and new. Contact between Greece and India goes back several thousand years. Alexander the Great and his army reached as far as today's Pakistan, and Greek kingdoms existed in that area in the centuries after his arrival. *Indica* by the Greek Megasthenes (350–290 BCE) was an important source for ideas about India in early Europe. India's influences on Greek culture have been difficult to prove—as have Greek influences on ancient India—but the literature on the topic is enormous (see Karttunen 1987, 2007, 2015). However, this is not the main topic of these volumes, which focus on the modern period and the contemporary situation (however, see chapter 2 by Karttunen and chapter 40 by Papageorgiou and Ziaka: 1042–1046,). Although the European encounter with Hinduism is many centuries old, the last few decades have been characterised by some new developments and mark a new phase in the growth of Hinduism on the continent. Some Hindu traditions are now found in every European country. In the last decades, Hinduism has been emerging as a pan-European religion, with a growing population of Hindus originating from South Asia as well as a small but growing number of converts and followers from non-Hindu backgrounds. The chapters in these volumes show that Hinduism has had a different history in Western and Eastern Europe, and the situation is still strikingly dissimilar. Western Europe has large Hindu populations from India and Sri Lanka, and smaller populations of Hindus from Nepal and Afghanistan and other South Asian

countries, and "twice migrant" Hindus from East Africa and other countries, and hundreds of Hindu temples have been established there, which have given a growing number of Hindu deities' permanent homes in Europe. A recent development is the increasing number of costly "display temples" built from the ground up in accordance with South Asian temple architecture. These places have become sacred sites, and pilgrimage traditions have been established to several Hindu temples and sacred complexes in Western Europe. In Eastern Europe, however, followers of new Hindu religious movements have been the dominant trend, with ISKCON establishing temples and even pilgrimage places (see the chapter on Hungary). The chapters in the volumes document and analyse this consolidation of Hinduism in Western Europe and the new emergence of Hinduism in Eastern Europe.

Migration and Diasporas

The spread of Hindu traditions to Europe has taken place in two ways in particular: by the migration of Hindus of South Asian ancestry to Europe and by Europeans who have become followers of Hindu teachings, often those of particular gurus.

The migration of Hindus to Europe from South Asia and from other areas with settlements of South Asians has undoubtedly been the most significant factor for the expansion of Hindu traditions in Europe. The migration of Hindus to Europe has made many Hindu ritual practices and large numbers of places of worship part of the religious life and landscape of Europe. The number of Hindus with South Asian ancestry in Europe is currently probably one and a half to two million. The numbers are growing in Europe, but the preferred choice of destination for the migration of Indians in the last decades has been the United States, not Europe.

Hindu immigrant populations in Europe, as well as their descendants, are often discussed in academic literature in terms of Hindu diaspora communities, and the concept of diaspora is also widely used in these volumes. The term diaspora signifies a minority situation and relates to space in the sense of living in a place that is not one's ancestral home. The diaspora concept should be understood as simply meaning a geographical dispersion of people. Some connection to the ancestral home country is usually recognised. This connection to a different place than that in which they reside often constitutes a part of their identity, but the strength of this connection varies between individuals, from political engagement in the countries of origin, which might be encouraged by political movements that seek support from the diaspora, as is the case with the current Hindu nationalist organisations, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), and Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP),[2] to complete assimilation into the new country. Many do attempt to transfer their connection to an ancestral home to new generations, since this connection is also about family history and family connections and kinship and not primarily about political engagement. In terms of meanings ascribed to the diaspora context, there are great differences between the generations, and especially for the first-generation migrants, religion and places of worship are important for creating arenas for performing the values and culture of the country of origin and for transferring these to future generations. However, the coming generations might be less interested in maintaining this relation to their parents' country of origin, since they have grown up in Europe and might be more interested in understanding, refashioning, and promoting themselves in the European context; this might also hold true in relation to their religion. The secular cultures of many European countries probably also influence these generations' understanding of the Hindu traditions of their parents. The second, third, etc. generations often do not feel culturally at home in South Asia but identify with their European countries.

South Asian Hindu diasporas are usually considered to have been created in two main periods: before independent India (1947) and after. The first period of South Asian Hindu diasporas was while they were under colonial rule, and it primarily involved the movement of Hindus from India to other

colonies, but Hindus also travelled to the European continent. The transfer of Hindus to other colonies occurred under the indentured labour system after the Slavery Abolition Act was passed in the British parliament in 1833 (van der Veer and Vertovec 1991: 149; Vertovec 2000). Under the Indian indenture system, contract workers from India were moved to Mauritius, Trinidad, Guyana, Surinam, Jamaica, Fiji, South Africa, and East Africa, and people also moved to countries such as Burma and Malaysia due to other labour schemes. Other significant groups that moved were merchants, businessmen, clerks, and other nonlabouring professionals who followed in the wake of indentured labour migration from South Asia (to East Africa, Central Africa, South Africa, Mauritius, and Fiji) and colonial administrators (to Burma, East Africa, and so on) (Vertovec 2000: 15). A number of individuals also visited and settled in Europe during the first period, but the Hindu communities in Europe at that time were nevertheless quite small and few in number. Before 1950 only around 8,000 Indians lived in Britain (Chatterji and Washbrook 2013), the most important country for Hindu migrants in Europe. In addition, the majority of the early migrants were Muslims and Sikhs, not Hindus.

The movement of South Asians to Britain dates back to at least the early seventeenth century, and "by the mid-nineteenth century, tens of thousands of Indian men and women of all social and economic classes had made the passage to Britain" (Fisher 2013: 123). However, most of these migrants and visitors returned to India after a short time. Still, Fisher notes that a number of them also remained in Britain for years, and some remained there for the rest of their lives as settlers (ibid.). Few of these settlers were Hindus. Fisher notes, in the case of Britain, that many got married, mostly to Britons rather than to other Indians, and had children, and the Indian identities of their descendants became more diffuse (ibid.). Similar situations to the one in Britain were probably also found in other European countries with trading stations or colonial settlements in India, such as France, Portugal, and Denmark, although on a much smaller scale. Indian sailors ("lascars") worked on European ships, and there were Indians in a number of European harbours as early as the eighteenth century. In Denmark, a Tamil man brought to Copenhagen in the early eighteenth century found a Tamil wife there, and they both returned to India afterward (Jacobsen 2006). Fisher notes that many of these early Indians who settled in Britain appear to have converted to Christianity as part of their assimilation into British culture and society (Fisher 2013: 127). Many Indian converts would also travel from India to Europe for further education; some returned to India while others settled in Europe.

In spite of these early visitors and settlers, Hindu diaspora communities in Europe have mainly been created in the second period, after Indian independence (1947). This has involved migration in order to take advantage of employment and educational opportunities, prospects for prestige, marriage, and family reunions, and—especially for Hindus from Sri Lanka—to evade political persecution and war. During the first decades after Indian independence, Britain was the most important destination, but Hindus were quite few in number until the middle of the 1960s (Knott 1991: 95). In 1961 around 150,000 Indians lived in Britain (Visram 2015), but the majority of them were probably Sikhs and Muslims. During the most recent decades a number of other European countries have also become important destinations for Hindu migration. The largest Hindu populations in Europe are in Britain, the Netherlands, Italy, France, and Germany. Strong migration, especially from India to a number of European countries, over the last few years means that estimations of the number of Hindus in Europe will have to be revised annually. In addition, irregular migration means that the total number of Hindus in Europe is difficult to estimate. Also, in most countries religious identity is not part of the state census.

Hindu Temples and Sacred Sites

Hindu migrants and their descendants have made temple Hinduism the dominant form of Hinduism in Europe. In many countries, small ISKCON temples were probably the earliest Hindu temples.

Economic support for temples and temple priests is an important part of the economy of Hindu religion in Europe. These temples function as religious centres as well as community centres (see chapter 11 on Temple Hinduism in Europe). A number of new temples have been and are being built according to South Asian temple architecture, but the majority of the temples are in buildings originally built for other purposes. The presence of Hindu temples in Europe brought a new awareness of Hinduism as a ritual tradition and living religion and not just an ancient heritage, a textual phenomenon, or philosophical teachings associated with gurus. The earliest Hindu places of worship in Europe were probably those established in Spain (in the Canary Islands) as early as the second half of the nineteenth century (Díes de Velasco 2010: 248). Hindus were presented in colonial exhibitions in Jardin d'Acclimatation in Paris in 1902 and 1906, during which a temporary Hindu temple was built (see the chapter on France). Several centres were apparently established in Europe by Hindu religious movements in the 1920s and 1930s, but they did not last. The Ramakrishna Mission was active in Geneva,[3] the Gaudiya Mission Society of London was opened in 1933 (Bryant and Ekstrand 2004), and similar Gaudiya missionary activity took place in Germany as well (Sardella 2013). In 1949 the Ramakrishna Mission opened one of the first permanent, public places of Hindu worship in Britain (Burghart 1987), which was perhaps the earliest long-term public Hindu temple in the country. Before the 1960s, the majority of Hindu migrants to Europe were single males, and they saw the practice of religion as reserved for home visits to India (Knott 1991: 96). After Britain's 1962 Immigration Act, which encouraged family reunification, Hinduism in Britain became a religion for families. This led ultimately to the establishment of more public places of worship. Women maintained domestic Hindu practices, but the templeisation of Hinduism typical of the diaspora led to the increased male dominance of rituals (Baumann 2009). The first Hindu temple in Britain organised by Hindu immigrants was apparently opened in 1967 (Nesbitt 2006: 199). ISKCON's Radha Krishna Temple in central London was opened in 1969, helped by the Beatles' George Harrison. In 1973 Harrison bought Bhaktivedanta Manor (Piggott's Manor in the Hertfordshire village of Aldenham) and donated it to ISKCON. In 1991 the number of Hindu temples and established religious groups in Britain was estimated to be 100 (Knott 1991: 97). Since then, probably at least an additional 100 temples have opened. In Continental Europe, the growth of temples has also been strong. Most Hindu temples in Continental Europe are found in Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Belgium, and the Scandinavian countries. Germany had four temples in 1989 and twenty in 1999, and in 2003, there were twenty-five Hindu temples alone maintained by Sri Lankan Tamils (Baumann 2006: 132). There are currently perhaps between fifty and one hundred temples in Germany. In Paris, where most of the French Hindus live, there were eleven Tamil Hindu temples in 2014 (Goreau 2014: 224), but currently the total number in France is probably less than twenty; in Switzerland twenty Hindu temples were established between the 1990s and early 2000s (Eulberg 2014: 118; Baumann 2009: 161), and in Norway the number of Hindu temples in 2018 was fifteen, with a new temple opening on average every second year (Jacobsen 2018). No exact total numbers are available, but there are perhaps around 400 Hindu temples in Europe.

Hindus have also established a number of Hindu sacred sites in Europe, which have become objects of pilgrimage travel and make up a sacred geography. Hindu pilgrimage places in Europe are of two types: first, places associated with Hindu gurus or disciples or particular places where their teachings have been established in noteworthy ways, and second, Hindu temples. At the pilgrimage places associated with Hindu gurus or disciples there are also temples, but in those cases, it is not the temple alone that is the reason for them becoming pilgrimage sites. The temple pilgrimage sites are often costly "display temples" built from the ground up in accordance with South Asian temple architecture. Another reason for a temple becoming a pilgrimage place may be that it is older than the others and is considered particularly "authentic" for some reason (see Jacobsen forthcoming). The *maṭh*s are centres for contemplative religious life for Hindu monks and nuns, and they are

associated with the teachings of a guru and are often placed in rural areas surrounded by natural beauty, in contrast to the temples, which are usually located in urban areas. Some of the *maṭhs* in Europe have connections to centres in India or Sri Lanka, others have emerged based on activities of South Asian gurus who have settled in Europe. The gurus are mostly of South Asian ancestral background while the disciples are mostly people with European ancestral background, but there are exceptions. Important examples of the first kind are the Skanda Vale in South Wales, which receives around 90 000 pilgrims annually, the majority of them being Īḻam Tamils (Sri Lankan Tamils) and persons with Gujarati background living in Britain (Geaves 2007: 223), and the Krishna Valley ISKCON community in Hungary that was founded in 1994. Examples of the second kind are the Sri Kamadchi Ampal Temple in Hamm in Germany, which is the largest Hindu temple in Continental Europe, and the Highgatehill Murukaṉ temple in Britain. There are hardly any non-Tamil Hindu visitors to these Tamil Hindu temples on regular worship days, but during the festivals there are a number of non-Tamil Hindu visitors (Wilke 2013), which illustrates the inclusiveness of the Hindu pilgrimage traditions. The emergence of new Hindu pilgrimage sites has become a worldwide phenomenon, and Hindu sacred sites in Europe and the subsequent pilgrimage travel to these European sites have become part of Hinduism. The formation of new Hindu sacred sites in Europe and pilgrimage travel to them is not a surprise. It illustrates the importance of sacred sites and the process of the geographical expansion of Hinduism. It is a reminder of the historical process of the geographical expansion of Hindu traditions in India and South Asia (Jacobsen 2013). The religious narratives of Hinduism are believed to have taken place on earth, in India and South Asia (Eck 2012; Jacobsen 2013), but as Hindus continue to migrate to other continents, such narratives also take place in new countries. Consequently, Hinduism does not seem to be bound to India as a sacred geography, as is sometimes claimed, but Hindus connect to space in a way that sacralises sites wherever Hindus live, including in Europe (see Jacobsen forthcoming).

Hinduism in Europe is mostly a decentralised religion, with each temple being an independent organisation with its own board and committee. The plurality of Hindu traditions and their different regional and national backgrounds are often reflected in the temple organisations. Sri Lankan Hindu Tamils organise their own temples and so do Indian Hindus from different regions. This is due to differences in national origin, languages, and religious and iconographic traditions, and because the temples also function as community centres.

*Saṃpradāya*s, Gurus, and Monastic Institutions in Europe

Some Hindu *saṃpradāya*s have a strong presence in Europe, foremost among them, especially in Britain, is Swaminarayan (see chapter 14). Other well-organised groups in Europe are ISKCON, the Ramakrishna Math and Mission, and Brahma Kumaris. Among these, the Ramakrishna Math and Mission has the longest presence, and ISKCON is organised in the greatest number of countries. ISKCON is the dominant form of Hinduism in some East European countries (see the chapters on East European countries in part two). The case of ISKCON illustrates that Hindu gurus and their ideas and organisations have attracted a significant number of European followers. ISKCON is unique in the sense of its commitment to a Hindu god and to a Hindu identity, while many other guru movements often focus on spiritual methods and devotees' well-being rather than Hindu worldviews or identities. This is the case with many of the yoga and meditation movements. Some of these movements, such as the Art of Living Foundation, have followers in almost every country in Europe. *Āsana* (posture) yoga has had an enormous success globally over the last decades, including in Europe. Yoga's history in Europe goes back to the early decades of the twentieth century, but its current popularity is unprecedented (see chapter 18 on Yoga in Europe).

As a consequence, several distinct forms of Hinduism exist in Europe. The religion of temple Hinduism and the followers of Hindu gurus manifest and generate different styles of Hindu religion;

similarly, diaspora Hinduism and Western followers of Hindu teachings often manifest different forms. Diaspora Hinduism is typically temple oriented, while Western followers of Hindu teachings are typically guru oriented. However, there are also many elements that overlap, and this is increasingly the case due to globalisation and also because of the growth of the consumerist middle class in India. In addition, ISKCON, the main organisation of converts to Hinduism in Europe, is a form of temple Hinduism, so these are not clear dichotomies. Still, Western followers and converts do constitute one identifiable dimension of Hinduism in Europe. In many countries they preceded the arrival of great numbers of migrants from South Asia, or their traditions developed side by side. The institution of the Hindu guru as an enlightened and divine individual also seems to have inspired some Europeans to establish themselves as similar types of spiritual leaders (see chapters in these volumes).

It has been common for scholars of religion and Indologists to argue for a polythetic approach when studying Hinduism. Hinduism is a mosaic of traditions, ideas, concepts, and activities. In addition, Hindu can be understood as an ethnic, cultural, and religious category. This approach suggests that a cluster of qualities can be identified, each of which is important but not essential to all forms of Hinduism, that take into account Hindu practices, tropes, world views, and life views. Hinduism thus may also include people who are attracted to some of the elements such as yoga, Āyurvedic medicine and treatment methods, belief in reincarnation, the use of Hindu tropes such as karma, and even Hindu symbols (see chapter 26 on floating Hindu tropes in European culture and languages). This polythetic understanding makes the presence of Hinduism much greater than the specific presence of Hindus of South Asian ancestry in Europe and European followers of Hindu gurus. Hinduism is in this way also becoming an integral part of European culture, and many of the chapters in these volumes also describe and analyse this larger presence.

Early movements based on Hindu ideas that had an impact in Europe were the followers of Vivekananda and the Ramakrishna Mission (see chapter 15 by Beckerlegge), Vedānta philosophy (see chapter 19 by Hurst), and not least, the Theosophical Society (see chapter 8 by Strube). Julian Strube shows how the Theosophical Society, as well as the different individuals and currents it inspired, played a major role in contemporary understandings of "Hinduism" in Europe and that the reception of Indian ideas in Europe had an important part in what is labelled "Western Esotericism." Western Esotericism played a role in popularising concepts (often transformed or misunderstood) from the Hindu traditions, such as *karma, cakra, tantra*, or *kuṇḍalinī*, and making them integral parts of modern spiritual or health cultures. European or American interpretations of yoga and tantra were inherently intertwined with the context of esotericism. When the "New Age" movement emerged in the 1960s, Western Esotericism had already transformed many of its Indian ideas. However, by that time, new Hindu gurus had started to make an impact. Hindu gurus began to gain a new following in Europe in the 1950s, but they did not become popular until the 1960s. Hindu gurus visited Europe, and many Western followers and spiritual seekers visited India. Hindu ascetics (the *guru* and the *sādhu*) started to attract Western youth, who travelled to India in search of spiritual India. Many of these young people brought ideas about Indian gurus and Indian spirituality back to Europe. Western followers of Sathya Sai Baba, Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh (Osho), and others promoted their thoughts in European environments. Kriya yoga schools promoted by disciples of Paramahansa Yogananda (1893–1952), who had settled in Los Angeles in the Unites States, were among the earliest and were founded in Switzerland in 1952 (see chapter 62 by Baumann). Yogananda's book *Autobiography of a Yogi* introduced Hindu spiritual ideas to many Europeans. The aforementioned George Harrison received a copy of the book from the musician Ravi Shankar when Harrison was learning how to play the sitar (Oliver 2015), and on the cover of the *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* record (released in 1967), in the montage of faces, are two Hindu gurus: Paramahansa Yogananda and Vivekananda. Yogananda's *Autobiography of a Yogi* and

Vivekananda's *Raja Yoga* were probably the two most influential books by Indian gurus to fashion the idea of spiritual India in Europe before a wave of new Hindu gurus started to visit Europe from the 1960s onward. European Indologists and religion scholars had of course prepared the ground for these gurus through their romantic ideas of India and its spirituality, foremost among them was probably Max Müller (see Müller 1878, 1883, 1899), but many Indologists, most taking a more sober scholarly approach and with different interests and intentions, also contributed to this (on German Indology in particular, see the chapter by Adluri and Bagchee). Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, Bhaktivedanta Prabhupada, Sri Chinmoy, and Guru Maharaj were central gurus in the first wave of gurus arriving in the 1960s, and they visited many European countries. The popularity of yoga brought Europeans to India to attend yoga education sessions with yoga gurus such as Sivananda, Satyananda Saraswati, B.K.S. Iyengar, Pattabhi Jois, and numerous others, and many started yoga schools when they returned to Europe. Some of the ascetic orders began to accept Western monks, primarily the Rāmānandīs, and more recently some of the traditional Akhāṛās have also started to initiate Western disciples. The Kumbha melās have increasingly functioned as places for the initiation of Europeans who want to follow Hindu traditions.

There are a number of Hindu monastic institutions in Europe with European Hindu monks. One of the larger ones is the Gitananda Ashram that is close to Savona in Italy and is reported to have around twenty monks and nuns. It is based on the teachings of Swami Gitananda Giri (1907–93) and was founded in 1984 by Sri Svami Yogananda Giri who, according to *Hinduism Today*, "has become Italy's foremost Hindu spiritual figure, and today his temple is a pilgrimage place for all Europeans." Skanda Vale in Wales, founded by the Hindu guru Subramaniyam (1929–2007), originally from Sri Lanka, has twenty-four monks and nuns, most of European origin, while a significant number of the visiting Hindu pilgrims are Sri Lankan Hindus. In Omkarananda Ashram in Winterthur, not far from Zürich, Switzerland, live some twenty-five monks and nuns. Paramahamsa Omkarananda Saraswati (b. 1930 in South India) was initiated by Swami Sivananda in Rishikesh in 1937, but according to *Hinduism Today*: "In 1966 the young swami was inwardly directed to teach seekers in Europe. He founded his first European center in Switzerland; later he established a major ashram in Austria, with centers in Germany, England and France. Ultimately he initiated nearly two hundred sannyasins and sannyasinis, who have faithfully run his centers since his mahasamadhi in Austria in 2000." Vedānta Centres in Europe are found in Germany, France, the Netherlands, Britain, Switzerland, and Russia (see also chapter 15 by Beckerlegge and chapter 19 by Suthren Hirst). Many of these also serve as small monasteries, and they are headed by one of the Ramakrishna Mission's *saṃnyāsin*s. The Centre Védantique monastery in Gretz-Armainvilliers, France, twenty miles southeast of Paris, was founded in 1948, and since 1990, it has been led by Swami Veetamohananda from Bengal, but most of the followers are French. According to Veetamohananda, "Europeans admire the Hindu ideals of tolerance and calmness and therefore accept Hinduism readily." The article in *Hinduism Today* about the monastery claims, "visitors come from all over Europe for the ceremonies and feasts, for lectures and interfaith gatherings, to see Swami or participate in the Hindu form of communal life." Several monks live in the *āśrama*. While these are some of the largest, there are a number of other Hindu monastic institutions in Europe (see the articles on the different countries in these volumes).

Western followers of Hindu traditions, it has been argued, often "created a religion in their own image and were attracted only to selected aspects of Indian religion and thought" (Geaves 2007: 80). The interests of Western followers were often focused on the traditions of religious thought and the traditions of the *saṃnyāsin*s. They have often been followers of specific Hindu *saṃpradāya*s. Ron Geaves is probably right in his complaint that the academic study of converts to Hindu traditions as part of "new religious movements" tended to distort the fact that the movements they joined most often were part of Hindu *saṃpradāya*s (Geaves 2007: 80). Their connection to Hindu traditional

structures was often missed. ISKCON is, for example, a group within the tradition of Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism, which is not a new movement but has its origin in the figure of Caitanya (1486–1534) and the writings of his disciples, the Gosvāmis, but with a large number of gurus.

Access to Indian languages was important in order to make Hinduism known, and Indology played an essential role in making the texts of Hinduism available in European languages. Travel reports from India, colonialist knowledge production, academic scholarship on textual traditions, anthropological studies, and missionaries and novelists, all contributed to the information and misinformation about Hindu religious traditions. The understanding of Hindu religion has been weak in Christian Europe, and the misinterpretations of followers of Hinduism in the European environment illustrate how little knowledge of Hinduism there was, as well as the prejudices involved. Often there was an inability to understand the followers as people who adhered to the Hindu religion; instead, they were understood as Western religious deviants and representatives of a "new religious movement," although their religion was new only in the West. A real change in understanding came only when South Asian Hindus started to settle in Europe in greater numbers. The arrival of Hindus in Europe, and the establishment of temples and their ritual traditions in public spaces, added new dimensions to Hinduism in Europe, and they brought the plurality of traditions of living Hinduism to the Continent.

Concerning the study of Hindus in Britain, the largest Hindu population in Europe, Geaves argues that the picture of Hinduism has been distorted not only by the disregard for the Hindu converts' connection to *saṃpradāya*s but also by the dominance of the Gujaratis from East Africa, which led to an exaggerated interest in research on Gujarati Vaiṣṇavism and in the *saṃpradāya*s of those who had relocated to the West from Africa. According to Geaves: "There is little study of the diaspora communities that have arrived direct from India and even less of non-Indian Hinduism, as, for example in Tamil communities from Sri Lanka, Mauritius or South-East Asia. Consequently the distorted Western reproduction of Hinduism with its Orientalist undertones has never been seriously challenged by studies of the British Hindu community" (Geaves 2007: 82). However, it is important to point out that these distortions have not been dominant in the studies of Hindu traditions in Continental Europe, which constitute a significant part of the scholarship on Hinduism in Europe, and which have focused primarily on Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus. The Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus have been the largest group of Hindus in many of these countries. With new scholarship focusing especially on the Hindu traditions of Sri Lankan Tamils in Britain (David 2012; Jones 2013, 2015, 2016) the situation has changed (see also the chapters in these volumes). One unique case in Europe is the Surinamese Hindus who are the dominant group in the Netherlands (see chapter 50 by Swamy). The approach in the chapters in these volumes is on Hindu traditions in Europe as pluralistic and as having: backgrounds from many countries in Asia and beyond, strong traditions of temple worship, and a significant number of followers of teachings of different Hindu gurus. In addition, yoga has become a main point of contact with Hindu ideas, concepts, and practices for many people. Hindu traditions in Europe are dynamic and a subject that continues to develop.

Public Representations

In the United States, public representations of Hinduism have become increasingly contested (see Zavos et al. 2012), but in Europe this is less so. In Europe, ISKCON in particular has demonstrated an interest in umbrella initiatives that seek to represent Hindus in broader arenas (see the chapters on Hinduism and Public Space, and Hindu Umbrella Organisations). ISKCON has become engaged in the representation of Hinduism in Europe, especially in the arena of education in Britain and in the Hindu Forum of Europe. Prema Kurien has, in the case of the United States, noted that "the political activism of Hindu Indian Americans in the US is not just a reflection of 'homeland politics' but that it is also 'made in America' as a response to the realities they confront in the US" (Kurien 2012: 97). In the United States there are a large number of Hindu umbrella organisations, both branches of the

Sangh Parivar (RSS, VHP, and BJP) and organisations interested in promoting Hinduism under an "Indic," "Dharmic," or "Vedic" identity. This contrasts with the situation in Europe. The strong Hindu diaspora in the United States might eventually also have an influence on Hinduism in Europe, but one significant difference between Hinduism in Europe and in the United States is the dominance of Indian Hindus in the United States (Kurien 2012) and a greater parity between the plurality of Hindu traditions in Europe. The absence of the dominance of Indian Hindus is mainly due to the strong presence of Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus in many European countries. Indian Hindus are also a minority in the Netherlands, as Hindus from Suriname dominate. Hindus in Europe have also arrived from a number of other countries, such as Nepal, Mauritius, Malaysia, Singapore, Trinidad, and so on. In many European nations, Indian Hindus are in the minority among Hindus. In Britain the situation has been unique, with Hindus from East Africa forming the majority, but there has also been a large inflow of Tamils from Sri Lanka and their many temples have increasingly been shaping Hinduism in Britain (see chapter 65 on the United Kingdom). One consequence of this plurality of Hindu traditions is that *hindutva* and Hindu nationalism (which in reality is a nationalism limited mainly to Indian Hindus or Hindus with an Indian background) have been less able to influence Hinduism and the public representation of Hinduism in Europe than in the United States. The only nation where they have had a significant presence is in Britain. By the end of the 1990s, in Britain there were twelve branches of the VHP and sixty branches of the RSS (Brown 2006: 167). For Sri Lankan Hindus, however, the idea of *hindutva* is of no concern and is perceived as relating to politics in India. The RSS does nevertheless have branches, called Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh (HSS) in a number of European countries. In some countries in Europe, Sikhs constitute a significant percentage of the Indian diaspora, which also limits the influence of the RSS. Conflicts similar to those in the United States, such as the California Textbook Controversy and the mobilisation against religion scholars (see Brown 2006: 168–69), have not taken place in Europe. This does not mean it might not happen in the future as the Indian Hindu diaspora in the United States increases its global influence. But for now, the absence of the dominance of any single group characterises European Hinduism. <>

MANY MAHABHÁRATAS edited by Nell Shapiro Hawley, Sohini Pillai [SUNY Series in Hindu Studies, SUNY State University of New York Press, 9781438482415]

MANY MAHĀBHĀRATAS is an introduction to the spectacular and long-lived diversity of Mahābhārata literature in South Asia. This diversity begins with the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*, an early epic poem that narrates the events of a catastrophic fratricidal war. Along the way, it draws in nearly everything else in Hindu mythology, philosophy, and story literature. The magnitude of its scope and the relentless complexity of its worldview primed the Mahābhārata for uncountable tellings in South Asia and beyond. For two thousand years, the instinctive approach to the Mahābhārata has been not to consume it but to create it anew.

The many Mahābhāratas of this book come from the first century to the twenty-first. They are composed in nine different languages--Apabhramsha, Bengali, English, Hindi, Kannada, Malayalam, Sanskrit, Tamil, and Telugu. Early chapters illuminate themes of retelling within the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* itself, demonstrating that the story's propensity for regeneration emerges from within. The majority of the book, however, reaches far beyond the Sanskrit epic. Readers dive into classical dramas, premodern vernacular poems, regional performance traditions, commentaries, graphic novels, political essays, novels, and contemporary theater productions--all of them Mahābhāratas.

Because of its historical and linguistic breadth, its commitment to primary sources, and its exploration of multiplicity and diversity as essential features of the Mahābhārata's long life in South Asia, **MANY MAHĀBHĀRATAS** constitutes a major contribution to the study of South Asian literature and offers a landmark view of the field of Mahābhārata studies.

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Why would a scholar of the Rámáyana tradition agree to write a foreword for a volume about diverse tellings of the Mahábhárata tradition, a work that she labeled "the other epic" decades ago when she studied it in a graduate seminar? After all, as many have pointed out, in Sanskrit literary culture, the two texts do not even fall into the same category: Valmiki's Rámáyana is celebrated as the first Sanskrit kávya (ornate work of narrative poetry), while the Sanskrit Mahábhárata is often viewed as itihasa (history). Moreover, the two texts differ in other ways as well. David Shulman sees the Ramáyana as characterized by the "poetics of perfection" but the Mahabhárata as informed by the "poetics of dilemma." Sheldon Pollock contrasts how each text describes its particular brand of conflict, arguing that Rama's enemy, Rávana, is "othered, but that the Kaurava and ^andava antagonists are "brothered" since they share familial bonds.

Yet rather than perceiving the two as irreconcilable, let us consider that encountering the Mahábhárata and Rámáyana narrative traditions in tandem yields two different—but complementary—kinds of insights about the "big questions" of existence. Moreover, as Gary Tubb reminds us, both texts are ákhyana (story literature), which "edifies gently, after the fashion of a helpful friend, by presenting interesting examples of what fruit befell the actions of others in the past." While the Rámáyana serves as a narrative of ideals, the Mahábhárata presents a more realistic reflection of how elites wield power and resort to violence. Today, when political leaders in many countries propagate untruths, scapegoat minorities, and engage in corruption of unprecedented magnitude, edification from narratives that have stood the test of time should be welcomed. They provide "examples of what fruit befell the actions of others in the past;' but because they continue to be retold and reinterpreted, they also allow us to ask new questions.

Before moving to some of the riches of the volume you are reading, permit me to comment on a little-known retelling of a Mahábhárata episode that serves as an example of how a new telling can prompt reflection on a timely issue—in this case, how society perceives transgender individuals. Muthal Naidoo, a South African of Indian descent, wrote Flight from the Mahabharath in the early 1990s. The play represents an effort to dramatize the dangers that ensue when an entrenched class divides other humans into essentialized groups in order to rob them of agency. Naidoo's play, which rests on the premise that specific genres allow characters more or less freedom to act, presents differences in gender, caste, and sexuality through the lens of a nearly all-female cast filled with characters from the Mahábhárata narrative. Using a play within her play, Naidoo imaginatively recasts an Indian narrative to critique the ideologies of apartheid while remaining beyond the radar screen of government censors. I chose this play to illustrate how a fresh interpretation can open up a narrative. It is not new to condemn the Sanskrit Mahábhárata for limiting women to the roles ^f wives and mothers, but Naidoo's play innovates by making such criticism the starting point of her story, thereby broadening the scope and depth of the Mahábhárata tradition.

Naidoo's play opens as Draupadi leads a group of women out of the "Epic." No longer do they intend to remain in a narrative that has locked hem into gender roles that impel them to bear and raise sons but deprive them of the ability to prevent their boys from dying in wars provoked by their fathers. Fleeing the Epic, they enter the genre of drama. Upon arrival, they quickly change from saris to less constrictive garb and celebrate their ability as women to take control over their own lives. Yet challenges to their self-contained new world soon emerge. Two men dressed as women appear and ask to join this new created place: Brhannada (Arjuna in makeup, jewelry, and a dancer's clothing, with a grammatically female name) and Sikhandin (Princess Ambá, reborn male in order to slay Bhisma). The two insist that the Epic has victimized not only Draupadi and her women companions bill them as well. They demonstrate that they have rejected masculinity by pointing out that they have vowed henceforth never to shed blood. After arguing about whether to admit the

two to the world that the women have worked so hard to create, the women finally decide to let the two join them.

Immediately another dilemma arises. Since epic plots rest on conflict chat leads to war, how can the cast of the drama reject Epic patriarchy, which glorifies violence? Subhadrá asks whether removing violence will drain an epic of its excitement. Brhannadá responds by offering to teach the women martial arts so as to free them from depending on men for Protection. Agreeing to learn self-defense, the women adopt the proposal of Rádhá (Karna's foster mother) to rid their drama of heroes and villains, to avoid complicity in the glorification of bloodshed. The drama's director, Draupadi, now announces that they can free themselves from Epic constraints by retelling their stories such that they align with the new identities they have embraced. Draupadi plans to alter her story so that her sole husband is Arjuna, airbrushing away her other four—but Sikhandin quickly jumps in and changes Draupadi's svayamvara (bride-groom choice ceremony) into a dance competition to showcase Brhannadá's skills. Draupadi now realizes that the women's stories are interdependent; changing one means changing others. Indeed, Brhannadá eagerly rejects his (or her) Epic roles as Arjuna the warrior and Arjuna the husband, but Brhannadá's plan means that Draupadi cannot enact her own. Since Brhannadá left the Epic in order to escape both warfare and wife, he (or she) threatens to withdraw from the drama. Immediately, Draupadi withdraws, too. The play continues without them. What's more, the Mahabharatas male roles are now played by women in disguise. During the scene in the assembly hall, the actress playing Duryodhana pulls off Draupada's sari—but Draupadi, having left the scene, is now played by Sikhandin. Although many tellings of this episode show Krsna saving Draupadi from humiliation by lengthening her sari indefinitely, no divine intervention occurs here. Instead, Duryodhana strips off her sari and attempts to shame her by placing her on his lap. When Sikhandin's wig falls off, Duryodhana discovers that "she" is a man, and flees in homophobic terror. By the next scene, Brhannadá has rejoined the drama and narrates Arjuna's story: male gender constructs, Brhannnadá says, were forced on Arjuna since boyhood; he escaped gender entrapment only when he took on the guise of Brhannadá, in effect "coming out of the closet." This admission incites a debate with Sikhandin about the best way to win respect for same-sex love. Sikhandin argues that if all the cast members recount their stories, they will form a community where they all accept one another. Disagreeing, Brhannadá proposes to make Vyasa's authority serve their cause. Since the author created characters that depart from heterosexuality, people will realize that "Vyása invented transsexuality" and accept it? When Draupadi overhears the debate, she realizes that the two are lovers, and returns to the Epic. After more challenges to the drama, Draupadi, returns from the Epic and admits she had been duped by patriarchal notions of romance to believe that she should marry only a successful warrior. Her experiences in the drama, she says, enabled her to see through such constructs. The cast welcomes her back and the play ends with singing and dancing to music of the rainbow nation, South Africa.The twists and turns of Mahabhárata and Ramayana traditions multiply as one moves past the prodigious Sanskrit telling to encompass each story's many tellings in different genres, regional languages, and performance traditions—including works such as Muthal Naidoo's play, which was written in English from South Africa. Over time, rigid boundaries between and within narrative traditions become more permeable. That accounts for the Sanskrit Mahabhdrata's brief account of how Bhima searches for a saugandhika flower to give Draupadi and, along the way, encounters his half-brother, Hanumán—Ráma's devotee and a major figure in the Rámáyana in his own right (3.3.146-50). Kattayam Tampurán (ca. 1675-1725) transforms this short incident into the nightlong Kalyanasaugandhikam ("The Flower of Good Fortune"), a beloved work from the Kathakali dance-drama repertoire in southeast coastal India. Both the textual account and the dance-drama center on this encounter between Bhima and Hanumán, each a hero in a separate text but through whose interaction boundaries between narrative traditions appear more elastic. Another example is a Tamil epistolary story published in 1948 by Kumudini, nor de plume of Ranganayaki Thatham (1905-1986). Adopting

the voice of a ráksasi (demoness), a grandmother proposes that her granddaughter Hidimba (a ráksasi from the Mahábhárata) would make a good bride for the grandson of Rávana's brother, Kumbhakarna (a ráksasa or "demon" from the Rámáyana). The story's humor derives from the fantastical notion of a marital alliance between nonhuman characters from two different texts. In this way, hard and fast distinctions between these two narrative traditions begin to lose their bite.

Readers, I heartily commend Many Mahábháratas to you for its range of essays by authors trained in diverse academic disciplines, including literature (literary theory, poetics, Sanskrit aesthetics), theater and performance studies, gender studies, politics, and history. When we compare it to a volume of similar scope from 1991, Essays on the Mahábhárata (edited by Arvind Sharma), we see striking shifts in the field. Many Mahábhdratas marks a moment in South Asian studies when a new generation of scholars has emerged—a number of them at early stages of their careers, which bodes well for future research on the Mahabharata tradition. In addition, the volume's purview not only includes new essays on the Sanskrit Mahábharata but moves beyond it to analyze the richness of Mahabharata-inspired Sanskrit dramas, among them some rich examples of classical kduya. Essays on regional and vernacular Mahabharatas demonstrate the breadth of retellings that emerged between the ninth century and the eighteenth. The volume's prioritizing of less accessible Mahabharatas provides a service to those exploring texts about which little has been written in English. The section on modern Mahabharatas provides a selective yet wide-ranging orientation to materials such as graphic novels, nineteenth-century debates about Indian history, nationalism, and modernism, as well as postcolonial representations of Draupadi and Ekalavya. This volume demonstrates not only the ongoing energy and creativity of the Mahabharata tradition but also the energy and creativity of those who study it. I invite you to enjoy the feast of Mahabharatas that follows. <>

POEMS FROM THE GURU GRANTH SAHIB by Guru Nanak, translated by Nikky-Guninder Kaur Singh [Murty Classical Library of India, Harvard University Press, 978067425851 8]

Guru Nanak (1469–1539), a native of Panjab, founded the Sikh religion. His vast corpus of nearly a thousand hymns forms the core of the **GURU GRANTH SAHIB**, the Sikhs' sacred book of ethics, philosophy, and theology. The scripture was expanded and enriched by his nine successors, and Sikhs continue to revere it today as the embodiment of their tradition. **POEMS FROM THE GURU GRANTH SAHIB** offers a compilation of spiritual lyrics showcasing the range and depth of Guru Nanak's literary style while conveying his pluralistic vision of the singular divine and his central values of equality, inclusivity, and civic action. This new English translation includes celebrated long hymns such as "Alphabet on the Board" and "Ballad of Hope" alongside innovative shorter poems like "The Hours." It is presented here alongside the original text in Gurmukhi, the script developed by the Guru himself.

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Guru Nanak

Guru Nanak, the founder of the religion of the Sikhs, was born in 1469 in Panjab, a region resounding with the songs of Bhagats and Sufis, lovers of god from various Indic and Islamic traditions. He died in his native Panjab in 1539. His vast literary corpus-974 hymns are recorded in the Guru Granth Sahib (GGS), the scripture of the Sikhs—embodies his pluralistic vision of the singular divine (ikka) in a multiethnic, multilinguistic, and multireligious world.

Although historical documentation on Guru Nanak is largely lacking, his life story is deeply imprinted in the collective memory of the Sikhs. Basic sources for his biography include Sikh scripture, the works of the earliest Sikh theologian, Bhai Gurdas (1551-1636), and popular stories (sakh^s) about Guru Nanak's birth and life (janam) that began to circulate shortly after his death. Quasi-mythic in nature, many of these Jan^ms^kh^s set the stage for Guru Nanak's compositions. As they highlight his core values, they shaped and crystallized them for future generations.

Our sources uniformly portray Guru Nanak as a spiritual person who was born into the Khatri mercantile community in the village of Talvandi (now in Pakistan), married Sulakhni, and had two sons. He was close to his older sister Nanaki. After her marriage he even lived in her home in Sultanpur Lodi, where he worked in the employ of its Muslim governor. In Sultanpur he experienced a religious revelation, and thereafter traveled with his Muslim companion, Bhai Mardana, to places far beyond the Panjab, visiting sacred sites and meeting with diverse groups of Hindus, Muslims, siddhas (perfected yogis), Buddhists, and Jams. While Bhai Mardana strummed on his rabab, a divinely inspired Nanak would burst into song. Bhai Gurdas describes Guru Nanak as carrying a small volume with him, most likely a manuscript of his own hymns. Eventually, Guru Nanak established a town named Kartarpur on the banks of the Ravi River, where he settled down. The men and women who gathered around Guru Nanak to hear and sing his sublime poetry and practice the values of equality, civic action, and inclusivity formed the first Sikh community.

Guru Nanak was fully conscious of the novelty of his message and practice, and therefore sought to build an infrastructure that would provide momentum for later generations. Before his death he appointed his disciple Lahina as successor: he gave Lahina his book of verse and named him Angad, a limb (añga) of his own. A bodily link with poetry is underscored in several biographical stories about Guru Nanak. In one he is bathing with a jug of water, watched by his future successor, Guru Angad. Pointing to a blue-black patch of skin on his ribcage, Guru Nanak explains to Angad that the night before a young shepherd was reciting his hymns Arati and S^hilá (chapter i) on ground covered with thorny bushes, and Nanak was accidentally bruised brushing against them. That the Guru was embodied, physically present, in his verse is strikingly conveyed. Along with Guru Angad, the viewer perceives the porous nature of Guru Nanak's body—its fusion with his intangible word. In another memorable illustration from the late nineteenth century, Guru Nanak is seen wearing an outfit with verses from the GGS and the holy Qur'an inscribed all over the front and sleeves. In multiple ways, then, in both word and image, the first Sikh Guru is presented effacing divisions: between himself (gurú) and his poetry (báni), between Sikh and Muslim, body and spirit, language and reality, the temporal and the timeless.

The Guru Granth Sahib

Guru Nanak's nine successors, the living gurus from Guru Angad (1504-1552) to Guru Gobind Singh (1666-1708), carried on his spiritual legacy. The second Guru added his writings to the ones he inherited and passed them on to the next. With the third, Guru Amar Das (1479-1574), there is

actual evidence of a sacred anthology in the making: two volumes in the Gurmukhi script created under his supervision in the town of Goindval are still extant. For his successor he chose his daughter Bibi Bhani's husband, Ram Das (1534-1581), who continued to compose hymns and foster the self-consciousness of the Sikhs. Their son Arjan, the poetically accomplished fifth Guru (1563-1606), produced the authoritative collection that has become known as the Guru Granth Sahib (lit. "the honored Guru in book form").

Since the fellowship of Sikhs had increased numerically and spread geographically from the early days of Guru Nanak, a central canon was needed to guide their spiritual and moral life. Guru Arjan made selections from the works of the preceding four gurus, from his own expansive repertoire, and from the compositions of Hindu and Muslim saints that were a part of his broader South Asian heritage. With Bhai Gurdas as his scribe, Guru Arjan methodically compiled this entire literary heritage in a single volume, and ceremoniously installed it in 1604 in a specially constructed building, the Golden Temple in Amritsar. This text is known as the Kartarpur volume. Based on it, the tenth Guru, Gobind Singh, prepared the Damdami volume that added the hymns of the ninth Guru, his father, Guru Tegh Bahadur (16211675). This is the final canonical version of the GGS.8 The tenth teacher ended the line of succession by investing the role of guru in the scripture itself. Ever since, Sikhs revere the GGS as the embodiment of their gurus. The sacred book constitutes the core of Sikh ethics, philosophy, and aesthetics and presides at all their public and private ceremonies, rituals, and worship.

This textual corpus contains not only the verses of the Sikh Gurus but also those of several Hindu and Muslim holy men. The compositions span five centuries and geographical regions across the Indian subcontinent, bringing together a range of religions, cultures, ethnicities, languages, and musical measures. Here we find one of the earliest compilations of Kabir's poems, as well as the earliest extant example of Panjabi poetry by Shaikh Farid, one of the founding fathers of the popular Chishti Sufi order in India. The various authors exalt the divine One in a kaleidoscope of images, allusions, and symbols; they also offer compelling critiques of the ancient caste system, untouchability, religious divisions, and basic human degradation. Since it records the

compositions of some of the founding voices of several Indian religious traditions like Kabir and Shaikh Farid, some for the first time, the GGS serves as an important historical archive.

Guru Nanak's Poetry and Philosophy

Most of Guru Nanak's 974 hymns appear in nineteen of the thirty-one sections of the GGS, based on the traditional Indian musical system, the system of ragas. Each raga has its specific characteristics: a season prescribed for its singing, time of the day, an emotional mood, and a particular cultural climate, as each melody evolved in a specific region. Sometimes a variant or style of the raga is also indicated by the termgharu (lit. "house") followed by a numeral. Besides classical modes, Guru Nanak's hymns draw upon folk-music patterns with simpler beats, popular tunes, and regional devotional (bhakti) and Sufi forms with their rhythms and melodies. What matters most is spiritual efficacy: "We may win acclaim singing ragas, but without the name our mind is false and corrupt," he says. Guru Nanak's aesthetic consists of hearing, singing, and rejoicing in the infinite ensemble of vibrations: individual (the heartbeat of every species), social (of every class, caste, ethnicity), and of the ever-expanding multiverse. After all, it is the singular divine who plays the stringed kiñguri instrument in each heart.

Guru Nanak's lyrics embrace the One in a variety of personal relations as well, including father, mother, brother, friend, lover, husband: "You are our mother, father, near and far; you permeate each of us." Particularly striking is his maternal imagery, which celebrates the infinite One through the processes of gestation, birthing, and lactation. In multiple ways he offers exciting possibilities of relating sensuously with the transcendent One: the joy and the enjoyer, the bride in her wedding

dress and the groom on the nuptial bed, the fisherman and the fish, the waters and the trap, the weight holding the net as well as the lost ruby swallowed by the fish. Guru Nanak's paradoxes break the conventional mode of thinking, and his metaphors expand the human experience.

Vismádu (wondrous joy) is the abiding mood of Guru Nanak's wide-ranging corpus. In a passage from the ballad in Asa raga his astonishment rings aloud over and over: "vismádu rúpa vismádu rañga ... vismádu dharati vismádu kháni ("Wondrous the forms, wondrous all the hues ... wondrous this earth, wondrous its species"). The boundless One is physically seen, heard, smelled, and felt in every bit of the finite world. As the boundaries of an entity collapse, the Guru's wonder moves on to the next, and so he stays perpetually inebriated: "You are One, but with so many forms, says Nanak, I just can't grasp yourwonders." The feel of absolute unity in its magnificent diversity keeps the magic going.

Guru Nanak also presents the image of a modern instructor. He prescribes no rules, gives no doctrinal or epistemic system to follow; instead, he motivates listeners and readers to search for themselves, think about the choices they make, and perform actions mindfully. At the opening of his Japuji he names the One being as truth, but immediately asks: "How to be true? How to break the wall of lies?" Poetically he questions, challenges, overturns assumptions. A pungent juxtaposition of images jolts readers from placid acceptance of moral codes of purity and pollution sanctioned by society for millennia: "If the outfit is stained with blood we call it polluted, and those who suck the blood of humans we call pure-minded?" He provokes his readers to think anew and match their actions to their thoughts. Wit and sarcasm enrich his interactive style.

Guru Nanak's vivid imagery from the domestic, economic, and political spheres reinforces his world-affirming, action- oriented philosophy. Religiosity is not separated from the material, the practical, or the public; there is nothing pejorative about making business deals, trading, and earning profit. Commercial language with its "principle," "profit," "loss; and soon, is extensive in Guru Nanak's canon. Having worked in granaries, he was familiar with it and uses its lexicon with an innate force. Importantly, he opens up the commercial infrastructure equally for all members of his society: "We are all peddlers of our merchant, the heavyweight owner." The stratified caste system is upended; Vaishyas are not the only ones to be involved in business. Commerce is beneficial for every individual and for the larger community.

In his life-affirming philosophy, the timeless One actively functions in and through the various tenses of time: "true in the beginning, true across the ages, true now also, Nanak, true forevermore." His corpus vividly conveys his fascination with time, for he constantly draws attention to temporality and the role and responsibility of humans as they passage through time—cosmic, personal, chronological, historical, timeless. He innovatively utilizes genres based on time like "The Hours," "Days of the Lunar Month," and "Song of the Twelve Months" that were shared by devotional poets in North India. Indeed, as this volume exemplifies, time clicks thematically and stylistically throughout his works.

The Selection

Guru Nanak's literary corpus is enormous, and my objective in the selection process has been to gather the range and depth of Guru Nanak's voice. I also wanted to maintain the poetic sanctity of both the collective liturgical hymns and the várs, and as a result a few of the compositions of his successors are included in chapters 1 and 2, in the same format as they appear in the original GGS text. Several of Guru Nanak's long and popular hymns are presented here in full: "Morning Hymn" (japuji), "Alphabet on the Board" (Pati likhi), "Dialogue with the Siddhas" (Siddha gosti), "Song of the Twelve Months" (Bárahmáha), "Days of the Lunar Month" (Thitiñ), and "Ballad of Hope" (Asa di var), as are his shorter poems with special motifs like "The Hours" (Pahare), "Songs of Mourning" (Aláhniáñ), "Verses on Emperor Babur" (Bahrani), "The Graceless" (Gacaji),

and "The Graceful" (Sucaji). This compilation should serve as an accessible resource for the study of the first Guru's spirituality and literary style.

Chapter 1 contains Guru Nanak's hymns recited during morning and evening worship, going back to the daily practice established in the first Sikh community at Kartarpur. According to Bhai Gurdas, "In the morning Japu was recited, and in the evening Arati and Sohilá.." Guru Nanak's "Morning Hymn," Japaji (japa meaning "recitation, repetition" + ji, a suffix of respect), metamorphoses chronological time into timeless ambrosia, amrita velá (stanza 4), suggesting that the invigorated consciousness of early morning be kept perpetually alive. The epilogue to the Japuji by the second Guru highlights the organic texture of Sikh scripture: through their enjoined cadences of words and rhythm, their warm sense of kinship, and their spiritual joy, the different gurus become one voice in the GGS.

"That Gate" (So darn), recited during the reflective period of dusk, is a collection of nine hymns in different ragas—four by Guru Nanak, three by Guru Ram Das, and two by Guru Arjan. This evening hymn begins by reprising, with slight differences, stanza 27 from the Japuji. Sohila, meaning "praise," is recited before going to bed, and at the cremation ground when there is a death in the family. Paradoxically, Guru Nanak depicts the dark experienced in the cycle of human existence in the musical measure of light (Gauri Dipaki raga, or "Gauri of Light"). With its wedding metaphors, the hymn synchronizes the polar rites of marriage and death. In public and private worship it is recited as the GGS is put to rest for the night, with its "worship" (aratf) segment being especially festive. At the Golden Temple in Amritsar, for instance, the Arati sung by the congregation sonorously fills the air as the GGS is taken in a gold and silver palanquin from the central shrine for its nightly rest. The ceremonial opening of the GGS every morning and its closing to rest at night celebrate the existential dimension of time with its constant change, movement, and succession.

Chapter 2 contains the ballad in Asa raga. In many places of worship this composition has become a part of the daily morning liturgy. The rhythmically repeated chime of its moral guidelines directs the actions that singers and listeners do over the course of the day.

Chapter 3 comprises the Siddhagosti. This composition in seventy-three stanzas recounts Guru Nanak's discourse (gosti) with perfected yogis during his travels. Naths and the siddhas appear interchangeably in his work, though technically they were two different ascetic sects. The text mentions historical interlocutors who predate Guru Nanak by several centuries. The location of the dialogue, its time frame, and the speakers are not explicit; nevertheless, Guru Nanak's synchronization of time with the timeless One comes out robustly in this dialogical format. Taking on yogic diction, he invests the transient clothes of the yogis, their earrings, and the items they carry with everlasting spirituality.

Chapter 4 is a selection of Guru Nanak's thematic compositions. "The Hours" (Pahare) draws upon a traditional poetic form based on the Indian time frame in which night and day were each divided into four quarters or watches (paharu). The hymn charts chronological time through the passage of gestation, infancy, youth, and old age.

"The Days of the Lunar Month" (Thitih) in twenty stanzas is a paean to the divine glory felt intensely each day of the month. It is composed in a poetic form based on the monthly cycle of lunar days (thitz), different from solar days (vára). The poem starts with ekama, the first day of lunar fortnight, and proceeds to amavasa, night of the new moon.

His "Song of the Twelve Months" is in the barahmasa genre,35 "one of the chief carriers of a shared poetic language of emotions-and-the seasons in North India "36 Guru Nanak's hymn in seventeen sestets synthesizes the universal and personal dimensions of lived time through the psychological and spiritual journey of a young woman longing for her divine beloved over the twelve months of the year.

In his "Songs of Mourning" Guru Nanak movingly utilizes the folk genre of the dirge (alahnian). Traditionally, dirges were sung by a chorus of women eulogizing the dead person as part of mourning customs. The group of women would gather for several days at the house of the dead person and wail, beating their breasts and thighs. Guru Nanak shifts the entire scenario by making readers squarely confront and overcome the much-feared phenomenon, and rejoice in the splendor of this world. His conclusion: "This world is sheer magic" (baji hai ehu samsáro), because it is the maker's "infinite form" (rúpu apáro).

The four "Verses on Emperor Babur" bring attention to historical time. These have collectively come down in Sikh literature as aberrant: three in Asa raga and the fourth in Tilang raga. Guru Nanak

A Neglected Manuscript

One hitherto almost neglected manuscript of the Kãlikã Purã^a (kP) deserves our first attention, because its colophon might contain a key to a more firmly dating of the text. The manuscript is in the possession of the Calcutta Sanskrit College Library, where it was stored long ago. In the Catalogue of 1902 it is described as follows: the script is Niãri, which might be another term for Newãri writing. The scribal colophon, again according to the Catalogue, gives the surprising date of '202 Nepal Era'. If the date would be correct, the manuscript would have been written in 1081/2 CE in Nepal. It would establish a firm terminus ante quem for the final redaction of the text, because it would mean that the kP reached Kathmandu Valley before that time. However, its authenticity is not evident.

Hazra made a brief note of the manuscript without discussing the date given in the colophon (Hazra 1963 ii, 195, note 421). The editor of the critical edition, B.N. Shastri (1991,19) just noticed the manuscript without further comments.

According to the Catalogue of 1902, the writing material is "country-made colourless paper", not the expected palm-leaf. As is well known, paper became the accepted writing material in Nepal only from the 14th century onward. This fact alone may explain why the colophon did not receive proper attention. Are manuscript and scribal colophon to be trusted? The possibility that an old palm-leaf manuscript had been copied on paper including the original scribal colophon cannot be ruled out. Copying old manuscripts while keeping the original scribal colophon is attested in Nepal from the time of Jayasthiti Malla (1382–1395) onwards and was not uncommon elsewhere in South Asia. A proper examination of the Calcutta manuscript, verification of its contents, sort of paper, script and style, or styles, of writing are urgently needed. "Appearance: very old, worn out, torn, and worm-eaten throughout" is all what the Catalogue has to say about the condition of the paper.

Taking the scribal colophon at face value for the moment, it is worthwhile to look at it more closely. In my reading of the colophon the scribe seems to declare that

> in the year two hundred and four [*my reading, see the text below] of the Nepal era, in the dark half in the month of Caitra, under the Bear, in the second half of Ãrdra, on Thursday, under the conjunction of Vaidhati, on Visnu's day, he wrote this named Kãlikã uninterrupted, together with K^^^anãtha, always bowing to the feet of his parents, honoured by all good people.

The words nepãlãbdaga^a^ vai may be read as nepãlãbdagahane and refer to the standard Nepal era. The date is given in words instead of numbers. As yuga usually represents the number 4—rarely 2—, kha equals 0, and svanayana 2, the date should be read as 204. Inverse reading is the general rule in case of word-numerals. If my interpretation is correct, the text of the kP must have been copied in Nepal on palm-leaf in the year 1082/3 CE. In that case, this 'first' Nepalese manuscript was no doubt preserved with great care and esteem, and may have served as a 'mother copy' fora lineage of KP manuscripts produced afterwards in Kathmandu and Bhaktapur.

Taking the Calcutta manuscript as a genuine copy of an old palm-leaf manuscript, a further examination of its colophon is worthwhile as it yields intriguing information about the personages behind the production of this Nepalese 'mother-copy'. The text of the scribal colophon as rendered in the Catalogue seems to say that the "son of ^hyãkadeva, the excellent brãhmin, together with Šrï K^^^adeva" was [initiated] by the chiefs of pa^^its (pa^^itamukhakai^) into the procedure (krama) called Kãlikã (kãlikãkhyã^ kramadhã---nã^), for his own sake (....) he had to be purified by the wise (budhai^ šodhayatãm) ... for I do not know what is pure and impure (šuddhãšuddha^ najãnãmi). Although the text is defective at crucial places, the roles of K^^^anãtha, son of ^hyãkadeva, and Šrï K^^^adeva are significant. The former was apparently a prominent brãhmin, possibly responsible for the copying project. The honorific Šrï applied to the name of K^^^adeva suggests a scribe's name, as this honorific often does, and is possibly the name of someone of a k^atriya lineage. Considering their names, both are Vai^^avas, which is in accordance with the religious adherence of the kp. The mention of an initiation into a School (krama) called Kãlikã, suggests a link with the Kãlïkrama, a Tantric school that was at home in Nepal, as well as in Kashmir in this period of time.

In order to find out whether the kp could have reached Kathmandu at such an early date, a possible route should be outlined, which the text followed all the way from Kãmarüpa, the land of its origin, to its destination Kathmandu. On this route Mithilã would have occupied an important intermediate station, as in the past this region served as a 'gateway' to Nepal.8 Hazra (1963, 35) argued that brãhmins from Mithilã9 serving at the court of Kãmarüpa composed the kp at a time when the Kãmarüpa Pãla dynasty was in power. Following K.L. Barua and others, it has recently been proposed that the kp could have been produced under the authority and patronage of its most celebrated king Dharmapãla, one of the last kings of this dynasty, who possibly ruled in the eleventh century c e.10 Indeed, his change from Šaivism to Vai^^avism, which is recorded in an inscription from ca. 1100 (Hazra 1963, 31 note 95), would almost certainly have led to the appointment of new, Vai^^ava, court-priests. The kp with its strong emphasis on Vi^^u and Mahãmãyã, and its derogation of Šaiva Tantrics would fit the religious transition made by this king very well. However, the supposed time of Dharmapãla's rule is hardly compatible to the date of 1082/3 ce given in the scribal colophon of the old Nepalese manuscript under discussion, which must have been copied after Maithila brãhmins had arrived in Kathmandu and had found a patron.

As far as the Kathmandu valley is concerned, it is from the time of the early Mallas onwards, i.e. ca. 1200 c e, that brãhmins from Mithilã occupied high positions at the courts of Kathmandu and Bhaktapur, and actively copied Sanskrit texts in their own Mithilã script, also of the kp as we shall see below. The original text of the kp may have favourably been received in Kathmandu, and copied, when the Mallas came to power. The date of 1082/3 ce in the colophon, however, is too early. At that time the Thakuri dynasty was still ruling. This scenario does not fit unless we are allowed to read the date from left to right, and speculate that the scribe meant 402 Nepal Era, i.e. 1280/1 CE.

Another option would be to place the composition of the kp within a larger time frame, and assume that the kp was a product of a period when Tantric works and teachings freely travelled in an area stretching from Kãmarüpa, to Nepal and Kashmir. Being one of the four great sacred 'seats' (pï^ha) of both Hindu and Buddhist Tantrism, the fame of Kãmarüpa had spread to Kashmir already at the time the Trika school flourished, and was well known to its foremost representative Abhinavagupta (Dyczkowski 2004, 103–104). Tantric masters such as Matsyendranãtha lived in Kãmarüpa, while his reputation had spread as far as Kashmir. Tantric priests and preceptors must have moved from one place to another and also from one court to another, looking for patronage. This cultural exchange may have brought about a kind of Tantric culture in the whole area particularly in the ninth to twelfth centuries ce, the period that the Kãmarüpa Pãlas were in power. The KP is an important testimony to Kãmarüpa's Tantric reputation in giving a full description of a mystical—or mythical—journey through this 'sacred' land, and including a whole section on 'common' Tantric rituals, taught by Šiva acting as a Tantric ãcãrya, although the Vai^^ava 'upper layer' of the whole text is undeniable. Considering the strength of Tantric cultant in the region, and the character of the text, the KP might have been composed at the court of one of the Kãmarüpa Pãla kings, and was introduced in Nepal afterwards. It is hard to be more precise.

After the Kãmarüpa Pãla dynasty had come to an end—in the thirteenth and fourteenth centant—the kingdom fell into the hands of the Ahom kings. The region became part of another large Tantric area stretching from Assam, Bengal to parts of present Orissa. Tantric and Šãkta centres shifted accordingly. The sacred pashas of Kãmarüpa, including the centres of worship of the goddess Kãmãkhyã were moved close to new capitals such as Gauhati and elsewhere. Considering the many manuscripts that we-4.6(a)3(nt)-3.911.6(pr)4.699999809(o)8.5(d)-.8(uc)3.2(e).7(d)-.8(,)1.6(pa)3(r)4.699999809(t)-3.9 muni impersonates the royal priest who is teaching a king about good conduct and royal duties (dharmašãstra) on the occasion of his coronation. These 'lessons' illustrate the didactic, 'civilising' function of this Purana. As to the location, the conversation takes place at the royal palace of the mythical king Sagara. The audience consists of Sagara and his court. Aurva links on to the Satï-Kãlikã story, starting with the ardhanãrïšvara myth, which he interprets as the ultimate example of a perfect

relation between husband and wife, only to continue with the story of Vetãla and Bhairava and their attempt to regain their divine status, which is interpreted as another example of right behaviour.

The second shell is the contribution of the seer Mãrka^^eya, who is the chief narrator of the Purã^a. His 'talk' envelops both Aurva's and Šiva's texts. He is addressing a meeting of rsis somewhere in the Himãlayan region. The famous seer, who took care of other major Vi^^u Purã^as as well, made the whole text into a real Purã^a. It is he who relates the long Satï story culminating in the "kãlikãcaritam", which has given the Purã^a its name. This authority also relates the story of Naraka, son of Vi^^u and reputed first king of Prãgjyoti^a. The episode forms a semi-historical component in his 'talk', since the Pãla kings of Kãmarüpa traced their royal lineage back to this divine hero. Mãrka^^eya also takes care of the section on Durgãpüjã, thereby following his own Mãrka^^eya Purã^a, and also of the final episode about the offspring of Bhairava and Vetãla. He concludes with paying homage to Kãlikã and praising the Kãlikã Purã^a.

Finally, the brãhmin composer with his Sanskrit background and possibly of a Mithilã lineage folds the outermost shell around the preceding ones, confessing his Vai^^ava Šãkta adherence. He almost certainly worked fora king of the Pãla dynasty of Kãmarüpa. This royal 'pandit' can be held responsible for the final result, adding both ma^gala- and closing verses. He selected his sources carefully, and imposed his Vai^^ava orientation on the whole text throughout, not refraining from inserting verses of his own. These four shells define the scope and character of each contribution.

The whole narrative structure might be rendered as follows:

Composition
Brãhmin to yogins: Mangala colophon (1, 1–3 and 90, 33—end)
Old Tales, Mythology
Mãrkasheya to the rsis: Satï, Kãlikã (1–46) postscript (88, 65–90, 33)
Royal Duties
Aurva to king Sagara: Ardhanãrïšvara, Vetãla-Bhairava story (46–52) ....
Kãmarüpa pïtha (76–81), Royal Festivals (82–88, 65)
Tantric Teachings
Šiva to Vetãla and Bhairava: Vaisaavïtantra or
Mahãmãyãkalpa (52–56), Uttaratantra (57–59),
Durgãpüjã (59–61), Kãmãkhyã (61–65),
Ritual Manuals (65–76) <>

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF HINDU TANTRIC DEITIES, VOLUME 1: THE PANTHEON OF THE MANTRAMAHODADHI; THE ICONOGRAPHY OF HINDU TANTRIC DEITIES, VOLUME 2: THE PANTHEONS OF THE PRAPANCASARA AND THE SARADATILAKA by Gudrun Bühnemann [Series: Gonda Indological Studies, Brill (Egebert Forsten), 9789069801193]

VOLUME I: THE PANTHEON OF THE MANTRAMAHODADHI focuses on the iconography of 108 deities described in the sixteenth-century Mantramahodadhi, which addresses topics related to Tantra, an s ecifically mantraśāstra, like the function and structure of the deity descriptions (dhyāna) and the interpretations given to the iconographic attributes. All the deities are presented

separately and each entry includes the Sanskrit text in transliteration, a literal translation and notes on the iconography, including information from other Sanskrit texts. With line drawings.

VOLUME II: THE PANTHEONS OF THE PRAPAÑCASĀRA AND THE SĀRADĀTILAKA compares for the first time deity descriptions extracted from different printed editions of two earlier texts, the anonymous Prapañcasāra (c. 10th century) and the Śāradātilaka (c. 10th-11th centuries). The Sanksrit text is presented with a literal translation and remarks on the iconography. A new edition and translation of important chapters (cosmogony and yoga) of the Śāradātilaka is included as appendix. With illustrations. All volumes of the print edition will become available in individual e-books: 9789004531222 (volume 1) - 9789004531239

CONTENTS

VOLUME I: THE PANTHEON OF THE MANTRAMAHODADHI

The Mantramahodadhi in Context

Material for the study of Tantric iconography can be classified as archaeological or literary. The literary materials range from poetic texts to inscriptions. Important textual materials fall into three broad categories:

1. texts styled as Tantras (sometimes also called Agamas or Samhitas), including sections of the Purana literature, belonging to dhirious traditions, time periods and geographical areas;

2. compendiums of (Tantric) ritual and works of a similar nature, which extract deity descriptions from the texts in category 1;
3. texts on sculpture and architecture (silpasastra), which incorporate the deity descriptions mostly from works of categories 1 or 2.

The sixteenth-century Mantramahodadhi (hereafter MM) is a compendium that addresses topics related to Tantra, and specifically to mantrasastra. Its author, Mahidhara, intended to gather into a single book the ritual practices connected to a large number of deities described in the Tantras. The book belongs to a tradition of compendiums which differ from one another in the selection of the deities included and the order in which the deities appear. Due to its clear and well-structured presentation and the broad range of topics covered, the MM, along with its author's commentary, continues to enjoy considerable popularity throughout India. Its popularity rivals Krsnananda Agamavagisa's Tantrasara, which was most likely written one century later. The MM is quoted as an authority in Bhaskararaya Makhindra's Trcabhaskara, written in 1708 and also served as a major textual source for Mahavaraya Vaidya's late nineteenth-century Mantramaharnava.

In this section I would like to outline compendiums of a similar nature that I have frequently referred to in this book. The Prapancasara (PS), a work in the South Indian smarta tradition, is among the earlier compendiums of this kind. It is traditionally attributed to the philosopher Samara, but was compiled most likely in the tenth century. The text addresses deities such as Surya, Laksmi, Durga, Ganesa, Visnu and Siva, but does not mention forms of ^ara, who attained great importance in later texts such as the MM. The PS is extensively quoted in many other texts, including Srikumara's ca. sixteenth-century Silparatna.

Laksmaadesika's famous Sarvapalaka (SA), most likely written at the end of the tenth century or in the first part of the eleventh century, is based on the PS, but is written more clearly than the earlier text. Its most important commentary is the Padarthadirsa by the Maharashtrian Raghadhibhatta, who completed it in Varanasi on December 15, 1493 CE. The deities described in the ST are for the most part also found in the PS, but they often appear in a different sequence and with additional iconographic forms. Since the deity descriptions in the PS and the ST are the subject of Volume Two of this study, I shall discuss these texts, their authors and dates of composition in the introduction to Volume Two.

The Tantrasarasamgraha (TSS) is a compilation by Narayana, a Kerala Brahmin who resided in Sivasmra on the banks of the river Nila. He was the son of Arayang and his wife Uma. The work is divided into thirty-two chapters. It is popularly known as the Visanarayaniya, since its initial ten chapters deal with poisons (visa). Goudriaan 1977: 160 states that this work is not identical to the Arayaniya quoted by Raghavabhatta in his commentary on the ST; however, this turns out to be incorrect. The work referred to and cited by Raghadhi is indeed the TSS. Since Raghadhi completed his commentary in 1483, the TSS can safely be assigned to the fifteenth century (eliminating the possibility of the sixteenth century) or earlier. The TSS was printed with an anonymous commentary (vyakhya), which contains valuable information and may be the work of the author himself.

The Mantrapada (pada 2, patalas 15-52) is part of Isanasivagurudevamisra's Isanasivagurudevapaddhati (ISP), which is also known as the Tantrapaddhati. The ^SP is a Saiva manual of temple worship and was assigned to the last part of the eleventh (Dived) or to the twelfth century (Unni 1987: 9); (at least part of) the Mantrapada, however, is of a much later date. The Mantrapada describes the goddesses ^atangi (chapter 26.120) and Dhumavati (chapter 47.61), who later figure in the Tantric group of Mana^idya goddesses. The texts (which also include the PS) quoted in the ISP with its Mantrapada section are listed in Dviveda 1995: 189-190. Most chapters in the Mantrapada correspond to chapters in the TSS. Of special interest is the adaptation of Buddhist Tantric mantras and rituals in both texts: the worship of Vasudhara is addressed in chapter 26.1-65 of the

Mantrapada and in TSS 22.19-41, and the mantras of Yamantaka/Yama in chapter 47.1f. of the Mantrapada and in TSS 17.9f. The relationship between the Mantrapada of the ISP and ^arayana's TSS was first discussed by Goudriaan 1977: 158-160 and Goudriaan in Goudriaan/Gupta 1981: 128. Goudriaan considered it possible that either chapters 15-38 of the Mantrapada are recast in the TSS, and chapters 39-52 of the Mantrapada are based on the TSS, or that both the Mantrapada and the TSS are based on one source. In the meantime, Unni 1987: 21-22 has demonstrated that chapter 41.2 of the Mantrapada clearly refers to the TSS (cited as the ^ rayaniya) and that the TSS is among the sources used in the Mantrapada.

A less encyclopaedic work of the same category is the Phetkarinitantra (or Phetkariya) which is of uncertain date. The text was assigned to the thirteenth century by Bharati 1965: 60 without evidence. Among the deities in this work are Kukkuta, Ucchistacandalini, Dhtlmavati and forms of Kali and Durga.

A text whose content closely follows that of the PS is the Prapaficasasarasarasamgraha (PASS) by GIrvanendra Yati or Girvanendra Sarasvati. This text is apparently also known by the name Prapancasarasamgraha. Even though Girvanendra basically follows the PS, he quotes extensively from the ^antrasara, the (Prayoga-) ^ramadipika commentary on the PS, "the Sanatkumariya," the Saradatilaka and Visnudeva's Mantradevata^rakasika. Girvanendra's date is given as 1450 by Dasgupta 1922, volume 2: 52, note 2, most likely based on the assumption that he was the teacher of Bodhendra, who wrote the Advaitabhasana, and of Nrsimhasrama, who wrote the Advaitadipika. Potter 1983: 354 assigns the year 1530 to Gir^anendra, whereas Thangaswami 1980: 334 suggests the period from 1600 to 1700. The PSSS is divided into the purvabhaga, consisting of chapters 7-17 (pp. 1-522), the uttarabhaga, comprising chapters 18-32 (pp. 523-938), and an appendix, the Anubandha (pp. 939-992). I will address this text in more detail in Volume Two of this study.

The Tantrasara (TS) by Krsnananda Ágamavagisa is an important compendium written after the MM, most likely in the seventeenth century. The iconography of this text, which attained great popularity in Bengal, was studied by D.C. Sircar 1972-1973 and P. Pal 1981. While closely examining the TS I noticed that it relies heavily on the ST, which it calls "the Sarada" or "the Nibandha," and whose descriptions it frequently quotes without attribution. The work also contains long extracts from the Phetkárinitantra. The corrupted text of the TS should be re-edited to reconcile these citations with the original texts.

The Srividyarnavatantra (VT) is a voluminous work on mantrasastra that is attributed to Vidyaranya Yati, a North Indian of uncertain identity. The book consists of lengthy quotations from Tantric texts such as the Daksina-murti-Samhita, the Tantraraja, the ST and the Kularinavatantra, along with the compiler's brief explanatory notes. The text consists of two parts: chapters (svasa) 1-18 (volume 1, pp. 1-545) form the Aurvardha and chapters 19-36 (volume 2, pp. 1-914), the uttarardha. I refer to the work by citing the volume number and page number. The SVT in all likelihood quotes the ^^9 and therefore would be later than 1588.10 Its latest possible date of composition is the year 1726, the date of an extant manuscript of the text.11 The vast amount of material found in the SVT, which was outlined in a pamphlet by Sastri 1944, deserves careful study.

The Merutantra (MT) is a later compendium which must have been written before 1708, the date of composition of Bhaskararaya Makhindra's Trcabhaskara, in which the MT is quoted (e.g., p. 137, 7-8; p. 145, 25). 13 Finally, mention should be made of the Bengali compilation Pranat^sini (PrT) by Ramatosana Vidyalamkara, written in 1820.

In the texts discussed thus far, the iconographic descriptions appear after an explanation of the deities' mantras, which are usually in coded language to conceal them from the uninitiated, and within descriptions of rites in which these mantras are used (mantraprayoga). Often outlined are the

so-called satkarman rites of magic (abhicara), which include subjugation (vas^karana), immobilization (stambhana) and liquidation (marana). The deity descriptions aid the devotee's visualization (dhyana) of the deity during ritual worship (puja). They were not written for the purpose of image making, unlike the texts on sculpture (silpasastra), but have nevertheless influenced texts on fine arts.

The descriptions of the deities in the compendiums are most likely extracted from individual Tantras that advocate the cult of particular deities. Since they stem from various sources, traditions and time periods, these extracts do not constitute a unified interrelated pantheon which is to be worshipped by one devotee in its entirety. I use the word "pantheon" here in the sense of all the deities described in a text. The textual sources of the compendiums are rarely specified by name. At times one encounters fragments of lost or unedited texts. It is usually not easy to identify such citations.

Since mantras are not to be selected from books by persons other than qualified preceptors, the compendiums must have functioned as reference works for preceptors, who selected mantras of a particular deity for themselves or their disciples. I have observed that the SVT is currently being used in this way by Tantric preceptors in Maharashtra, India.

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Volume II: The Pantheons of the Prapañcasāra and the Sāradātilaka

Tradition ascribes the PS to the famous philosopher Samkara who flourished between 650 and 800 CE. Dviveda 1995: 199 recently affirmed this view, arguing that the PS does not contradict Samkara's Advaita doctrine and that it therefore would not be necessary to assume that Samkara is not the author of the PS. The PS was included in the South Indian edition of Samkara's Works (1913). The colophon of this edition identifies the author as Samkara Bhagavat, a disciple of Govinda Bhagavat, while PrapancasaraSharana, p. 1, 13 refers to him as Bhagavat Samkaracarya. Hacker 1947 (1978): 181 provided evidence that all works ascribed to Samkara Bhagavat are most likely works of the great Vedantin, whereas those attributed to Samkara Acarya in their colophons are most likely spurious. It is unlikely that the South Indian edition of Samkara's Works (1913) is based on a critical examination of available manuscripts. The author's name in the colophon of the text may have been inserted by the editor.

A Nepalese manuscript of the PS, quoted in Avalon's postscript to his revised edition of the PS, p. 70; Sadhavacarya (second half of the fourteenth century) in his commentary (vyakhya) entitled Tatparyadipika on the Sutasamhita, volume 1, p. 54, 8; and Ragha^abhatta in his commentary on the ST, p. 737, 22, refer to the PS's author as acaryah, using the respectful plural form. The PS, in contrast, presents itself as a discourse delivered by Mahavishnu to Brahma. Verse 36.62 clearly identifies Mahavisnu as the author of the Tantra.

The Structure of the Text

The PS has been identified as a work in the South Indian smarta tradition (Sanderson 1990: 35, note 21, Khanna 1986: 75) and has been called 'a smarta-ized Tantric manual' (Khanna 1986: 59). The PS does not belong to a specific Tantric tradition. It is a work

19, 22). It is number twenty-six in a list ascribed to the Mahasiddhasaratantra printed in Avalon's introduction to Woodroffe 1914, part 1: 72, 74. It is uncertain whether this text is identical to our PS. Moreover, the list also includes late texts such as the Merutantra and the Mahanirvanatantra and therefore cannot provide any evidence as to the date of composition of the PS.

The title Prapancasara can be interpreted as 'the Essence (sara) of the Universe' (prapanca). In the introduction to his edition of the PS, p. 4, Avalon states that the PS may be an abridged version (sara) of an older work entitled Prapancapancaka. Such a work has not yet been discovered.

The contents of the individual chapters of the PS are given below, following the North Indian edition's division of the text into thirty-six chapters. The numbers prefixed to the deity names from chapter 6 onward refer to their descriptions in section 1.2 of this book.

Chapter 1: The creation; the nature of purusa and matter (prakrti, pradhana); the twentysafive constituents (tattva); the evolution of prakrti, identified with the energy/Sakti, from her form as a drop (bindu) of energy into resonance/sound (nada) and grosser manifestations

Chapter 2: The development of the embryo and infant; the kundalini

Chapter 3: The division of the alphabet

Chapter 4: The seed syllable hrim and the kundalini

Chapters 5-6: The initiation (diksa), including the fire ritual (homa); chapter 6: 1 Agni (Krsanu)

Chapters 7: The alphabet deities; 2 Sarasvati (Bharati) and 3 Ardhanarisvara; the prapancayaga

Chapter 8: The pranagnih^ma; 4 Sarasvati 1 (Bharati) and 5 Sarasvati 2 (Bhasa rati)

Chapter 9: 6 Tripurabhairavi

Chapter 10: On mulaprakrti; 7 Bhuvanesvaari (Ambika)

Chapter 11: The yantra and rituals connected to 7 Bhuvane^^ari (Ambika)

Chapter 12: Mantras of Sri (Laksmi); 8 Sri 1(Laksmi), 9 Sri 2, 10 Mahalaksmi (Rama) and 11 Sri 3

Chapter 13: 12 Triputa, 13 Dharani, 14 Tvarita (Kairati), 15 Vajraprastarini (Nitya) and 16 Nityaklinna (Parvati)

Chapter 14: Mantras of Durga; 17 Durga, 18 Vanadurga 1, 19 Vanadurga 2, 20 Vanadurga 3 (Katyayani) and 21 S^linidurga

Chapter 15: 22 Surya-Bhuvane^^, 23 ^rdhambikesa and 24a—b Surya

Chapter 16: 25 Candra (Soma), 26 Agni 1, 27 Agni 2 and 28 Agni 3 (as^^krti)

Chapter 17:23 Mantras of Ganapati; 29 Mahaganapati (Ganadhipa), 30 Vighnaraja and 31a—b Ksipra(prasadana-) Ganapati

Chapter 18: 32 Kama (Manmatha), 33 Krsna, 34 Balagovinda, 35 Mukunda and 36 Vasudeva

Chapter 19: On yoga; 37 Visnu

Chapter 20: 38 Narayana (Mukunda)

Chapter 21: The diagrams of the twelve zodiac signs (rasi)

Chapter 22: 39 Visnu (Hari) and 40 (Sudarsana-) Cakra-Hari

Chapter 23: 41 Purusottama (Trailokyamohana)

Chapter 24: 42 Srikara (Visnu), 43 Mahavaaraha, 44 Varaha 1, 45 Varaha 2 and 46 Varaha 3

Chapter 25: Mantras of Narasimha; 47 Narasimha 1, 48 Narasimha 2 and 49 Narasimha 3

Chapter 26: 50 Visvarupa-Visnu

Chapter 27: Mantras of Siva; 51 SadaSiva (^arvaatisa), 52 Mahesa, 53 Hara and 54 Parvatisa

Chapter 28: Mantras of Siva continued; 55 Daksinamurti (Bhava), 56 Aghosararudra and 57 Mrtyumjayarudra

Chapter 29: Mantras of Siva continued; 58 Umesa, 59 Ardhanarisvaara and 60 Candesvara

Chapter 30: The Gayatri mantra; 61 Gayatri (Tarini)

Chapter 31: The Tristubh mantra; 62 ^atyayani (Durga)

Chapter 32: The lavanamantra; 63 Agni, 64 Ratri (Yamavati), 65 Durga (^atyayani) and 66 Bhadrakari

Chapter 33: The Anustubh mantra; 67 Tryambaka-Rudra, 68 Samvadasa Agni/Samjnana/Agni and 69 Varuna

Chapter 34: On yantras; 70 Gauri (Parvati), 71 Bhu and Sri, 72 Annapurna, 73 Vaisravana (Kubera), 74 Brhaspati, 75 Sukra, 76 Vyasa and 77 Asvarudha

Chapter 35: On pranapratistha; 78 Pranasakti

Chapter 36: Means to secure offspring; characteristics of the preceptor and the disciple; duties of the disciple

***

The Author Laksmanadesika and his Work

According to the author's statements in ST 25.83-86,1 Laksmanadeika's father was Srlkrsna; his grandfather had the title Acarya Pandita and his great-grandfather was Mahabala, who authored the work Muktiphala. Laksmanadesika or Laksmanadesikendra is also called Laksmanacasarya. Based on the information gathered from the ST we can reconstruct Laksmanadeika's genealogy as follows:

great-grandfather — Mahabala
*
grandfather — Ácarya-Pandita
*
father — Srikrsna
*
Laksmanadesika (Laksmanadesikendra, Laksmanacarya)

Raghavabhatta (RB) considers Laksmanadesika a disciple of Utpalacarya. In his commentary Padarthadarsa, p. 12, 19 on ST 1.3 5 he gives the following lineage of Laksmanadeika's teachers, quoting part of a verse in Arya metre from an unidentified source:

paramesthiguru — Sri-kantha

paraparaguru — Vasumat

paramaguru — Somananda

guru — Utpalacárya
Laksmana

Raghava, p. 12, 20 also provides the second part of the above-mentioned rya verse, which specifies Laksmana (identified as Laksmanadesika?) as the teacher of Abhinavagupta who in turn was the teacher of Ksemaraja.

Laksmana

*

Abhinavaupta

*

Ksemaraja

We know that Laksmanagupta was one of Abhinavagupta's teachers. This Laksmanagupta is identified a Lasmanaefika, ahor of the ST, by J. Woodroffe 1929: 371 ad Rastogi 1979: 129, 131. Ratogi further identifies Vaumat as Vaugupta based on the ave -mentioned verse fragments quoted by RB, one of which he presents in a modified form. Ratogi 1979: 149proceed to identify Laksmanagupta's lost "Srisastra" as Laksmanadeika's ST. He takes Laksmanadeika's great-grandfather Mala, who, acording to ST 25.83, wrote the work Muktiphaa to be Mala the ahor of the Rahasyagarbhastotra and the great-grandfather of Bhatta Utpala on the daughter's side (Rastogi 1979: 149) Rastogi's identificaions follow in tabula form aong with the daes he provides for the different athors:

Srikantha

*

Vasumat — identified as Vasugupta (circa 800-850 CE) by Ratogi 1979: 129

*

Somananda (circa 875-925 CE)

*

Utpalacarya — identified as Utpala (circa 900-950 CE) by Ratogi 1979: 129

*

Laksmanadesika — identified as Laksmanagupta (circa 925-975 CE) by Ratogi 1979:129

*

Abhinavagupta (circa 950-1020 CE)

*

Ksemaraja (circa 975-1025 CE)

The Strucure ofthe Text

The Saradatilaka, "the Forehead Mark of Sarada (Sarasvati)," is divided into twenty-five chaers, the number twenty-five correponding to the number of c onstituents (tattva) of the Samkhya system (cf. ST 25.87) According to RB, p. 916, 13 -16 on ST 25.87, the first chater reeents the matter

(mulaprakrti), since it deals with creation. The following twenty-three chapters deal with prakrti-vikrti and the final chapter on yoga deals with purusa, surpassing both prakrti and vikrti. The work professes to provide us with "the essence of the Tantras" (1.4) and rites (vidhi) for yantras and mantras along with their presiding seers, metres and deities (1.5). It calls itself a Tantra (1.5d). A characteristic of the ST is that, like the PS, it includes long hymns of praise (stotra) to the deities described. There are small differences between the texts of ST1 and T2 ranging from about one to seven additional verses per chapter. The total number of verses is 3461 for ST1 and 3519 for ST2.

The contents of the individual chapters of the ST are:

> Chapter 1: Cosmogony, including a section on the development of the embryo Chapter 2: Evolution of sound; mantras and their purification by certain diagrams; places for mantra practice; the practitioner's diet; the qualifications of the preceptor and the disciple
>
> Chapter 3: Rites preceding the initiation (diksa)
>
> Chapter 4: The initiation
>
> Chapter 5: The initiation continued; fire ritual (homa); 1 Agni
>
> Chapter 6: The alphabet and alphabet deities; 2 Sarasvati 1, 3 Sarasvati 2, 4 Sarasvati 3, 5 Sarada., 6 Ardhanarisvara, 7 Ardhalaksmihari, 8 Jagadisvari (Visvajanani), 9 Jagatsvamin^, 10 Samastajanani and 11 Sammohani; the pra^ancayaga and other rituals
>
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> Chapter 9: Mantras of Bhuvanesvarl; 23 Bhuvanesvari (Bhuvanesi), 24 Am-bika 1, 25 Ambika 2 (Haravadhu) and 26 Adibhuvanesvari
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> Chapter 13: 44 Ganapati (Ekaksara-Ganapati), 45 Mahaganapati, 46 Viriganapati, 47 Saktiganapati, 48 Bhogatilola-Ganapati, 49a—b Ksipraprasadana Ganapati, 50 Heramba-Ganapati and 51 Subrahmanya
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Chapter 21: 93 Savitri (Gayatri) and 94 Durga

Chapter 22: Magical weapons; 95 Agni (Vahni), 96 Ratri (Yamavati), 97 Durga and 98 Bhadrakali

Chapter 23: 99 Tryambaka, 100 Varuna and 101 Pranasakti; m^dras of invocation, etc.; rosaries; the six rites beginning with appeasement and their characteristics

Chapter 24: Different yantras

Chapter 25: On yoga; colophon

Phatak 1995 draws our attention to an approximately 400 year old palm-leaf manuscript of the S^ in Tulu script, containing as many as thirty-six chapters. The incomplete manuscript is now preserved in the Oriental Research Institute of the University of Mysore. It covers chapters 10-25, with chapters 1-9 missing. The numbers of the extant folios begin with 113 and end with 229, but eight folios in the middle are missing. At the end of chapter 24 the manuscript signals the end of the "earlier part" (purvabhaga) of the text. This is followed by chapter 25, to which the additional chapters listed below are appended. Their titles are provided either from the colophons of the individual chapters or from the initial verses of the chapters. From the chapter titles, which deal with medicine and rites of magic, it appears as though they originally were not part of the ST.

Chapter 26: Means to attain offspring (samtanasiddhi)

Chapter 27: Medical treatment of children (balacikitsa)

Chapter 28: Treatment for evil demons attacking children (grahacikitsa)

Chapter 29: Countering the effects of poison (^isasanti)

Chapter 30: Countering the effects of poison from scorpions, spiders, etc. (vrscikalutadivisasanti)

Chapter 31: Rites of subjugation (vasyakriya)

Chapter 32: Immobilization (stambhana)

Chapter 33: Causing dislike (vidvesa)

Chapter 34: Folios 223-226, which give the title of the chapter, are missing

Chapter 35: Eradication (uccatana)

Chapter 36: Colophon missing; deals with various mantras

The first two chapters of the ST are of special importance since they present the theoretical framework of the text. Each of the two chapters deserves a separate treatment, which is beyond the scope of the present work. I have prepared a new edition and translation of chapter 1 in appendix 2, but have limited my explanatory notes to a minimum. I refer the reader to Padoux 1990, who

frequently bases himself on this section of the ST. Chapter 1 of the ST presents an account of creation and explains how the kundalini creates the different mantras corresponding to different deities. Chapter 25 of the ST, on yoga, which also provides information on Laksmanadeika's genealogy, contains valuable information on astañgayoga, kundaliniyoga and the hamsah mantra. Since it is comparatively short, I have included a new edition of the chapter and a translation in appendix 3.
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THE UBIQUITOUS SIVA VOLUME I: SOMANANDA'S SIVADRSTI AND HIS TANTRIC INTERLOCUTORS edited and translated by John Nemec [AAR Religion in Translation, Oxford University Press, 9780199795451]

John Nemec examines the beginnings of the non-dual tantric philosophy of the famed Pratyabhijña or "Recognition [of God]" School of tenth-century Kashmir, the tradition most closely associated with Kashmiri Shaivism. In doing so it offers, for the very first time, a critical edition and annotated translation of a large portion of the first Pratyabhijña text ever composed, the Sivadrsti of Somananda. In an extended introduction, Nemec argues that the author presents a unique form of non-dualism, a strict pantheism that declares all beings and entities found in the universe to be fully identical with the active and willful god Siva. This view stands in contrast to the philosophically more flexible panentheism of both his disciple and commentator, Utpaladeva, and the very few other Saiva tantric works that were extant in the author's day. Nemec also argues that the text was written for the author's fellow tantric initiates, not for a wider audience. This can be adduced from the structure of the work, the opponents the author addresses, and various other editorial strategies. Even the author's famous and vociferous arguments against the non-tantric Hindu grammarians may be shown to have been ultimately directed at an opposing Hindu tantric school that subscribed to many of the grammarians' philosophical views. Included in the volume is a critical edition and annotated translation of the first three (of seven) chapters of the text, along with the corresponding chapters of the commentary. These are the chapters in which Somananda formulates his arguments against opposing tantric authors and schools of thought. None of the materials made available in the present volume has ever been translated into English, apart from a brief rendering of the first chapter that was published without the commentary in 1957. None of the commentary has previously been translated into any language at all.

Reviews

"This praiseworth.899999work will guide man.892.1(s)2.5(c)1.2(h)-2(o)-4.3(la)1.1(r)2.7(s)2.6(in)-2( )11.199999809(t)
3. The Author and His Works
4. Somananda's Biography and Autobiography

The Author's Thought and the Intellectual History of the Pratyabhijña
5. Somananda's "Settled Opinion" (siddhanta)
6. Divergences Between the Writings of Somananda and Utpaladeva
7. The Use of Trika and Technical Terminology in the Sivadrsti

By the end of the eighth century, and possibly as early as the late seventh century, the beginnings of a rich and diverse post-scriptural tradition of philosophical, yogic, and ritual exegesis that was based in, but reached beyond, the confines of the myriad scriptural sources of the esoteric Saiva tantras had emerged in the Indian sub-continent. The Brahmins who authored these works sought to interpret and explain the vast canon of tantric scripture through the production of a wide array of reflections on those esoteric scriptures. These post-scriptural works served a variety of ends. Some sought primarily to engage mainstream Hindu and Buddhist philosophical schools; others sought to codify and explain yogic practice; still others constructed philosophical expressions of the religious principles of scripture; and, finally, some sought to explain tantric ritual by mapping the proper manner of its performance and by offering theoretical explanations to account for its efficacy, meaning, and significance. Along the way, the post-scriptural authors regularly departed significantly from the focus of their sources by marginalizing the culture of visionary experience found in the tantric scriptures in preference of teachings more closely associated with liberating gnosis (jnana), which could reasonably be expected to find greater support in mainstream social circles.

A landmark in the development of the post-scriptural writings may by identified with the com osition of the Śiva ṛṣṭi (SD) by one Somananda (fl. c. 900-950), the Brahmin and Sakta Saiva tantrika who is the subject of the present book. Living and writing in Kashmir, then a major center of tantrism, Somananda not only founded the highly influential Pratyabhijna school, the philosophical tradition most commonly associated with "Kashmiri Shaivism," but he was also a pioneer of the post-scriptural Trika, a tradition of exegesis that is closely tied to the writings of the great polymath Abhinavagupta (fl. c. 975—1025), Somananda's great-grand-disciple through a preceptorial lineage

passing from Somananda through Utpaladeva (fl. c. 925-975) and Laksmanagupta (fl. c. 950-1000) to Abhinavagupta himself.

With the production of his Si^^drsti was born a dramatic, and new, interpretation of the nature of the divine, and the relationship of the divine to the manifested universe in which humans struggle to navigate their way through samsara, the world of transmigration. Not only was Somananda's vision among the very first tantric post-scriptural expressions of a philosophical non-dualism, but it was a radical form of non-dualism that imagined and articulated, in vivid terms, the presence of an active, engaged G^d—Siva—who personally and directly enacted the activities of the universe. Siva was said both to embody the very nature of all the various agents found in the universe and to perform through them the innumerable human and other acts occurring in the world as we know it. The work, then, as we shall see, was strictly and thoroughly pantheistic. It denied the existence of any difference whatsoever in the nature of Siva, the universe, and the agents acting within it. This view was developed, moreover, via the innovation of a theory that conceptualized, in a novel manner, the universe as a flow of power (sakti) that was controlled by Siva himself. And while many of the unique hiloso hical an theological contributions of the Śiva ṛṣṭi did not find their way into the long tradition of Kashmiri tantric philosophy subsequent to and based on Somananda's work, the text and its author indisputably served to inspire a long tradition of tantric non-dualism, one that proved to have a pan-Indian appeal and influence that extends from the Kashmir Valley of the tenth century to contemporary times.

About This Book

Despite the significance of the Śiva ṛṣṭi in the history of Saiva post-scriptural writing, the text, as well as its author, remains something of an enigma, as the Śiva ṛṣṭi has in the main found itself neglected by detailed study. In particular, no complete and unbroken translation of the work exists, despite the publication of an edition of the work in the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies (KSTS) some three-quarters of a century ago, in 1934. One suspects that the reasons for this neglect are various, and stem in part from the fact that the Pratyabhijna captured the attention of modern scholarship first in the form of the study of Abhinavagupta, whose exegetical and philosophical writings gained notoriety both for their synthetic and encyclopedic brilliance, but also because the author was well known for his writings on aesthetics, through which not just a few scholars gained awareness of the tantric philosophical and yogic writings in question.

It may also be traced to the fact that the svarapratabhjnakárikas (IPK), a work of Somananda's immediate disciple Utpaladeva, coupled with that author's pair of auto-commentaries, the isvarapratyabhijnakarikavrtti (IPVr) and the Is^arapratyabhijna-tika or -vivrti ('PT), essentially su lante the hiloso hy of the Śiva ṛṣṭi and gained acceptance as the normative expression of Pratyabhijñá philosophy from a relatively early date.

Finally, the scholarly accounts of the Pratyabhijna available in the secondary literature—and the aucity of writing e icate to the stu y of the Śivadṛṣṭi —mirror a practice found in the writings of the historical authors of the Pratyabhijña : the references to Somananda in the literature are severely limite an conce tually circumscribe , for the Śiva ṛṣṭi is quoted in a relatively sparing, decidedly selective and, when it comes to making philosophical arguments, superficial manner. Somananda's magnum opus, then, holds a curious place in the history of post-scriptural thought. As the first work of the ratyabhijna, the Śiva ṛṣṭi may be identified as the root text of an influential and important philosophical tradition. Yet the work is poorly understood and rarely read by contemporary scholars or students of Hindu tantrism, just as it was quickly passed over in preference to the IPK in the history of the tradition itself.

More than the mere rivilege of chronological rimacy istinguishes the Śiva ṛṣṭi i for sustained analysis, however, as its mere status as the original work of the Pratyabhijna hardly suffices fully to justify its study. And the present volume is neither directed nor justified by any wish to discover the "original" or "true" form of Pratyabhijna philosophy. Rather, the present book is shaped by the following air of rinci les. First, a close stu y of the Śiva ṛṣṭi can shed light on a single moment in the intellectual history of Kashmir. Written at the turn of the tenth century, the Śiva ṛṣṭi was a pioneering work of non-dual tantric philosophy. It offered a novel philosophical vision, one that differed in important ways from the relatively few post-scriptural tantric works that existed in Somanan a's time. A stu y of the Śiva ṛṣṭi therefore helps to illuminate a formative moment in the development of tantric thought in Kashmir.

Secon , a thoroughgoing stu y of the Śiva ṛṣṭi, when read next to the other, subsequent writings in the history of the Pratyabhijña , will aid our understanding of how the tradition developed and changed over time. A comparison of the writings of the various authors of the Pratyabhijña reveals the fact that these authors each made unique philosophical contributions, even if all the authors of the Pratyabhijña subscribed to a common set of essential tenets and a shared spirit of the tradition. Attention to such diachronic developments in ^ratyabhijna thought will therefore help us to understand how this school of thought incorporated the individual perspectives of the particular authors who re resente it. In other wor s, a close rea ing of the Śiva ṛṣṭi gives important insight into the development of a tradition that self-consciously understood its authors to furnish historically situated treatises on the nature of the world of transmigration and the path to spiritual liberation.

Based on this pair of guiding principles, the present work looks in two directions. It looks, first, to the contemporaneous traditions of tantric post-scriptural writings in order to understand the intellectual context in which Somananda wrote, thereby allowing one to identify the particular contributions the author made to the history of tantric post-scriptural writing. And, second, it looks to the writings of Somananda's disciple, Utpaladeva—not only to his commentary on the Šivad^^^i, the Sivadrstivrtti (SDVr), a.k.a. the Padasañgati, but also to his IPK and IPVr—to begin to chart the ways in which the ideas presented in the Si^^drsti were taken up by the later Pratyabhijna authors.

The particular challenges associated with such a study are various, though they are not unique to the study of Saiva post-scriptural materials. First, the usual problems associated with textual transmission occur, and these must be solved by an examination of manuscript sources. Although the published KSTS e ition of the Śiva ṛṣṭi offers a solid foundation on which to build one's understanding of Somananda's masterwork, we have examined six additional manuscripts that were not consulted for that edition. In doing so, numerous divergences between the readings of these manuscripts and the KSTS edition became readily evident. More important, some of these variants have helped to solve textual riddles in the published edition, where occasional passages appear in a nearly incomprehensible form, in unidiomatic Sanskrit, or merely in awkward grammatical constructions. For the readings of the six manuscripts may sometimes be shown to be more complete or more accurate than the ones found in the KSTS edition. (We regularly note all the readings of all the manuscripts and of the KSTS edition, however, so that those who read Sanskrit can come to their own conclusions regarding what Somananda might have written.) This is to say that to access Somananda's thought requires us to pay attention to the manuscripts that have transmitted his Śiva ṛṣṭi to us over time. A second challenge relates to the manner in which Somananda's thought has been un erstoo an inter rete in the secon ary literature. Sim ly, the Śiva ṛṣṭi has regularly been read through the lens of the IPK and its commentaries, because of which a nearly perfectly synchronic presentation of Pratyabhijna thought has dominated our understanding of the school's hiloso hy to ate. Thus, for exam le, Gnoli suggeste that "the octrine set out in the Śiva ṛṣṭi

does not differ from the theories established by Utpaladeva in his [isvarapratyabhijna-]káriktis," a statement that has essentially remained unchallenged in the more than five decades since it was made. This is so despite the fact that it is true only with regard to the spirit of the authors' works and not with regard to Somananda's and Utpaladeva's individual formulations of Pratyabhijna philosophy.

In an effort judiciously to disaggregate our understanding of Somananda's Pratyabhijña from that of his more renowned disciple, the present work therefore includes an unbroken translation of the accompanying passages of Utpaladeva's SDVr, none of which have been translated into any European or Indian language prior to the present rendering. It also includes a critical analysis of the similarities and differences between the writings of the two authors, the latter spoken of primarily in terms of Somananda's unique contributions. The full history of the development of the Pratyabhijña remains to be written, however, for although extensive reference is made to the IPK and IPVr in the present analysis of the differences between the writings of Utpaladeva and Somnanda, the ways in which and degree to which Abhinavagupta and those who follow him in the lineage of the Pratyabhijña adopt the ideas of one or the other of the two authors remains something of an open question, one that demands a full-length study.

Finally, a thir challenge to un erstan ing the Śiva ṛṣṭi sti and its place in Indian intellectual history arises from the very nature of the work itself. ^ famously difficult text, the Si^adrsti taxes the knowledge of its readers by addressing a wide range of topics and opposing schools of thought. The lack, moreover, of any extant commentary after the middle of the fourth chapter (of seven) of the work renders the task of interpreting these passages rather more challenging than it might have been. To address every issue of concern to Somananda, then, would require one to treat a range of issues associated with the gamut of philosophical and tantric schools extant in Somananda's day, all through the medium of that author's complex, terse, and relatively inaccessible verse.

Given the diversity of themes and opposing schools with which Somananda deals, I have chosen to treat the matters at hand serially rather than simultaneously. The editorial decision here employed is one of identifying and selecting the peculiarly tantric expressions of the Si^^drsti, and in so doing treating the particular arguments that Somananda directed toward his tantric interlocutors. These are found primarily in the first three chapters of the work, all of which are offered herein in an unbroken, annotated translation, along with (as already mentioned) an unbroken translation of the corresponding portions of the SDVr. Now, although the materials found in the subsequent three chapters of the text are in many ways related to those of the first three—they answer a series of concerns mentioned or implied in the first part of the text—they also address a set of issues that bring Somananda into substantial contact with the philosophical writings of various mainstream, as opposed to tantric, philosophical schools, notably the philosophy of the Buddhist Vijñanavadins and the Buddhist epistemologist Dharmakirti in particular. The seventh and last chapter, in turn, deals with tantric religious practices, and it will be discussed in some detail in what follows. The reader should therefore understand the present volume to constitute the first installment of a larger project—namely, the ro uction of a com lete e ition an annotate translation of the Śiva ṛṣṭi in seven chapters, along with all of the extant passages of the SDVr.

In the course of examining Somananda's interaction with his tantric interlocutors, I address three issues in the remainder of the present Introduction. First, I examine the substance of the arguments of the Śiva ṛṣṭi, and in doing so I demonstrate the ways in which the Si^adrsti articulates a monism that is strictly pantheistic. Somananda repeatedly shows himself to be emphatically opposed to the conception of any difference whatsoever between Siva and the universe he creates, so much so that he repeatedly argues that any and every entity found in the world is fully equal to Siva himself. Central to this notion is Somananda's striking and sweeping theory that Siva's power of will (iccha)

precedes and shapes all cognitions and actions, be they those of humans or other beings who are subjected to the rounds of transmigration and rebirth, of the various apparently inanimate objects and entities that populate the universe, down to the mundane pot, or even of Siva himself.

Second, I detail Somananda's interaction with the various tantric schools, texts, and authors of his day, including the dualist Saiva Siddhantins, the Spanda School, the Krama, and the Trika. (I also discuss in passing the two mainstream philosophical schools with which one must be familiar in or er fully to un erstan the selections of the Śiva ṛṣṭi and SDVr here offered, those of the Buddhist Vijñanavadins and the Buddhist epistemologist DharmakIrti in particular, and the Hindu grammarians as represented by the writings of Bhartrhari.) Such a study is indispensable to understanding Somananda's text, for while it has been known for some time that the Śivad^^^i shows itself to be close, in particular, to the Trika, as well as the Krama, the full contours of these interactions have yet to be mapped. This lacuna in the scholarly literature may be seen most notably with the influence of the Trika Vnabhairvaa (V h) on the Śiva ṛṣṭi, an influence felt most palpably in the seventh chapter, but also throughout the text, which often echoes the VBh in articulating its pantheism. I also include a summary examination of the Trika and other technical terminology found in the Śiva ṛṣṭi, this as an accom animent to an analysis of the ifferences between the Śiva ṛṣṭi, on the one hand, and the IPK, IPVr, and SDVr of Somananda's disciple and commentator, Utpaladeva, on the other.

The latter's monism differs in significant ways from that of his teacher. In particular, I argue that the monism of the IPK and IPVr involves a panentheism that recognizes the identity of Siva with the universe he creates, but at the same time reserves a transcendent place for the creator god. For, contra Somanan a's antheistic Śiva ṛṣṭi, Utpaladeva allows for a form of Siva that in some sense stands simultaneously apart from the universe he creates. Along the way Utpaladeva also marginalizes Somananda's concept of divine will, a philosophical tenet that, although it is a hallmark of the Si^adrsti, is essentially erased from the IPK and IPVr.

Third, I will argue that the Si^adrsti was directed toward an audience of insiders, as opposed to the wider learned community to which the IPK and IPVr are directed, just as Somananda's interlocutors are themselves primarily, though not exclusively, his fellow tantrikas and the tantric scriptures with which they engage. Most important, in this regard, are the extended and vociferous arguments Somananda puts forward to oppose the philosophy of the grammarians in the second chapter of the D. These famous arguments have perplexed modern scholars, who could not understand why Somananda would attack a school and an author so readily embraced by his immediate disciple, Utpaladeva. I will show that Somdnanda's arguments against Bhartrhari's Vakyapadiya (VP) and the commentary on the first chapter (kanda) of that work, the Vakapadiyavitti (VPVr), are linked to his repudiation of a Sakta tantric school that invoked the grammarians to justify the view that the goddess, and not Siva, is supreme.

The remainder of the Introduction to the Translation is divided into four parts. In the first part (sections 3 and 4), I survey Somdnanda's writings and discuss his biography. Following this is a detailed study of Somananda's philosophical vision and a comparison of it with Utpaladeva's Pratyabhijña (sections 5, 6, 7, and 8). Included in this part is an examination of the differences between the writings of Somananda and Utpaladeva, which is divided into two subsections. The first subsection maps the ways in which Utpaladeva's IPK and IPVr diverge from the D. The second subsection examines the ivergences between the Śiva ṛṣṭi and the SDVr, which are characterized primarily by a difference in terminology: Utpaladeva borrows substantially in his SDVr not only from the nomenclature of the Hindu grammarians but also from that of the Buddhist idealists and the Buddhist epistemologist Dharmakirti in particular, while Somananda's Śivad^^^i does not. Also included is the aforementioned study of the use of Trika and other technical terminology by

Somananda and Utpaladeva, followed by a detailed examination of the influence of the VBh on Somananda's work.

Next, I examine Somananda's interaction with contemporaneous tantric schools in sections 9-14. In section 9, I identify the various tantric post-scriptural schools that existed in Kashmir in S^mananda's day and consider the degree to which these traditions were developed at this early moment in the history of the production of tantric post-scriptural works. This is followed by five sections, each dealing with one of the various tantric or philosophical schools with which Somananda engaged: the Spanda, the Krama, the Saiva Siddhanta, the Grammarians, and the goddess-centered Sakta school. After a concluding section (section 15), a fourth and final part of the Introduction describes the manuscri ts consulte for the critical e ition of the Śiva ṛṣṭi and SDVr (section 16); explains the relationship of the manuscripts and the editorial process I used in developing the critical edition (section 17); and describes the various problems encountered and strategies used in crafting the translation (section 18).

Finally, a word should here be said about the various ways in which the reader may wish to engage the present volume. If it is true that this book addresses a number of issues in the study of tantric post-scriptural writing and employs a number of methods to access the materials in question—inclu ing the ro uction of a critical e ition of the relevant assages of the Śiva ṛṣṭi and SDVr, an annotated translation of the same, and a critical study of the ideas represented in the text and commentary—it is similarly true that each reader will approach the work with his or her peculiar interests and concerns. The nonspecialist reader should know that this volume is constructed in a manner that is meant to meet his or her needs and interests. The translation, as will be discussed in more detail below (section 18), is written so as to appeal to the general reader, and many of the notes to the text are included further to explain the ideas espoused by Somananda and his commentator.

The scholar of Sanskrit may wish frequently to consult the critical edition of the work while reading the translation, as he or she will likely wish to take in the textual and historical arguments and references made in the present Introduction and in the various notes to the translation. The nonspecialist reader may wish instead merely to glance at the portions of the Introduction relevant to his or her interests—such as those that deal with Somananda's philosophical ideas, for instance—and, perhaps, focus attention on the translations included herein. It is therefore my hope and intention that the nonspecialist reader will be able to make use of the translations without being distracted by the rather more technical textual and historical arguments and notes found in this volume, while, simultaneously, the Sanskritist and the scholar of premodern South Asian religions alike will find all the relevant historical and textual detail herein sufficiently and properly to locate the Śiva ṛṣṭi and its author in the history of tantric Saivism and in the wider history of premodern Indian religions. <>

THE UBIQUITOUS SIVA VOLUME II: SOMANANDA'S SIVADRSTI AND HIS PHILOSOPHICAL INTERLOCUTORS

edited and translated by John Nemec [AAR Religion in Translation, Oxford University Press, 9780197566725]

This is a sequel to a volume published in 2011 by OUP under the title *The Ubiquitous Śiva: Somānanda's Śivadṛṣṭi and his Tantric Interlocutors*. The first volume offered an introduction, critical e ition, an annotate translation of the first three cha ters of the Śiva ṛṣṭi of Somānanda, along with its principal commentary, the *Śivadṛṣṭivṛtti*, written by Ut ala eva. It ealt rimarily with Śaiva

theology and the religious views of competing esoteric traditions. The present volume presents the fourth chapter of the *Śivadṛṣṭi* and *Śivadṛṣṭivṛtti* and addresses a fresh set of issues that engage a distinct family of opposing schools and authors of mainstream Indian philosophical traditions.

In this fourth chapter, Somānanda and Utpaladeva engage logical and philosophical works that exerted tremendous influence in the Indian subcontinent in its premodernity. Among the authors and schools addressed by Somānanda in this chapter are the Buddhist Epistemologists, and Dharmakīrti in particular; the Hindu school of hermeneutics, i.e., the Mīmāṃsā; the Hindu realist schools of the logic- and debate-oriented Nyāya and their ontologically-oriented partners, the Vaiśeṣika; and the Hindu, dualist Sāṃkhya and Yoga schools.

Throughout this chapter, Somānanda endeavors to explain his brand of Śaivism philosophically. Somānanda challenges his philosophical interlocutors with a single over-arching argument: he suggests that their views cannot cohere—they cannot be explained logically—unless their authors accept the Śaiva non-duality for which he advocates. The argument he offers, despite its historical influence, remains virtually unstudied. *The Ubiquitous Śiva Volume II* offers the first English translation of Chapter Four of the *Śivadṛṣṭi* and *Śivadṛṣṭivṛtti* along with an introduction and critical edition.

CONTENTS

The present volume offers a critical edition and annotated translation of the fourth chapter, or ahnika, of the Śiva ṛṣṭi (SD) of Somananda (fl. ca. 900950), along with the extant passages of the commentary thereon of his immediate disciple, Utpaladeva (fl. ca. 925-975), the Sivadrstivrtti (SDVr). This is, of course, a sequel volume. Its predecessor, published with OUP in 2011, included a critical edition and translation of the first three chapters of the D and SDVr, along with an analytical introduction discussing Somananda's biography, his lineage, the Pratyabhijña ("Recognition") school of philosophical thought that he founded, and the intellectual and cultural milieu of the Kashmir Valley in which he lived and wrote. Relying on the contextual information elaborated in the first, the resent volume more narrowly examines only the relevant assages of the Śiva ṛṣṭi and SDVr. In doing so it stands witness to a fundamental change of focus in Somananda's magnum opus: the first chapters of the Si^adrsti, while they offered a precis of his theological views (chapter one), were substantially comprised of the author's critiques of competing schools of thought, including a proximate, esoteric Saiva school—that of the goddess-centered Saktas (chapter three)—and the philosophy of the linguistic monism of the Grammarian Bhartrhari that influenced it, which Somananda famously and thoroughly attacked in Šivad^^^i chapter two.

The fourth ahnika offers a self-conscious shift in the focus of the Śiva ṛṣṭi in two senses. First, Sománanda here turns his attention away from the milieu of Saiva esoteric traditions—his "tantric interlocutors," as they were labeled in the first volume—in order directly to engage selected mainstream schools of Hindu and Buddhist philosophy. Second, as Utpaladeva indicates in his commentary on Śiva ṛṣṭi 4.1-2ab, Somananda also shifts his mode of discourse from one of identifying the shortcomings in others' positions and anticipating opponents' criticisms of his own to

one primarily of developing constructive arguments meant to illustrate positively (vidhimukhena) the logical necessity of his settled opinion (siddhanta) that everything is of the nature of Siva.

These "positive" arguments regularly come in the form of interrogating the philosophical positions of others, with Somananda arguing that a proper understanding thereof proves the logical necessity of his own. That is, Somananda argues implicitly and explicitly that his opponents cannot formulate their own philosophical positions unless they implicitly accept his Sai^a ontology of unity in doing so. Four philosophical schools are engaged extensively, each well established in the subcontinent in its premodernity and well-known outside tantric circles of practice and thought. These include: Buddhist Epistemology and the writings of Dharmakirti in particular, and the Sankhya, Nyaya-Vaisesika, and Mimamsa schools of Hindu philosophy. In what follows, I summarily review Somananda's engagements with each, after first identifying what I argue he presents formally as his settled opinion or siddhanta.

Somananda's Siddhanta

The view for which Somananda advocates herein is fundamentally an ontological one? And his proposition, that all things in the universe are in their very nature identical with the one and unitary Siva, who exists in the form of consciousness, is presented on the order of a formal syllogism that is structured as follows.

1. All phenomena in the world are possessed of Siva-nature,
2. because all phenomena in the world are possessed of causal efficacy.
3. Whatever has causal efficacy exists as a power or capacity that is controlled by an agent what is Siva-nature. This is so in the manner that a king directs those who serve him, for example, or the god of the dualist Saivas deploys the power of illusion (moha) and karmic equanimity respectively to create the world and to grace some among those dwelling within it with liberation.
4. Since all phenomena in the world are, indeed, possessed of causal efficacy, which is the mark of Siva-nature (this inasmuch as the phenomena are identified ontologically with Siva by virtue of being his very powers or Saktis),
5. therefore all phenomena in the world are powers or capacities of one who controls them—Siva—, which is to say they are possessed of Siva-nature.

While neither Somananda nor Utpaladeva explicitly characterize them as such, I propose that the opening passages of the present ahnika communicate all these five standard components of the well-known syllogism of the Nyaya. Thus:

7KH WKHVLV RU SUDWLMQD L H QXiP4.1ab, where DV OLVWHG Somananda says that everything is of the nature of Siva (sarvam sivatmakam)

The reason or hetu (2) is fuQLVKHG LPPHGLDWHOi\4.1cd, where ZLQJ DW LYD Somananda says that nothing found in the world is "incapable" or asakti, and only a real thing (vastu) could be sakta.

7KH H[DPSOH RU XGDKDUDQi4.4, where LV Somananda says that all LYDG things, although capable of producing their own effects, are dependent for their efficacy on the one who deploys them toward some end, like a king who directs those who serve him or like Isvara, according to the Saiva Siddhanta, deploys powers to create the universe and liberate bound souls. Somananda also further elaborates his understanding of the particular relationship of a capacity for causal efficacy to the agent who controls it, after he identifies WKH KHWX DQG SULRU WR Wi4.1d-3. We shall return to this key DW LYD passage momentarily.

The "a lication" or u anaya (4) is roffere at Śiva ṛṣṭi 4.5: Somananda there states that Siva alone, who is absolutely one—unique—engages in various ways with his powers or capacities, which are by their very natures the many (capable) entities in the universe; and he does so, Somananda suggests, because he is uniquely and fully identified with those powers or capacities.

Finally, the conclusion or nigamana (5) is state at Śiva ṛṣṭi 4.6-7ab: all entities in the world are existent inasmuch as all entities are capable, and as such they are real in the ultimate

illustrate the logical necessity of the existence of Somananda's own ontological (and epistemological) non-dualism, as we have repeatedly seen.

Now, much remains to be deciphered and explained in the succeeding three chapters of Somanan a's masterwork. An yet, a clearer syno tic vision of the Śiva ṛṣṭi in its overarching structure is more readily evident from our present vantage point, past the half-way point in the text and beyond the boundary where all commentarial works are lost to us. What we see is a book that opens and closes with particular sectarian concerns, the first ahnika outlining Somananda's theological vision in clearly Saiva terms, the last ahnika articulating the manner of practice that his philosophical vision demands. Between these bookends are a series of áhnikas that deal with opponents' philosophical views.

Here, something of the trajectory of the philosophical concerns in the text becomes evident. Central to Somananda's philosophical project is the notion that proof of the supremacy of his settled opinion (siddhanta) is found in a proper analysis of the appearance of multiple entities in the universe. Such entities are real on Somananda's view, to be sure; he never countenances their unreality. Indeed, his insistence on the real existence of the world as it is experienced in quotidian life not only explains his apparent sympathy for his Mimamsaka counterparts but also justifies, on his view, his entire philosophical project: it is only Saiva non-dualism that can account logically for the existence of the apparently multiple universe experienced in quotidian life. The warrant of the syllogism he offers at the opening of the ahnika, in other words, stands as the philosophical bedrock of his thought. Explain everyday reality in a manner that conforms to mundane experience, he intimates, or hang up your philosophical spurs.

This direction leads Somananda to examine in detail the world of phenomena as powers. It explains, that is, his concern with the philosophy of the Saktas, as is in evidence in the third ahnika, so too his detailed critique of Bhartrhari in the second, he also being one who concerned himself with powers. It likewise explains his engagement with Buddhist epistemology as seen in the present ahnika (and elsewhere in the text, as well). In each case, Somananda ponders how one might explain the mutual interaction of disparate forces—phenomena—in the universe, such that they may, indeed, be said to be real and, as important, to cohere as a (dynamic) system; he is intensely concerned, that is, with the explanation of the existence of multiple capable (sakta) entities that can perform various and varied activities, and yet can also stand in mutual relation, such that one does not unduly impinge on another's innate capacities. As we have seen, for Somananda such a model demands the existence not only of a coherent whole, a system or order, but also one that must culminate in the unitary presence of a single controlling agent who exists as the powers or capacities.

The Saktas could not account for such coherence, he argued, because they failed to countenance the existence of a supreme agent who would direct and order the powers and thus justify their mutual co-presence in the universe. Neither could Bhartrhari explain the same, Somananda argued, for while Bhartrhari acknowledged the existence of a supreme agent pasyanti—it was one, on Somananda's view, conceived in a manner that failed fully to embrace unity, pasyanti standing instead only at the ontological level of a subtle subject-object duality and thus unable fully to countenance the existence of a single, supreme agency that could coordinate and direct and embody the empowered entities. Finally, Somananda argues, implicitly at least, that the Buddhist Epistemologists cannot explain the co-presence of multiple forces or powers, because they fail to conceive of any manner by which they may logically be understood to interact systematically, as a complex whole. This failure, moreover, is rooted in an inability to understand the true power of all phenomena, viz., to make themselves known to a unitary agent who is identified with and cognizes them.

Now, Somananda's concern for logically proving the existence of a unity in—or, rather, existing as—the many is in further evi ence in the ahnikas of the Śiva ṛṣṭi subsequent to the present one, as

mentioned. And yet, to reiterate, much work remains to be completed in the effort to interpret these later chapters, what amounts, as it did in the present chapter (particularly after the commentary is lost), to a project of recovery that is grounded in a painstaking semantic decipherment of Somananda's terse and telegraphic verses. With the edition and translation of the resent ahnika, then, only a art of the roject of un erstan ing the Śiva ṛṣṭi in its full range of meaning has come to fruition, just as it can only be with a final engagement with Somananda's Śiva ṛṣṭi that the total reach of his thought might be fully appreciated.

At present, however, one may already note what was not evident prior to the present study, namely that Somananda was rather more intensely interested in the philosophy of Buddhist epistemology than was previously known. Indeed, DharmakIrti absolutely pervades the fourth chapter of the Śiva ṛṣṭi and SDVr, looming as his thought does in nearly every corner of the ahnika, even in Somananda's treatment of Sañkhya and Mimamsaka philosophical formulations. More than this, Somananda engages Dharmakirti's philosophy in a manner that prefigures Utpaladeva's (more celebrated) treatment of the same. His understanding of memory and "recognition" pratyabhijna), for example (and as we have seen), anticipates, in its essential contours, at least, Utpaladeva's very dispute with the same Buddhist school. Even if Somananda fronts theological vocabulary and concerns in the Śiva ṛṣṭi precisely the opposite tack as the one in evidence in the IPA, moreover, it is nevertheless the case that a ee er un erstan ing of the mi le an late cha ters of the Śiva ṛṣṭi (perhaps minus the seventh, which, as noted, largely examines Saiva practice) illustrates a degree of consistency in Pratyabhijña thought that has not yet been noted or adequately appreciated, inasmuch as all the major authors of the tradition held Buddhist Epistemology close in mind and developed sometimes surprisingly consistent arguments against the same.

This is to say that the fourth ahnika sheds further light on precisely what was anticipated (perhaps uncontroversially) in the first volume of **THE UBIQUITOUS SIVA**, namely, that it is to Bhartrhari, and the Buddhists that much intellectual debt is owed in the history of Saiva philosophy in Kashmir. Indeed, it is in the context of explaining the existence of a world of multiple capable entities and with his insistence on the logical necessity of the existence of a single, unitary, and ultimate agent Siva, precisely the one who is promoted in Saiva sectarian and esoteric works—that he engages these authors an their i eas, an those who follow them in their thinking. Sim ly ut, the Śiva ṛṣṭi offers a thoroughly complex instance of Hindu-Buddhist debate, one registering and critiquing the views of a range of esoteric and "orthodox" philosophical and sectarian traditions along the way.

It is increasingly clear that, however challenging it is to read and interpret, Somananda's magnum opus must be counted among the landmark works in the history of Indian philosophy. For the SD not only offers an important window into the intellectual history of the Valley of Kashmir around the turn of the second millennium, but—and we are now in a position to say so more clearly than ever before—it also boasts of a clear and substantial legacy one often found in the writings of Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta, which owe more to Somananda's intellectual project than was previously known. As abstrusely as Somananda's philosophical contributions might present themselves to contemporary scholars of Indian religion and philosophy, then (appearing as they do largely in the sections of the Śiva ṛṣṭi for which no commentaries remain extant), and even while their full scope remains yet to be recovered, the fact that their influence was and is felt across Indian intellectual history signals they merit a fuller integration into the scholarly account of the history of Saiva—and Kashmiri, and Indian—intellectual history. One hopes the present contribution will serve to further that very endeavor. <>

SABDA READER: LANGUAGE IN CLASSICAL INDIAN THOUGHT translated and edited by Johannes Bronkhorst [Historical Sourcebooks in Classical Indian Thought, Columbia University Press, 9780231189408]

The Historical Sourcebooks in Classical Indian Thought series provides text-based introductions to the most important forms of classical Indian thought, from epistemology, rhetoric, and hermeneutics to astral science, yoga, and medicine. Each volume offers fresh translations of key works, headnotes that orient the reader to the selections, a comprehensive introduction analyzing the major lines of development of the discipline, and exegetical and text-critical endnotes as well as extensive bibliography. A unique feature, the reconstruction of the principal intellectual debates in the given discipline, clarifies the arguments and captures the dynamism that marked classical thought. Designed to be fully accessible to comparativists and interested general readers, the Historical Sourcebooks also offer authoritative commentary for advanced students and scholars.

Language (*śabda*) occupied a central yet often unacknowledged place in classical Indian philosophical thought. Foundational thinkers considered topics such as the nature of language, its relationship to reality, the nature and existence of linguistic units and their capacity to convey meaning, and the role of language in the interpretation of sacred writings. The first reader on language in—and the language of—classical Indian philosophy, *A Śabda Reader* offers a comprehensive and pedagogically valuable treatment of this topic and its importance to Indian philosophical thought.

A ŚABDA READER brings together newly translated passages by authors from a variety of traditions—Brahmin, Buddhist, Jaina—representing a number of schools of thought. It illuminates issues such as how Brahmanical thinkers understood the Veda and conceived of Sanskrit; how Buddhist thinkers came to assign importance to language's link to phenomenal reality; how Jains saw language as strictly material; the possibility of self-contradictory sentences; and how words affect thought. Throughout, the volume shows that linguistic presuppositions and implicit notions about language often play as significant a role as explicit ideas and formal theories. Including an introduction that places the texts and ideas in their historical and cultural context, **A ŚABDA READER** sheds light on a crucial aspect of classical Indian thought and in so doing deepens our understanding of the philosophy of language.

Review

Johannes Bronkhorst is a master of the field of Indian theories of language, and he brings his lifelong expertise to provide comprehensive coverage and lucid access to scientific thinking about language from Sanskrit classics including traditions of Sanskrit grammarians, Buddhist and Jain philosophers, Yoga, Vedānta, Mīmāṃsā, Hindu logicians, and Sanskrit poetics. *A Śabda Reader* is going to become essential reading for anyone interested in Indian theories of language. -- Madhav M. Deshpande, author of *The Meaning of Nouns: Semantic Theory in Classical and Medieval India*

A Śabda Reader provides a comprehensive survey of what arguably was the world's richest speculation on language and its nature. It was a direct exposure to this tradition in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that prompted the emergence of modern linguistics. Part I presents an overview of a wide spectrum of topics, whereas Part II lets the Indian mind speak for itself: it offers a comprehensive selection of passages translated from their originals. The lucid nature of the exposition makes the contents easily accessible to nonspecialists and highly informative to specialists trained in South Asian languages. -- Piotr Balcerowicz, author of *Early Asceticism in India: Ājīvikism and Jainism*

Never before has Indian philosophy of language been made accessible in such comprehensive, penetrating, and masterly fashion. Containing an original selection and careful translation of passages from around fifty different texts in Sanskrit, Vedic, and Pali, *A Śabda Reader* is an indispensable guide and sourcebook for students and scholars of India's long, rich, and dynamic intellectual history. -- Jan E.M. Houben, Professor of Sanskrit at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, PSL Université Paris

When in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa the goddess Vāc ('Language') says to the gods that she will take leave from them in the attempt of rescuing the stolen sacrifice, the gods were upset: 'No, you will not go: how could we do without Vāc?' In no other tradition did speculation on language have such a strong impact on philosophical thought as in premodern India. Both Brahmanical and Buddhist philosophers, in spite of their radically conflicting views on language (a marvelous reality from which we derive ultramundane and mundane knowledge for the former; a highly dangerous and deceptive tool for the latter) brilliantly contributed to its investigation. Exploring the labyrinthine world of Indian linguistic thought, led by the firm hand of Johannes Bronkhorst, means entering Indian philosophy as a whole through the main door. -- Raffaele Torella, author of *The Philosophical Traditions of India: An Appraisal*

A valuable resource for a wide range of readers from non-Indological philosophers of language to Sanskrit specialists. — *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*

CONTENTS

While I was preparing this book, it soon became clear that much of what should be covered by the subtitle Language in Classical Indian Thought does not easily lend itself to presentation in the format of a reader. Too many topics in this area have been understudied and are far from being correctly understood by modern scholarship. The texts are often technical and obscure, and they frequently create more confusion than understanding at a first reading. Even longtime study does not always guarantee a full grasp of these texts.

I try to resolve this difficulty in the following manner. A number of topics that are crucial for an understanding of the historical role of language in Indian thought can only be hinted at in this reader (mainly in the introduction). Some of these have received fuller treatment in my book How the Brahmins Won (Brill 2016; esp. §§ II^.4, III.3-4). Readers who look for fuller documentation are advised to refer to that publication.

In the present volume, the sections of the introduction (part I) correspond by and large to the sections of the reader (part II), in the sense that, for example, section I.1 and II.1 deal, on the whole, with the same or similar topics. This correspondence is not, however, perfect. An example is section I.3, which deals with the grammarian Patañjali, whereas section II.3 presents passages from both Patañjali's work and more recent texts that deal with the same or similar issues.

Readers may further keep in mind that in this volume I have tried to resist the temptation of cherrypicking, i.e., of choosing topics on the basis of their similarity to or relevance for modern language philosophy. On the contrary, I have tried to bring out the importance that language has in Indian thought in many or most of its forms, irrespective of whether the Indian notions might or should interest a modern philosopher.

General Observations About Philosophy in India

The most serious mistake a modern reader can make is to assume that Indian philosophers were just like modern philosophers, the main difference being that they lived many centuries ago, in India, and expressed themselves in different languages, mainly Sanskrit. This would be overlooking the fact that most human activities, including philosophizing, are profoundly embedded in the beliefs, presuppositions, and expectations that characterize the culture and the period in which they take place. The French historian Lucien Febvre used in this connection the expression outillage mental, "mental equipment," different for people living in different ages. Atheism in the modern sense of the term, Febvre points out in his book Le probleme de l'incroyance au XVIe siecle, was simply unthinkable in sixteenth-century Europe: people did not have the mental equipment to conceive of it.

Quite independently of the question whether Febvre's claim is correct in its full generality, this example should discourage us from entering too easily into a discussion with Indian thinkers on our terms. Like the Europeans of the sixteenth century, they had many beliefs, presuppositions, and expectations of which they were perhaps not or only partly aware, and for them too there may have been ideas they could not conceive of. More precisely perhaps, they might have understood those new ideas if someone had presented them, but since this did not happen, the ideas never crossed their minds.

Febvre's observation concerns a belief that seemed essential to thinkers of sixteenth-century Europe: the existence of (a) God. Thinkers of classical India were less convinced that there is only one possible position on this particular issue; many of them felt quite comfortable with the idea of a world without creator God. Among their presuppositions we rather find the deep conviction that language and reality are deeply intertwined. Language is for them rarely, if ever, a marginal philosophical issue. Quite the contrary: more often than not, ideas about language are the very basis of their philosophies. The remainder of this book will illustrate this.

This takes us back to the relation between classical Indian and modern philosophers, and to the rather obvious observation that a discussion with a philosopher who lived many centuries ago is bound to be a one-sided affair. The ancient philosopher may have had all the intelligence needed to come to terms with ideas that a modern philosopher might propose to him, but alas, he is dead. The modern scholar is in a more advantageous position: he can learn to understand the ancient thinkers on their own terms, if only he is open to it and willing to make the effort. This too will be attempted in this book.

Philosophy in India, then, was not carried out by philosophers who had no prior concern with language. Most of the participants were either Brahmans or Buddhists. (The Jainas, who will also figure in this book, played a relatively minor and sometimes intermediary role.) Neither Brahmans nor Buddhists were independent observers where language was concerned. Both approached this field with strong, though different, convictions.

Consider first the Brahmans. In their own self-understanding, these men (women were not expected to recite the Veda) owed their Brahmanical status to the fact that they knew part of the Veda by heart and recited it at appropriate occasions. The Veda is a corpus of texts, portions of which were meant to be recited at ritual occasions. This recitation was, and to some extent still is, believed to contribute to the efficacy of the ritual concerned. In other words, Brahmans believed that they possessed verbal utterances that had an effect in the world. At first sight this is not particularly surprising. All language users utter words and sentences with the expectation that this may have an effect in the world. But for most language users, this effect comes about through the intermediary of those who hear and understand their words and sentences. We can order or request others to do something, or influence others to act and behave in accordance with our wishes by means of other verbal messages.

This was not the way Brahmans believed their sacred formulas affected the world. Sacred formulas, called mantras in the Indian context, were believed to affect the world without the intermediary of other beings, whether human or nonhuman. Mantras work directly, on condition that they are correctly pronounced (in the right circumstances, of course). This efficacy is at least in part due to their language, the one that came to be called Sanskrit, but which early Brahmanical users and thinkers merely considered the correct use of words. Underlying the Brahmans' ritual activity is the conviction that Sanskrit can have a direct effect on the world, because Sanskrit and reality are related in ways other languages (considered "incorrect use of words") are not. Brahmanical myths even explain that the world was created in accordance with the words of the Veda.

The Veda, then, is a corpus of texts containing mantras that have an effect on the world without the intermediary of a hearer. For many Brahmans, the Vedic mantras, and more generally the whole Veda, have no initial speaker either. The Veda has no author, and is therefore pure, self-existent speech. Having no author implies that it has no beginning in time. It is therefore beginningless, eternal speech. Being pure speech, not soiled by the interference of an author (who may conceivably be ill informed, or ill intentioned), the statements and injunctions of the Veda cannot but be reliable, if only we can interpret them objectively. This belief is behind the need felt to develop a method to

find an objective interpretation of the Veda. Reflections about the interpretation of Sanskrit sentences in general did not lag behind, and continued until recent times.

Let us return for a moment to the centrality of Sanskrit in Brahmanical linguistic thought. This belief is so fundamental that it is easily overlooked in modern scholarship. It influenced all Brahmanical thought about language, and about much else. As a matter of fact, languages other than Sanskrit were rarely, if ever, taken into consideration by Brahmanical thinkers. Their linguistic thought concerned a privileged language, from their point of view the only correct one, the only language also that has a natural and intimate link with reality. One exaggerates but little when stating that much of Brahmanical thought is an inquiry into the consequences of this belief.

Unlike Brahmanism, Buddhism did not start out with any identifiable implicit or explicit convictions about language. The message of the Buddha was spread in local languages, being adjusted or translated where necessary. Language did come to play an important role in Buddhist thought, but not until a few centuries after the death of the Buddha, and initially in a region far removed from where he had preached. Gandhára, a region in the northwest of the Indian subcontinent (in present-day Pakistan and Afghanistan), witnessed a thorough rethinking of Buddhist teaching. The philosophy there created saw the world as essentially atomic and momentary in nature, as made up of ultimate momentary constituents called dharmas. To be more precise, these momentary dharmas occur in sequences, in which each succeeding dharma is determined by the immediately preceding one. This is also true of mental processes, which are thought of in the same unilinear fashion. Thinkers went one step further and looked upon these dharmas as the only really existing things. Things made up of dharmas—which includes all things we are acquainted with, such as chariots, houses, etc.—not being dharmas themselves, did not really exist.

So far language plays no role in the philosophical vision elaborated by the Buddhist scholiasts of northwestern India. It does play a role in explaining that we believe we live in a world of chariots, houses, and much else that does not really exist; only dharmas exist. All these ultimately nonexisting "things" are nothing but words. Stated differently, we are tricked by language into thinking that we live in a world populated by objects that do not really exist.

The Buddhist philosophy of northwestern India spread in subsequent centuries all over the subcontinent and beyond, and underwent many developments. However, the conviction that we live in an unreal world, and that this unreal world has a close link with language, remained a characteristic of Buddhist thought.

It follows from the above that Brahmanical and Buddhist thinkers, though starting from altogether different positions and without influencing each other during the early period, arrived at very similar conclusions. Both now believed that there was an intimate link between the world of our experience and language. Both accepted, each in their own way, that our common-sense world has been created by language.

There were important differences, of course. Brahmanical thinkers thought that language was close to the real world; Buddhists thought that it was close to the ultimately unreal, imaginary, world of our experience. Brahmins did not talk about language in general, only about Sanskrit, for them the only real language; Buddhist thinkers did not privilege one language, at least not initially.

Brahmanical and Buddhist thinkers came to interact in subsequent centuries. This led to a refinement of their positions, and sometimes to large-scale borrowing. The Buddhist notion of the unreality of our common-sense world did not initially agree with Brahmanical conceptions of the world. However, roughly from the middle of the first millennium CE onward this notion found favor with at least some Brahmanical thinkers, who adjusted it to their needs. In doing so, they also reserved a

place for language (the Sanskrit language, of course), which had to play a role, here too, to explain our common-sense world.

But Brahmanical thought had already much earlier borrowed a notion of linguistic philosophy from Buddhism. The Buddhist philosophy created in northwestern India had put much emphasis on ontology: what exists and what does not exist? It had come to the conclusion that, apart from dharmas, nothing exists at all. For reasons that can only be conjectured, these Buddhists had not been happy to draw the seemingly inevitable conclusion that words and other linguistic units do not really exist, the way chariots and houses do not really exist. To avoid this, they had introduced three (or perhaps originally two; the earliest sources are not clear) dharmas that stood for linguistic units: speech sounds, words, and sentences. Words and other linguistic units therefore really exist, even in the reductionist ontology of early Buddhist scholasticism. This idea was not without appeal to certain Brahmanical thinkers. In their discussions of words and the like they were confronted with some fundamental questions: If words are no more than successions of sounds that do not coexist simultaneously, then whole words do not exist. Similar considerations apply to speech sounds and sentences. A number of Brahmanical thinkers adopted the Buddhist solution by postulating that beside the sequence of succeeding speech sounds there was another existing entity, the word. In this way Brahmanism came into the possession of what they called the sphota, probably the bestknown notion from grammatical philosophy. <>

VEDIC COSMOLOGY AND ETHICS: SELECTED STUDIES

by Henk Bodewitz, edited by Dory Heilijgers, Jan Houben, Karel van Kooij [Gonda Indological Studies, Brill, 9789004398641]

How did 'Vedic man' think about the destiny of man after death and related ethical issues? That heaven was the abode of the gods was undisputed, but was it also accessible to man in his pursuit of immortality? Was there a realm of the deceased or a hell? What terms were used to indicate these 'yonder worlds'? What is their location in the cosmos and which cosmographic classifications are at the root of these concepts? The articles by Henk Bodewitz collected in this volume, published over a period of 45 years, between 1969 and 2013, deal with these issues on the basis of a systematic philological study of early Vedic texts, from the Ṛgveda to various Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇykas and Upaniṣads.

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The present book contains a collection of articles by Henk Bodewitz concerning Vedic thinking about the destiny of man after death and related ethical issues. That heaven was the abode of the gods was undisputed, but was it also accessible to man in his pursuit of immortality? Was there a realm of the deceased or a hell? What terms were used to indicate these yonder worlds? What is their location in the cosmos and which cosmographic classifications are at the root of these concepts? Which paths lead to the hereafter and what is here the function of Vedic ritual in competition with knowledge? Who is qualified for which world? What ideas underlie the doctrine of

karman, rebirth, and salvation? And to what extent do certain ideas originate in circles different from those of the Brahmin priests? These and other questions have challenged Bodewitz to a critical study and an in-depth investigation of Vedic texts, from the oldest to the younger ones, and to present what the texts are saying irrespective of large theoretical issues that have been formulated about the topic.

Ethical aspects became the main subject of his more recent studies. In the opening sentence of his article "The Vedic concepts agas and énas" (2006b, ch. 21 in this volume), we read: "Some years ago I planned to write a monograph on virtues and vices, merits and demerits, and good karman and sins in the Veda, but soon discovered that several preliminary studies would be required." He had already written two articles on merits and demerits in the early 1990s, and four more were to follow including the article just mentioned.

In appreciation of Henk Bodewitz's work, we decided to realize his original plan to write a monograph on vices and merits in the Veda, and to extend it to his earlier research on how Vedic texts represent and refer to "yonder world" with its two extremes, "heaven" and "hell," as these may—

The next problem raised by O'Flaherty's colleagues was the question of "Abstract Theory versus Historical Explanation". After lengthy discus sions they decided to follow both approaches. Again a very pragmatic solution. However, O'Flaherty's survey of the discussions on "The Historical Origins of the Karma Theory" (6 pages) shows that a solution of the problem was hardly reached.

The historical origins were only treated in the first conference. O'Flaherty concludes her survey of the divergent views with the resigned statement: "Rather than looking for one central 'source' which was then embroidered by 'secondary influences' like a river fed by tributary streams, it would be better to picture the intellectual fountainhead of ancient India as a watershed consisting of many streams—each one an incalculably archaic source of contributing doctrines—Vedic, Ãjïvaka [i.e. materialistic], Jaina, Dravidian, and tribal" (. This metaphor actually amounts to the conclusion: "God may know what is the origin."

Then Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty instigated the American Herman W. Tull to publish his thesis of 1985 in 1989 in a series edited by her, under the title The Vedic Origins of Karma. After reading this book my conclusion was that more than a century after Whitney's statement the problems still were not satisfactorily solved.

I will not waste time with theoretical definitions. Rebirth or transmigration (Sanskrit sari^sãra) belongs together with karman (the deeds which cause this rebirth and determine its nature) and with mok^a (the release from the cycle of rebirths) to one complex of concepts which mostly are studied together. So I cannot confine myself to the origin of rebirth as an isolated phenomenon.

The origin and background of this complex have raised several questions. It will be clear that I cannot answer all of them. Was the doctrine of karman originally a theory of causality which explained how every action has results? Did it function as a theodicy, an explanation of the evil in this world? Why did pessimism about life on earth arise, whereas originally the Vedic Indians liked this life? And above all: how did one arrive at the idea that man would return on earth? Many Indologists have regarded the repeated return of sun and moon as the basis of rebirth. However, this phenomenon is too universal. The typically Indian concept of cyclic time and of cyclic mundane periods (the yugas) is later than the doctrine of rebirth and therefore cannot serve as its starting point.

What have been the opinions of Indologists during the last thirty-five years?

In Gonda's handbook (1960, 207) we find an incoherent enumeration of possible origins, introduced with the statement "Über die Ursprünge dieser für die ganze Folgezeit äußerst wichtigen Lehre lassen sich nur Mutmaßungen äußern" and concluded with "alle diese Faktoren haben zu ihrem Aufkommen und ihrer Verbreitung ohne Zweifel das Ihrige beigetragen. Vermutungen fiber nicht-arischen Ursprung ... sind spekulativ." In the second edition (19782, 207) the formulation of the problem was hardly modified.

In 1980 O'Flaherty, as we have seen, chose a more attractive phrasing of the problem without adding anything new. In the eleven pages of the rather unsatisfactory bibliography some important publications (especially about the origin) are missing, e.g. Paul Horsch (1971).

According to Horsch the doctrine developed out of Vedic thought, i.e. from the ideas of the Aryans who invaded India somewhere in the second millennium BCE.

In the same year 1971 Hyla Stunz Converse obtained her doctorate at Columbia University with a voluminous, but controversial and not completely satisfactory thesis in which everything new, creative and interesting was attributed to non-Aryans, proto-Dravidians and proto-Jains (three

categories which would amount to the same). This thesis was not included in the mentioned bibliography.

Herman Tull, who defended the Vedic origin in 1989, refers to Paul Horsch (who did the same), but is silent on Converse. It is obvious that a real discussion of all the issues is still missing.3 It was a surprise to me to see my guru Gonda quoted in support of the Aryan as well as the non-Aryan origin in the theses of Tull (passim) and Converse. Gonda was rather cautious in his formulation of the problem of change and continuity in Ancient India and in this connection he acknowledged the process of adaptation that continuously took place, but I am sure that his predilection concerned the continuity and the Vedic origin and that he would have tried to prove it, if he had thought it were possible to do so.

Since Horsch quoted almost all the available literature I use his article as a starting point. Horsch was primarily interested in the population and culture which would have developed the theory, rather than in the possible causes of the relevant ideas. He rejected the non-Aryan origins or even influences and thought "daß es sich dennoch um eine echte vedische Entwicklung handelt, deren Stufen bis in alle Einzelheiten eruiert werden können" (1971, 100). The non-Aryan influence would be entirely absent and apparently he equated the non-Aryans with primitive tribals. His observation: "Wo die Seelenwanderung bei den heutigen Primitivvölkern Indiens auftritt, weist sie deutlich

THE LUMINOUS WAY TO THE EAST: TEXTS AND HISTORY OF THE FIRST ENCOUNTER OF CHRISTIANITY WITH CHINA by Matteo Nicolini-Zani [AAR Religion in Translation, Oxford University Press, 9780197609644]

THE LUMINOUS WAY TO THE EAST offers a comprehensive survey of the historical, literary, epigraphic, and archaeological sources of the first stage of the Christian mission to China. It explores the complex and multifaceted process of the interaction with the different cultural and religious milieux that the Church of the East experienced in its diffusion throughout Central Asia and into China during the first millennium.

Matteo Nicolini-Zani provides an overview of the Christian presence in China during the Tang dynasty (618-907) by reconstructing the composition and organization of Christian communities, the geographical location of Christian monasteries, and the related historical events attested by the sources. Through a new and richly annotated English translation of the Chinese Christian texts produced in Tang China, the volume provides a documented look at what was the earliest, and perhaps the most extraordinary, encounter of Christianity with Chinese culture and religions (Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism). It shows how East Syriac Christianity in its eastward expansion along the Silk Road from Persia to China was open to the adoption of other languages and imagery and was able to enculturate the Christian teaching into new cultural and religious forms without losing its identity.

CONTENTS

Finally, I did not think it possible to isolate Tang Christianity in China from the place it originated, with which the Chinese periphery always maintained close ties. The Christian presence in China is in fact the point of arrival of the Church of the East's long process of expansion along the Silk Road from Persia, where it began, throughout Central Asia. For this reason I thought it useful to introduce a further chapter (Chapter 1) in which I briefly describe the extraordinary missionary dynamism of the Church of the East from the Middle to the Far East, presenting the archaeological and literary findings we possess and focusing on how East Syriac Christianity—significantly defined as "a Christianity of mission and cultural mediation"—entered into dialogue with the religious traditions of Manichaeism, Zoroastrianism, and Buddhism encountered on the caravan routes of Central Asia.

This, in short, is the structure of the book, which deliberately does not end with a conclusion. The objective of this work is not to determine whether or not the encounter between Christianity and ancient Chinese culture described and evaluated in the following pages is a model for a truly Chinese Christianity. I hope that scholars in fields such as missiology and intercultural dialogue will find in this introductory study source material for developing new reflections. Their insights will undoubtedly echo the numerous questions that are raised by the dialogue between Christianity and Asian cultures and religions and that today are perhaps being addressed more consciously than they were in the past. I am convinced that the experience of Christians in the Tang period can stimulate contemporary theologians, particularly in China, to formulate a Sino-Christian theology, one that speaks a language that is genuinely Chinese.

Some difficulties may be encountered in reading this book because of references to unfamiliar historical events within which Tang Christianity is located, the frequent use of terms in Asian languages (Syriac, Persian, Sogdian, Chinese, and Sanskrit), the cultural distance of the language used in the documents translated here, or the repeated references within these documents to philosophical and religious traditions which, despite studies that have been done on Chinese Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism, remain relatively unfamiliar in much of the West.

I hope, however, that curiosity, a willingness to listen, and a desire for knowledge and encounter (and therefore of empathy) will enable readers to surmount these difficulties. That same feeling of empathy, after all, was what prompted the Venetian merchants who traveled at the end of the thirteenth century to recognize their Chinese brothers, convinced that they were the heirs of the ancient East Syriac Christian tradition: "Vos estis christiani et nos sumus similiter christiani," said Marco and Maffeo to the Christians of Fuzhou. May this same feeling of empathy also be shared by those who now set out with me along the route of the "Luminous Way in the first millennium.

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The discovery, now almost four hundred years ago, of the bilingual Chinese-Syriac monumental stele caused almost as great a stir in the world of learning at that time as did the discovery of the first Dead Sea scrolls in 1947. In both cases, so astonishing and unexpected were these two finds that at first some scholars refused to believe that the artifacts in question were genuine. Such doubts, however, were soon dispelled, but the newly gained information in both cases demanded a complete rethinking of previous perceptions, whether it was of the development of the Hebrew text of the Bible, or in the case of the Xi'an stele, of the history of the eastern expansion of Christianity. Who would ever have imagined that the year in which Damascus fell to the invading Arab armies was also the year when a group of monks from the Church of the East turned up at the seat of the Tang court? A precise date for this event, "the ninth year of the Zhenguan era," corresponding to 635 CE, is explicitly given in the beautifully inscribed text of the Xi'an stele, itself erected in 781.

With the subsequent discovery of Christian texts in Chinese from the Tang period, and the very recent discovery. of a second stone monument, the Luoyang pillar dating from 815, a considerable amount of information about the presence and character of Chinese Christianity in the Tang period

is now available, and quite a number of presentations of the documents for a wider public have been made. This textual evidence, provided by the two monuments and by a number of literary texts, is, however, no easy task for the historian to evaluate, and many of those who have attempted this have not always been true to the Latin author Tacitus's ideal for the historian that he or she should write sine ira et studio, instead doing so from the viewpoint of some particular Western perspective. This situation makes the appearance of the present English translation of Matteo Nicolini-Zani's La via radiosa per tbriente, in its revised and expanded form, so very welcome. Being a scholar possessing a deep familiarity with both the primary sources and the (now very extensive) secondary literature, Matteo Nicolini-Zani is eminently well placed to provide a reliable and well-balanced introduction to, and translation of, the various materials in Chinese that are available. Furthermore, he has done this in a manner which very successfully caters both for a general readership and for an academic one: the general reader can skip the footnotes, while scholars will be immensely grateful for the richness of, and the wide learning displayed by, this annotation.

In the first half of the book the author has provided an excellent introduction to the wider background of the texts and their place both within the history of the Church of the East and within that of the Tang period. This is followed by a very helpful guide to the texts themselves and to the documents containing them, for some of which the provenance is problematic. Finally come authoritative translations of the Xi'an stele and of five further texts, the last of which is also to be found on the Luoyang pillar. All are provided with helpful annotation, and in many cases this illuminatingly brings out the ways in which Buddhist terminology was borrowed by the authors of the texts.

At a time when China is one of the places in the world where Christianity is expanding, it is particularly important that modern Chinese Christians should become aware of this earlier presence of an eastern— and Sinicized—form of Christianity in their country during the Tang period. For them, and for everyone else, the present book provides a reliable and comprehensive guide both to the texts themselves and to their historical and cultural background. May it be widely read! — Sebastian Brock

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The Content of the Texts

Transmission, translation, transformation? This question raised about the Manichaean texts in Chinese can also serve as an appropriate guideline for evaluating the Sino-Christian texts of the Tang era. Since they are the first theological, spiritual, and liturgical works in Chinese, they have been the object of much attention by historians of Chinese Christianity and by missiologists.

Scholars interested in the doctrinal and theological content of these texts have adopted many different approaches in their investigations. One will notice, however, that their underlying question has thus far not been articulated all that clearly. We might put it this way: With their massive adoption of terms and ideas borrowed from Buddhism, Daoism, and Manichaeism, do these documents testify to an effective model of inculturation or do they rather confirm a drift toward unwarranted syncretism?

Already in 1939 John Foster had effectively expressed an important general opinion:

> Terms belonging to the other religions are used throughout [the Tang Christian texts], the Buddhist being the most important. But it is not syncretism. Rather it is a borrowing of terminology, and a relation of doctrine to a familiar background of thought, as the only way of expressing Christian truth in its far-eastern environment.

Over time, numerous studies by Chinese184 and Western scholars have confirmed and corroborated this judgment. A particularly decisive contribution has recently been made by scholars

engaged in lexical research, which is conducted with increasingly appropriate linguistic methodologies. These scholars have offered a careful etymological analysis of the vocabulary of Tang Christianity with its Confucian, Daoist, and Buddhist background, together with a study of the translation techniques used by the Christian authors.

Similarly, beginning with the Christian vocabulary used in texts whose authenticity has been established, such as those on the Christian stele, the Hymn in Praise of the Salvation Achieved through the Three MaLesties of the Luminous Teaching and the Book of the Luminous Teaching of Da Qin on Revealing the Origin and Reaching the Foundation, Chen Huaiyu concludes that "the Chinese translations of the scriptures of the Luminous Teaching are accurate and orthodox. Although they use many technical terms borrowed from the Buddhist scriptures, they strictly reflect Christian principles." At least for the Christian Trinitarian hymn, the same scholar offered a convincing demonstration of his conclusion by carefully comparing the Syriac and Sogdian text of the hymn with the Chinese text.

Huang Xianian also sees the Christian message of the Jingjiao texts being conveyed by recourse to the terminology of other religions, primarily Buddhism. As he writes, "Buddhism became the vehicle for the entry of Christianity into China." In other words:

> With regard to the Nestorian experiment we see. . . how a meta-cosmic religion [namely, Christianity] develops a new Asian identity within the idiom and the ethos of another meta-cosmic religion [namely, Buddhism]. Thus Christian soteriology was formulated within the terminological framework of the Buddhist or Daoist Weltanschauung by using the Dao- or Buddha/Avalokitesvara/Guanyin-model to develop a "Buddho-Daoist" Christology.

We have here an entirely modern Christian approach to other religions, a method of evangelization based on interreligious dialogue that was virtually unknown in the subsequent history of Christian missionary activity in China. Matted Ricci and the first Jesuit missionaries of the seventeenth century introduced a form of dialogue that was primarily intercultural. Through a serious study of Chinese culture, they looked for a way to be accepted and to found Christian communities that were not cut off from Chinese culture. Their attitude toward religions was different from that of the missionaries of the Church of the East. Although they saw many similarities between Christianity and other religions, their attitude toward them was fundamentally negative. Thus, while they adapted Christian teaching and practice to other cultures (in the Chinese case, to Confucian culture), assuming the values and models of these cultures to the point of introducing them into their catechisms, they were strenuously opposed to their religious vision and practice. Daoism, Buddhism, and, even more so, Chinese popular cults were systematically attacked as idolatrous practices. The reasons for their differing vision of culture and religion were theological: culture was seen as assimilable, as a means of evangelization; other religions, however, were considered superstitious cults without any salvific value. Christianity had surpassed them, and they were now obstacles to the search for truth.

The positive view toward another religious vision and practice and occasional adoption of it by the Church of the East, which has been more properly called inreligionization (as opposed to inculturation), has produced texts, significantly the supposedly later ones, in which the key terms all belong to the religious sphere of Buddhism and Daoism, and their content features a strongly indigenized theology. It is therefore common to find in the historical studies of these texts the belief that the texts that were judged to be first—the Discourse on the One God and the Book of the Lord Messiah—"expound a Christology and a soteriology that are quintessentially Christian, while the later texts virtually ignore the crucifixion in favor of a Christology and soteriology that could be more aptly described as Daoist or Manichaean"—or, I might add, Buddhist. That is, one notices in the texts an evolution from a type of "canonicalizing" transmission, one that tries to remain faithful to the original models and that is characteristic of the first period and marked by the preservation of

biblical elements and Christian tradition, to a type of "indigenizing" transmission that is characteristic of the later period and marked by the abandonment of the original and canonical theological nucleus and by the tendency to rely more and more on the categories of thought proper to Buddhism and Daoism. According to some authors, this seeming absorption of Christianity into Chinese religious systems was also one of the reasons for the disappearance of the Church of the East in China.

One possibility worthy of consideration is that in the eyes of the Chinese, Tang Christianity, clad, as it were, in Buddhist robes, could appear as one of the many heterodox schools or heretical sects of Buddhist or Daoist derivation that had been flourishing in China for some centuries.196 There are data that would support such a reading. One of these is the application of the name Messiah (mishihe to one of the ninety-six "heterodox ways" (waidao) listed in the Laozi huahu Jing (Book on Laozi's Conversion of the Barbarians), a Daoist scripture completed in the Kaiyuan era (71341) that has come down to us through a fragmentary manuscript created in Dunhuang (S. 6963) in the first half of the eighth century.

Another intriguing text is a fragment (S. 6551), written around 930, that records the preaching of a Buddhist monk in Turfan. In this source too, Christianity, which is called the "Persian" heresy, is included among the ninety-six "heterodox ways": paucity and one-sidedness of the material available to us. Specific and precise studies on individual documents are therefore to be preferred to general reconstructions.

More fundamentally, then, the evaluation of the content of the Christian texts of the Tang era must be brought back to the dialectic to which I referred at the beginning. That is to say, in every work of linguistic and cultural transmission, which results in the translation of original works and the creation of new texts, there is always a process of transformation, and transformation requires flexibility. As Max Deeg pointed out, the Chinese Christian texts of the Tang period "can help us better understand the degree of flexibility and cultural adaptation of the `translation' of Christianity into another culture that had a high sense and pride in its own cultural level, which is not found.. . anywhere else in the history of religious translation."

Above all, the discussion should be less influenced by Western hermeneutical models, as has been the case until now, and more open to hermeneutical models born in the East, that is, in the setting in which this form of Christianity developed and with which it interacted. In this regard, it has recently been wisely observed that doctrinal questions [linked with Tang Christianity] ... cannot assume Western and European norms of heresy, orthodoxy and syncretism. Instead, we must begin with the East Syrian Christians' understanding of themselves and their mission, and relate this to the context from which they came, as well as the one in which they worked.

To the extent that it became Chinese, Tang Christianity could not help inserting itself into, and to some extent making its own, a hermeneutical approach typical of all Asian religious experiences, but particularly evident in Buddhism, in which there is a tendency toward hybridization, that is, adaptation and deep interaction with the encountered cultural context and with experiences other than one's own, without fear of assuming those elements that a priori are seen as possible ways of enriching one's own tradition. To be more precise, this is a matter of selective integration: not everything is Those who convert to Buddha, which Buddha do they convert to? He is neither the Mani Buddha [moni fo] nor the Persian Buddha [Bosi fo]], nor the Fire-God Buddha [huoxian fo], but the Sakyamuni Buddha.... In India [i.e., the West] there are ninety-six kinds of heterodox ways [waidao], among which are the [ways] of Persia [Bosi], of Mani [moni], of the fire god [huoxian, i.e., Zoroastrianism] ...

In addition, the imperial edict contained in the Yuanzhao's Buddhist catalogue of 799-800 that refers to the collaboration of the Christian monk Adam/Jingjing with the Buddhist monk Prajña was aimed at making a clear distinction between the two religious doctrines:

> Since the sañgharama of Sakyamuni [i.e., the Buddhist monasteries] and the monasteries of Da Qin [i.e., the Christian monasteries] are distinct from each other, and since their customs and doctrines are completely different, Jingjing shall hand down the teaching of the Messiah [mishihe Liao] and the sramana sons of Sakyamuni [i.e., the Buddhist monks] shall spread the sutras of Buddha. We wish that the [two] doctrines be kept distinct and that people do not interfere with each other. Orthodoxy and heterodoxy are two different things, just as the rivers Jing and Wei have two different courses.

In view of these assessments, however, a number of questions and observations may be raised. The fundamental questions we must always keep in mind are the following: Do we have sufficient data to evaluate the theological and doctrinal quality of the preaching of the monks of the Church of the East in China from the few documents that have come down to us, documents, moreover, that are not always reliable from the textual point of view? Do these same documents allow us to quantify the degree of the assimilation of Chinese cultural and philosophical-religious elements into the Christian theological system? In other words, our evaluation of the Church of the East's missionary activity in China must always consider the assimilated, and such integration never occurs indiscriminately; it involves only those elements of other religious traditions that are felt to be compatible with one's own religious tradition.

Thus, for example, Chinese Buddhism assimilated many Daoist philosophical and religious elements, considering them to be the expression of truth at a lower level than Buddhist truth, but useful for its adaptation to the Chinese context. At the basis of this attitude is the so-called doctrine of skillful means (upayakausalya), that is, the adaptation of Buddhist teaching to the cultural, intellectual, and religious situation of its audience. This key doctrine of Mahayana Buddhism is one of the reasons for the rapid spread of Buddhism throughout Central and Eastern Asia, making it possible to reformulate the Buddhist message within cultures extremely different from those present in India, where Buddhism originated and first proliferated.

This penchant for harmonizing diversity, which is a cultural constant on the Asian scene, is perhaps more clearly expressed in the culture of Chon whoich is characterized by a pervasive "taste for harmony." By embracing this hermeneutical approach, it was possible to overcome the fear of diversity, the suspicion that the other's otherness is a threat to one's own idenity.

It has now become evident that within this hermeneutical scheme it is no longer possible to speak of an either/or with regard to the transmission or transformation of the Christian message in the Chinese cultural and religious context. Rather, both processes will always take place together. This being the case, the Western and Christian hermeneutical categories of syncretism, distortion, and

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Index of Names

Like the setting of his novel The Hungry Tide (2004), Amitav Ghosh's writing exists at the confluence of various currents. It discovers connections between supposedly disparate cultures and languages, and it travels seamlessly between places and peoples that have been divided by political geographies. Lenka Filipova's essay on The Hungry Tide in the present volume views place as "social process," regarding such a view as a necessary adjunct for understanding locations in the context of environmentalism, and the novel's supposedly remote "natural" setting, the amphibious Sundarbans region of West Bengal, is seen to be a heavily populated area where human and non- human forces come together in complex and often competing ways. Such interactions lie at the heart of all Ghosh's work, whether set in contemporary social milieus or, as is often the case in his writing, spanning different periods of history. Primarily a novelist, Ghosh is also variously a social anthropologist, a subaltern historian, an excavator of linguistic genealogies and an environmentalist. In this "Foreword," I endeavour to illustrate the multi- faceted nature of his work, with reference to some of the essays included in this collection. I conclude with comments on the problematics of Ghosh's position as a writer who challenges received historiography by demonstrating the alternative world- views present in pluralist subaltern discursive systems, but frames this critique in a literary English that enables it to reach a global audience, and a reflection on his questioning the value of narrative fiction in his 2016 book on climate change, The Great Derangement.

Amitav Ghosh's Culture Chromosome offers a stimulating selection of essays on major issues in Ghosh's increasingly impressive oeuvre, an oeuvre which moves between fiction and fact to address subjects ranging from the iniquities of mercantile colonialism to contemporary climate change. Coming from an academic background, Ghosh produces researched fiction, while distancing himself from fashionable schools of theory, such as the Subaltern Studies project, with which his work demonstrates more than a passing acquaintance. Although his writing usually, though not always, sidesteps overt engagement with politics, it addresses many of the most urgent issues of our times. Whether set in the past or present or moving between eras, it demonstrates the extent to which cultures that are usually seen as discrete have interacted with one another, particularly through the medium of language, and it puts flesh on the barebones of ethical debates by dramatizing them in narratives characterized by an imaginative empathy for their characters. In her essay on Ghosh's Ibis trilogy (Sea of Poppies 2008, River of Smoke 2011, and Flood of Fire 2015) in the present collection, Sneharika Roy examines the novels' use of Adam Smith's moral philosophy, arguing that its misappropriation as a justification for colonial exploitation perverts its transcultural humanism. Roy cites Smith's view that "Individuals are not autonomous economic agents but interdependent social actors whose actions have a direct impact on others" and a stress on such mutualities is a constant in Ghosh's work. His characters, while vivid in themselves, can frequently also be read as allegorical embodiments of larger issues and ideas.

Ghosh's first novel, The Circle of Reason (1986) established the parameters for much of his subsequent epistemological probing by arguing, as the title makes clear, for the circularity of reason and a humanism that goes beyond the limits of linear- based Western "universalism." The text associates such humanism with the weaver protagonist Alu's occupation and a central passage on the romance of "cloth" concludes with a panegyric on the loom as a trope for a culture of planetary interconnectedness that resists the dehumanizing aspects of industrial capitalism and by inference, globalization in its contemporary technological incarnation:

Man at the loom is the finest example of Mechanical man; a creature who makes his own world as no other can, with his mind. The machine is man's curse and his salvation, and no machine has created man as much as the loom. It has created not separate worlds but one.

Three decades after its first publication, The Circle of Reason may seem little more than a curtain raiser to Ghosh's best work, but its cross- cultural humanism, its focus on the fortunes of a subaltern protagonist, its travelling poetics and its interrogation of teleological notions of progress staked out the ground for much of his subsequent writing.

Ghosh's distrust of political geography lies at the heart of his widely acclaimed second novel, The Shadow Lines (1988), which dramatizes the deadly personal consequences of the arbitrarily drawn lines that imposed national borders at the time of the Partition of the subcontinent. Towards the end, revisiting the past in memory, the narrator ponders the extent to which space is cognitively imagined by different people and communities. He remembers riots, triggered by the temporary disappearance of an alleged relic of the Prophet Mohammed's hair from a mosque near Srinagar in Kashmir, which occurred in Khulna in East Pakistan in the first days of 1964. Reflecting on these events years afterwards, he uses his compass to draw a circle on a map in an old colonial atlas. In one sense, this circle constructs a highly subjective geography, but again it is at odds with the linear discourse that characterizes post- Enlightenment Western thought. It begins with its point in Khulna and its tip on Srinagar and the narrator is prompted to draw it by the realization that Khulna is about 1,200 miles from Srinagar, "about as far from Srinagar as Tokyo is from Beijing, or Moscow

of colonial mercantilism and contemporary global capitalism. The demise of this pre- Enlightenment network came with the advent of Portuguese colonization, which took control of the Indian Ocean trade by naked aggression, refusing any attempts at co- operation. In parallel with this, in the historical sections of the text, the narrator endeavours to ascertain the identity of the "slave" of a medieval trader, whose presence he has come across as a fugitive trace in a medieval manuscript.

This historical material is complemented by an account of a contemporary Ghosh-like narrator's time spent researching in an Egyptian village. These sections serve to foreground the narrator's own subject- position, implicitly exposing the tendency of classic anthropologists and ethnographers to obscure the observer effect, their personal implication in the events and situations on which they are commenting. Similarly, the narrator highlights his own role as the author- researcher who is trying to discover the identity of the "slave." Gradually it becomes clear that there are commonalities in his divergent narratives— commonalities both between India and Egypt and across eras.

The narrator clings to the belief that a gentler dialogic network of exchange, analogous to the fluidity of the pre- conquest Indian Ocean trade, still exists in fellaheen Egypt, but the social realities of the village world in which he is living challenge his idealism. In a conversation with the local Imam, he finds himself drawn into an argument over which of their two nations can claim superiority in the technology of modern warfare. The longing for a culture that conforms to his imagined version of the pre- colonial Indian Ocean trade remains, but the reality of his exchanges with the Imam exposes this as romantic nostalgia. Nevertheless, In an Antique Land aspires towards the possibility of a more genuinely egalitarian social order that transcends asymmetrical power relations.

On the surface, Ghosh's third novel, The Calcutta Chromosome (1996), is generically very different from In an Antique Land, but it too moves freely between past and present, interweaving fact and imaginative fiction to provide a speculative, but persuasive subaltern alternative to elite historiography. It fuses researched detail about the history of malaria research, particularly information taken from the Memoirs (1923) of the scientist Ronald Ross, who was awarded the 1902 Nobel Prize for Medicine for his work on the mosquito parasite, with a complementary contemporary narrative centred on a latetwentieth- century quester's attempt to confirm his suspicions that Ross's laboratory assistants were the agents responsible for his scientific discoveries. The novel frequently speaks of "crossing over," a term which it invests with various possible meanings and its crossovers are multiple. As Murari Prasad points out in his essay in the present collection, The Calcutta Chromosome is both a generic hybrid, bringing together elements from the detective novel, science fiction, cyberpunk, and historiography, and a work that merges the time-frames of its late nineteenth- century and late twentieth- century narratives. Beyond this, the most radical crossover is the supposed transference of personalities across cultures and periods. With this, as I have argued elsewhere, comes the realization that the novel's supposed discoverers are actually being discovered, as readers find that they, too, are caught up in a tangled hermeneutical web of interpretation that undermines the very notion of autonomous selfhood. This is perhaps the most radical instance of Ghosh's recurrent representations of the interrelations of supposedly discrete peoples and places.

Four of Ghosh's subsequent novels— The Glass Palace (2000) and the three parts of his Ibis trilogy— also incorporate historical research into sharply realized imaginative fiction. However, as with all historical fiction, the past is inevitably written in the present and Ghosh repeatedly nudges his readers towards making connections with contemporary social situations. This is especially marked in the trilogy, which follows In an Antique Land in showing the diversity of the maritime culture of the Indian Ocean, particularly demonstrating this through sustained examples of the miscellany of language forms that flourished in and around the Ocean in the nineteenth century. Ghosh's fascination with linguistic variants and etymologies, which is manifest throughout his work,

finds its fullest expression in the trilogy. Earlier, in The Calcutta Chromosome, there is a passage where Ronald Ross is working in Secunderabad, a British cantonment adjacent to Hyderabad, and has a houseboy named Lutchman. He is visited by a fellow- Englishman, Grigson, who is working for the Linguistic Survey of India. Grigson is a kind of Henry Higgins figure— someone whose expertise makes him feel that an Indian's way of speaking absolutely classifies him— and his phonetic expertise enables him to detect that Lutchman is not who he seems to be. Grigson deduces that Lutchman is from further north in India from his "unvoiced labials and retroflex dentals" and, pretending he can only speak "pidgin Hindustani," he traps Lutchman by getting him to pronounce the loan- word "lantern," which Lutchman renders as "lalten." From this, Grigson, who is aware of variant Indian forms of Lutchman's name— the text mentions Lokhkhan and Lakshman— realizes his real name is Laakhan. In short, then, a specific linguistic detail reveals that Lutchman is from another place; and this is typical of the way names are used in the novel: as an index of shifting identities. Names are at the centre of the novel's investigation of a network of traces that not only challenges the colonial historical record, but also suggests the possibility that a subaltern- centred Indian epistemological system may be more powerful. Thus the episode can be seen as metatextual in that it is analogous to the kind of detective- work that is being conducted in the novel as a whole and there is a similarly metonymic use of language in the first two parts of the Ibis trilogy.

Sea of Poppies self- consciously foregrounds the inclusiveness of the diverse repertory of languages to be heard on the Indian Ocean, the Bay of Bengal and its littoral, at one point referring to these as an "anarchic medley." This medley includes Bhojpuri, an archaic form of Bengali, a particular variant of Indian- English, a range of nautical discourse that includes Laskari and pidgin, Anglo- Indian speech, the francophone English of a particular character, crosscultural puns and, framing all of these, the literary English, which is the narrative medium of the novel. The assortment of tongues employed suggests both the resilience of the subaltern discourses that exist beneath the colonial superstructure and, in the case of Laskari and pidgin in particular, the emergence of new hybridized languages that challenge imperialism's monolingualism, though it could be argued that this is partly undermined by the novel's obvious relish for parading its linguistic virtuosity and the privileging of standard English as the narrative voice. Amid this medley of voices, Laskari has a particular resonance, as a "motley tongue, spoken nowhere but on the water," which serves as an Asian lingua franca that enables people from different backgrounds to communicate. Again, this seems central to the novel's particular brand of Oceanic poetics. The "anarchic medley" of Sea of Poppies is a plausible transcription of the pluralism of nineteenth- century maritime speech rooted in forms particular to the Indian Ocean. Whether or not this medley reflects an actual nineteenth- century "reality" is hard to gauge, but its linguistic polyphony is a strategy that negates the monocultural assumptions implicit in imperial control. The novel seems both to be documenting the metonymic realities of subaltern life at this defining moment in the history of the British Empire and suggesting the possibility of new communities coming into being.

It is, though, in River of Smoke (2011), the second part of the trilogy, that Ghosh's linguistic virtuosity and fascination with etymologies is at its most pronounced, and Sabine Lauret- Taft's essay in the present volume demonstrates how his anthropological depictions of the nineteenth- century multilingualism of the Indian Ocean is central to his critique of the hierarchical power relations that operated in the ocean's commercial transactions. After an opening chapter in which Ghosh self- consciously juxtaposes Bhojpuri with Mauritian French "Kreol," a language that has very obviously come into being at the crossroads of cultures, most of the main action of River of Smoke is set in and around Canton, with pidgin taking on a similar role to that accorded to Laskari in Sea of Poppies. Again, the plurality of languages and registers employed seems to operate both as a transcription of a supposed mimetic "reality" and to suggest that a polyphonic hotchpotch of voices is needed to bring alive the range of cultures coming together in Canton at this time, the period leading up to the Opium Wars. One of the characters, Neel Rattan Halder, has a compulsive interest

in lexicography and the novel's representation of his predilection enables it to introduce elements of metalinguistic commentary on the verbal exuberance of the cultures being represented. Neel is the compiler of a so- called Chrestomathy, an anthology of passages that illustrates the cross- cultural pluralism of the social world being depicted, and this has a life that extends beyond the text. Ghosh's "Acknowledgments" invite readers to join in a hypertextual partnership by consulting the Chrestomathy on Ghosh's own website: amitavghosh.com. In the novel itself, Neel's inspiration for the Chrestomathy is a glossary of pidgin entitled "Devil- Talk," which has been produced for Chinese use. His initial intention is to produce a Celestial Chrestomathy, a glossary of Chinese pidgin for English speakers, but, the "Acknowledgments" explain, this has given way to a more general guide, entitled the Ibis Chrestomathy, which acts as a supplement to the terms used in the first two parts of the Ibis trilogy, not Chinese- inflected pidgin. The guiding principle informing Neel's choice of items for inclusion is that they should have appeared in what he refers to as "the Oracle," the Oxford English Dictionary. So the Chrestomathy is a testament to the Asian loan words that have been "naturalized" in the English language and abundant examples, such as "loot," "punch" and "tatty" are offered (Ibis Chrestomathy).

Ghosh's stress on shared linguistic legacies clearly undermines essentialist notions of language and culture, but Neel's decision that inclusion in the OED should be the criterion for entries in the Chrestomathy is problematic, since it privileges a classic English reference source, albeit while directing attention to the Asian loan words that have found their way into its pages. And tellingly, Neel's decision to make the OED the ultimate authority is analogous to Ghosh's method in the novel. Again, the medley of languages and registers in River of Smoke makes for polyphony, but ultimately, as in Sea of Poppies, literary English is given pride of place. The novel's project is clearly revisionist, but it leaves the text ambiguously poised between a desire to project a multilingual subaltern experience and a style that encapsulates this in a medium suitable for the consumption of a global readership. I began this "Foreword" talking about the seamlessness of Ghosh's travelling approach to cultures and this holds good for all his work so far, but it is a seamlessness that ultimately depends on so- called standard English. So, like many other postcolonial novelists who appeal to an international audience, he finds himself caught in the double- bind of using the language of the former colonizer and the contemporary global elite while wishing to distance himself from their discursive hegemonies.

Ghosh has always been a novelist of ideas, though he has usually resisted tendentious conclusions in favour of a practice that dramatizes the potentially political. As Asis De and Alessandro Vescovi note in their "Introduction" to this volume, his sustained ethical engagement has meant that there are notable exceptions to this in his non- fiction, such as his pieces on the anti- Sikh riot in Delhi in 1984 and on nuclear weapons in India, and environmental issues are discussed on his blog, but his best-known work has usually adopted a more oblique novelistic approach. This is certainly not the case in his Jeremiad on climate change, The Great Derangement. Earlier, in The Hungry Tide, the fulllength work in which prior to The Great Derangement he had most obviously engaged with environmental issues, he had made it clear that the Sundarbans' eco- system and uniquely varied biodiversity are imperilled and brought the action to a conclusion in which the region is struck by a tsunami- like wave. Clearly, global warming may be responsible for these changes, but Ghosh leaves the question open by providing details of the devastating storms that have periodically struck the region. There is no such ambiguity in The Great Derangement. The text assembles a barrage of evidence on the harmful effects of climate change. This shift towards uncompromising polemic can perhaps be explained by a passage in which Ghosh questions realistic fiction's capacity to deal with environmental disasters, saying that realism depends on "the calculus of probability." It is built on a "scaffolding" that prevents it from "confront[ing] the centrality of the improbable" in the form of sudden disasters that stretch the bounds of credulity by contradicting gradualist notions of meteorological change. Such an attack on realist fiction is a sobering shift for a writer whose

investment in meticulously realized detail, which reaches its apogee in the Ibis trilogy, has been a lynch- pin of his fictive practice, but The Great Derangement suggests the need for a new ecopoetics that places the present's relationship with the future at its centre. Unlike much environmentally aware creative writing, the text is not dystopian, but it outlines a string of possible future disasters that direct attention back to the present, and in so doing provides a powerful clarion call for activism in the here and now. The underlying ethical premises are those that run through all of Ghosh's writing to date, but climate change has precipitated both a questioning of whether traditional narrative is equipped to deal with it and an accelerated intensity in the writing. The suggestion is that new generic forms are needed to complement new modes of cognition if an "unthinkable" human disaster is to be avoided. Anthropology, epistemology, ethics and environment, and space are the headings under which the essays in this volume are grouped and they seem central to this project. They are "domains" that lie at the heart of Ghosh's ethics and they come together in The Great Derangement's plea for a new planetary consciousness that both draws on and goes beyond fiction in its most commonly understood iterations.

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Anthropology

Anthropology is a starting point in the intellectual make- up of Amitav Ghosh, who holds a PhD in social anthropology from Oxford University and famously carried out his fieldwork in two villages of the Nile Delta. Over time the Indian writer lost interest in academic anthropology, because "it was about abstractions," which made people into "statistical irregularities," whereas he was more interested in the "predicament of the individual." However, the novelist's critique targets the way anthropological results are elaborated and published, not anthropological surveys and ethnographic field- work per se. Indeed, these have remained a hallmark of Ghosh's preparatory work for his books, particularly evident in In an Antique Land, The Hungry Tide, and Gun Island. In the years immediately following the author's graduation from Oxford, social anthropology underwent a major change, well documented in James Clifford's Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography; the traditional role of the anthropologist was challenged, and so was the alleged objectivity of ethnographies. Ghosh's farewell to academic writing and his commitment to fiction must be understood within this paradigmatic shift.

Fiona Moolla's essay "Time, Space, Love in Amitav Ghosh's The Glass Palace" explores a typical subject of anthropology, i.e. familial organization and the foundation of family ties. She argues that the familial and kinship relations deployed by Ghosh throughout his oeuvre are rooted in romantic love. This is particularly patent in The Glass Palace, which she uses as a case study. Unlike culture and heritage, love brings together people from different ethnicities, religions, castes, classes, generations, and nations. The centripetal force of love is contrasted with the disruptive forces of the empire, which produce wars, migration, and instability.

Ilaria Rigoli, in her "Neel's Bildungsroman: Ghosh's Model of Humanity as Embodied Difference in the Ibis Trilogy," traces a different use of anthropology. The Ibis trilogy, being a historical fiction, cannot be based on ethnographic surveys, and yet, Rigoli argues, the evolution of Neel as a character is modelled on the anthropological pattern of the rite of passage and on the literary pattern of the Bildungsroman. Neel, the former zamindar, is literally as well as metaphorically stripped of his possessions, secluded, and put to a number of tests before he can eventually grow into a complete man who faces his responsibilities in Canton.

Through an analysis of languages as power ploys, Sabine Lauret- Taft, in her "The Commerce of Languages in Amitav Ghosh's River of Smoke," tackles the subtle hierarchies of the colonial context; the novel reveals how languages foster the expression of one's cultural positioning in the globalized Indian Ocean marketplace. Focusing on the intricate inner workings of the Empire revealed in

linguistic frictions, she contends that The River of Smoke tells the story of an ante- Marshall McLuhan "global village" where languages reflect the complex interplay of trade and power relations.

While Lauret- Taft works on the latest developments of Ghosh's thought about the position of individual predicaments within a composite world, Lucio De Capitani, in "Matters of the Spirit: Navigating between the Secular and the Religious in Amitav Ghosh's In an Antique Land," traces the origin of these ideas in In an Antique Land at a time when Ghosh himself— or that streamlined version of himself that is the protagonist of the "traveller's tale"— was negotiating his position within the debate between the secular and the religious. In this work, through the narration of his experience as a fieldworker in Egypt, Ghosh tries to imagine a common space of compromise that can accommodate both religious and secular perspectives, where a shared intellectual effort of creativity and dissent can survive and critically oppose "supremacist" ideologies.

During the ten years that Amitav Ghosh spent on the Ibis project, the focus of his attention shifted from Mauritius to China. In a recent video interview the novelist admitted that when he wrote Sea of Poppies he had no idea that the project would take him to China rather than Mauritius, where he had indeed spent time doing archival research. Thus the theme of indentured labour, which was a major one in the first novel, was only partly resumed in the second and almost forgotten in the third. Kuldeep Mathur, in "Cultural Plurality and Migration in Amitav Ghosh's Ibis trilogy," explores this theme throughout the trilogy comparing Ghosh's work with other migrants' narratives and highlighting the migrants' survival strategies: among these, the new cultural symbiosis, the re-invention of identities, new attitudes to religion and food. All these, Mathur contends, may be taken as examples of negotiations or "third spaces" that pave the way to new cultural possibilities.

Epistemology

Epistemology is yet another crucial tenet of Ghosh's reflection, and it could not be otherwise for a novelist who invests so much energy and time in research. In the much- quoted epistolary exchange with Dipesh Chakrabarty and in The Great Derangement (2016), Ghosh blames the dichotomy between humanities and hard sciences that originated in the European Enlightenment and coincided with notions like free trade, colonialism, racism, and carbon economy. Ghosh's ideas on this point chime in with the influential Delhi- based scholar J. P. S. Uberoi, who developed his denunciation of Western epistemology in the years when young Amitav was attending university in the Indian capital. Ghosh's critique of what he once defined "this relentless search for exhaustiveness" is variously deployed throughout his oeuvre from The Circle of Reason (1986) to Gun Island (2019). As early as in The Shadow Lines, Tridib exhorted his young protegé not only to learn things, but to imagine "with precision" the things he learnt. Subsequently, every fictional book of Ghosh is firmly grounded in research. His fiction serves both to publish new findings and to help readers to imagine them. Moreover, Ghosh often adds a reflection upon different ways of knowing; indeed sometimes publication of research findings, imagination, and reflection are blended in a story so as to be barely distinguishable from one another and from the plot. Such is the case with the Ibis trilogy, but also with The Hungry Tide and Gun Island. Indeed the novel as a genre offers a way of appraising the world that is complementary to that of traditional sciences in that it is preoccupied with complexity and not limited by the narrowness of the scope of each scientific discipline. Having humanism as its primary concern, the narrative of Ghosh connects knowledge to people rather than to an abstract disciplinary network; this allows him to bring historicity to fields as diverse as meteorology and urban planning and to gauge the impact of ideologies, disciplines, and practices on different communities.

Amitav Ghosh has often been quite uncomfortable with boundaries, including those that separate fiction and non- fiction. However, he has also often pointed out that In an Antique Land is not a novel, even if quite a few scholars treated it as such. In "I Met Two Narrators from an Antique Land:

A Narratological Reading of Amitav Ghosh's Travelogue," Alessandro Vescovi bridges anthropology and epistemology as he investigates the novelistic strategies that are deployed in the travelogue, coming to the conclusion that the text— in line with the revision of anthropology that was going on in those years— constructs different selves that are all named "Amitav Ghosh," but remain rather distinct from one another in their attitudes and capacities. Although Ghosh is very precise in collecting data from his sources, he is loath to sacrifice complexity and emotions to exactitude, or even clarity, at the time of writing. Thus in In an Antique Land he conflates an eminently anthropological discourse, with a sort of autobiographical Bildungsroman, a historical survey and a political appraisal of the situation in the Middle East at the time of the first Gulf War.

Carlotta Beretta's "A Sense of History: The Poetics of Opium in the Ibis Trilogy" traces Ghosh's humanism back to his Bengali cultural heritage and reads the Ibis trilogy against the tradition of the European historical novel. She argues that the novelist subtly chooses the points of view of people who are variously employed in the opium manufacture and trade rather than that of a single character in order to create a "sense of history." The expression, modelled on the more common "sense of place," nicely captures one of Ghosh's arresting and yet elusive characteristics, i.e. the ability to depict a scenario where all characters are subjected to the same historical forces and view them from different perspectives.

"Reclaiming History: Amitav Ghosh's The Calcutta Chromosome" by Murari Prasad tackles the epistemological issues connected to imperial history in The Calcutta Chromosome. While the opium trade is obviously a susceptible spot in the narrative of the imperial project, life science research, one might think, should be free of ideological manipulation. This is hardly the case, as Prasad demonstrates in his contribution. The Calcutta Chromosome focuses on offering a counter-hegemonic narrative that subverts the imperial perspective on medical historiography. The novel questions the authenticity of Sir Ronald Ross's malarial research in the nineteenth century, and provocatively offers a counter- narrative that, albeit fictional, is no more incredible or biased than official history.

On a different level, Letizia Garofalo reads The Calcutta Chromosome through Paul Feyerabend in her "Amitav Ghosh on the Edge of Science: Epistemological Anarchism and The Calcutta Chromosome." According to Feyerabend, "theoretical anarchism," i.e. a method which encourages a variety of different opinions, is the only method compatible with a humanistic outlook. Garofalo claims that The Calcutta Chromosome perfectly embodies in literary form the idea of theoretical scientific anarchism. In particular, The Chromosome chimes with Feyerabend's idea that other forms of human cultural expression and unconventional knowledge have equal if not better chances to achieve revolutionary discoveries.

Safoora Arbab's "Silence, Subversion and the Subaltern in Amitav Ghosh's The Calcutta Chromosome" focuses on another aspect of the novel, namely the multiple uses of silence. Silence as resistance, or even subversion, has been brought together before in connection with this novel,30 but Arbab takes the discussion one step further: moving from Jaques Derrida's famous essay on "Différance"31 (1982), she contends that silence is not only a negative, opposing stance, but also a ploy used to create an alternative semiosis whereby silence becomes a polysemic signifier at both aesthetic and ethical levels, strictly connected with the polyphonic essence of life itself.

Ethics

Ethics, mostly in connection with the environment, is, so to speak, the necessary consequence of an epistemology that aims at truth rather than control, at understanding connections rather than dissecting bodies. Thus environmental justice is coterminous with social justice, as Ghosh clearly states in The Great Derangement, the latest non- fiction that encompasses fields as diverse as biology, climatology, social sciences, history and literary criticism. The Great Derangement and the

worldwide book tour that followed its launch come as an important stance in the debate over climate change, but as little surprise to Ghosh's readers, who welcomed his contributions on the anti- Sikh riot in Delhi in 1984 ("The Ghost of Mrs Gandhi"), nuclear weapons in India (Countdown, 1999), Bush's war on terror in The New Yorker in the aftermath of 9/ 11, along with other articles posted on his blog, where he also discussed environmental problems. Nor is ethical commitment restricted to non- fiction. Ghosh's novels grapple with ethical issues too; in many ways, every novel and every protagonist in the novels poses critical ethical concerns, from Balaram's obsession with cleanliness in The Circle of Reason to Kesri Singh's dilemma in Flood of Fire whether to remain loyal to the detested British army or flee towards Mauritius.

There are two main characteristics of Ghosh's engagement with ethics that must be recorded here: we shall call the first "fair objectivity" and the second "disembodiment." By "fair objectivity" we refer to a particular way of looking at every side of a problem, considering and assessing all possible viewpoints. Thus, no ethical issue is ever decided upon without considering all the implications, and likewise, no major character, even the most heroic, is ever either completely good or completely evil. Indeed, it is sometimes difficult to understand the position of the implied author regarding some issues discussed in the novels; e.g., we know that Ghosh's father, who was a soldier in the British army during WW2, remained loyal to it and never joined the INA , unlike many of his comrades. Arjun in The Glass Palace, facing the same dilemma, opts for the anti- English army: what should we think of Arjun's decision? Was he withdrawing a loyalty already pledged and taking unfair advantage of the difficult position of the English, or was he for the first time making the right choice? The novel does not offer an answer. The discussion between Piya and Kanai on ecology and justice after the slaughter of the tiger in The Hungry Tide is another case of "fair objectivity," whereby the debate is closed without a winner. In fact, "fair objectivity" prevents Ghosh from creating truly evil characters; in the whole Ibis trilogy there is only one real villain, Bhyro Singh, while even Mr Burnham is sometimes viewed with sympathy.

The second characteristic is "disembodiment," by which we mean a kind of disunion between a certain behaviour and the character that adopts it. Like Dante, who condemned so many people of his age to hell, but still sympathized with most of them, Ghosh, too, aims his criticism at social practices or policies like racism, classism, and colonialism, but appears forbearing with most of his characters. Thus, in The Hungry Tide, Ghosh does not blame the villagers who kill the tiger, nor the folk who make a living exploiting the protected area of the forest. Likewise, in The Glass Palace, he cannot bring himself to pass judgement on Rajkumar's work as a recruiter of indentured labourers. Ghosh's ethics therefore is illustrated through fictional characters in the narratives, but avoids the trap of the thesis- novel, or propaganda-novel.

Sneharika Roy's essay, "The Adam Smith Problem in the Ibis Trilogy: Self-Interest, Empathy, and Hermeneutic Irony," addresses one of the most poignant issues of the Ibis trilogy, viz. the relationship between capitalism, liberalism, and colonialism seen in their historical context through the reading of Adam Smith. Indeed, Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations (1776) is the central locus of ideological conflict in the Ibis trilogy. Roy's essay revisits the so- called "Adam Smith's Problem" arguing that, in the trilogy, those who evoke Smith are in fact referring to a (common) misreading of the philosopher's ideas, which reduce his political economy to the "invisible hand." The implied author, on the contrary, far from advocating communism, is referring to the more humane and healthy interpretation of Smith's economic philosophy.

Focussing on one single character and its connection with ethics, Pabitra Kumar Rana's "From Mem to Mistress: The Curious Case of Mrs Burnham in Amitav Ghosh's Flood of Fire" concentrates on the character of Mrs Burnham and her sudden change at the end of the trilogy, which he reads through Sigmund Freud and Jaques Lacan. The memsahib, he contends, by having an extramarital

affair with Zachary, is both a victim of the colonial system that framed her into an inhuman position and a symbol of the hypocrisy and intrinsic weakness of the empire.

Evelyne Hanquart- Turner's "The Perversity of Flowers: Amitav Ghosh's Sea of Poppies" focuses on flowers, a topic hardly ever present in Ghosh's novels before the Ibis trilogy. Flowers, she argues, lie at the crossroads of multiple forces such as the Hindu tradition, international trade, thirst for scientific discoveries, and obviously ecology. Both ethically and aesthetically, they are a very powerful symbol for botany and colonialism in general. The cultivation of indigo, tea, and poppies was a primary colonial drive for the control of the land and influenced the lives of uncountable peasants, especially in northern India. The colonial attitude towards plants was very much part of the global power relations of the Victorian age.

Lenka Filipova's essay entitled "Place as Process in Amitav Ghosh's The Hungry Tide" considers Ursula Heise's (2008) critique of local environmentalism— something parochial, essentialist, and deprived of a cosmopolitan concern for the Earth in general— in the light of the scenario delineated by The Hungry Tide. This novel, with its solid sense of place, is indeed addressing environmental questions from a very specific point of view. Does it foster essentialism and parochialism? Lenka's answer is in the negative, as she argues that Ghosh understands the Sundarbans as a form of relational becoming— a process— that draws attention to the specificity of place and the complexity of its ecological relations and entanglements of the human and the non- human. Ghosh's narrative also has the potential to counter the dominant narratives of the centralized state, the international capital, and even different forms of ecocosmopolitanism that disregard this specificity.

Space

The essay by Lenka Filipova that brings the previous section to a close is also a perfect introduction to the category of space as it shows how ethics and space are connected in Ghosh's Weltanschauung. Though often regarded as a separate category, space is more than that; it is akin to the notions discussed above— knowledge, ethics, and even anthropology. One of the characteristics of Ghosh's poetics is the conflation of different discourses into one narrative, highlighting the relations between things, as opposed to studying phenomena in isolation, which is the standard procedure of hard sciences. Space is the bedrock of narrative and besides its narratological implications, in Ghosh's novels it is relevant on at least three levels: political, realistic and symbolic.

The political level is about who controls whose space? Space conflicts are played out in all of Ghosh's novels in the shape of actual battles and wars, or colonialism, or even petty disputes. Beside control, another political issue often raised by Ghosh is the practicability of spaces, i.e. whether public spaces can be used to travel, to import and export goods and cultures, an issue addressed throughout In an Antique Land. At the realistic level, space is sometimes described for its own sake, i.e. to illustrate its peculiarity or its beauty, which happens especially in The Hungry Tide, but also in connection with the culture of the people who inhabit a particular site. Such is the case of village spaces— like the ones in Egypt (In an Antique Land), in Ratnagiri (The Glass Palace), in Lusibari (The Hungry Tide), and in the Ibis trilogy— or bounded spaces— such as the cellars in The Shadow Lines, the teak and gum plantations in The Glass Palace, the ships in the Ibis trilogy, the Venetian ghetto in Gun Island. All these spaces reflect a number of social interactions that the anthropologist notes and the novelist describes.

The symbolic level is almost always disguised as realistic, so much so that it might be more proper to talk about a symbolic use of realistic places. The Geniza in In an Antique Land is a case in point, being a historical place, but certainly not the only one; other interesting symbolic places may be— randomly— Renupur Station in The Calcutta Chromosome, mohonas in The Hungry Tide, the ships, and especially the dabusa (tween deck) of the Ibis in the trilogy, the floating city in Canton, the shrine island in Gun Island. This is not the place to chalk out a list— which any reader can easily

expand— we just wish to point out the fascination of Ghosh with waterscapes, which almost always carry symbolic meanings, be they lakes (The Shadow Lines), rivers (The Glass Palace, The Hungry Tide, River of Smoke), or the sea (The Circle of Reason, Ibis trilogy, Gun Island). Space may sometimes become uncanny and water enhances this effect; indeed The Calcutta Chromosome's dystopic atmosphere is enhanced by the fact that the Hooghly no longer flows through Calcutta, in The Hungry Tide the waterscape grapples with dangers, and Venice in Gun Island is made uncanny by the acqua alta.

The Glass Palace, the first of Ghosh's historical novels on the radical transformation of the socio-political scenario in South Asia, deals with the expansion and decline of the Empire and the ensuing posh 5.9(c)1.2(o)-4.4(lo)6.6(n)-2(ia)1.1(h)-2(e)2.7(t)-1.3(d)-2.9(ic)1.3(a)1.1(m)-2.8(e)-1.2(ti)8.8(t)-5.9(.)11.3(A)1.9(s)2 between real spaces and imagined ones.

Sambit Panigrahi and Madhusmita Pati's essay "Ruptured Boundaries and Cosmopolitan Space: The Spatial Imagination of Amitav Ghosh in The Shadow Lines" deals with space at the symbolic level. The two scholars read the novel as an exposition of the defining postmodern notion of the fluidity of space. The novel, through its overt transnational character, explores the idea of the dissolution of space through its conceptual dismantlement of national boundaries across the globe. The middle-class characters appear to move freely throughout the world and lay claim to a new, postmodern, kind of citizenship.

In Luca Raimodi's essay entitled "Land, River, Sea: The Articulated Space of the Indian Ocean in Amitav Ghosh's Ibis Trilogy," the metaphor of the hoizon surfaces again mediated by Sugata Bose's historical book A Hundred Horizons (2006). Raimondi traces the research work that lies behind the creation of the spacesdesribed in the Ibisrilogy and highlightsoth the poli(h 6(ic)1.2(a)1.1(l)104.6 s)nificance of this choice and its symbolical value. Furthermore, he foregrounds the Indian Ocean as a space fro which a postcoloial epic (a concept he derives from Franco Moretti's mod ern epic) may take form.

Carol Leon's "Horizonality in The Shadow Lines: Disrupting Borders and Boundaries" interprets the

chromosomes that make up Ghosh's literary genome are certainly not exhausted by this collection, which however endeavours to enumerate some of them, tracing their complex genealogies with a view to their further dissemination. Certainly, Ghosh will enrich the anglophone literary world in the days to come, and future research will open up new theoretical paradigms in the area of culture studies. Still, we hope this volume may offer to the scholars of Ghosh fresh perspectives on the novelist's understanding of human history, anthropology, ethics, politics of culture and spaces of human existence.

Ultimately, as we offer this volume to the readers, we wish to point out that in Ghosh's augury of a new "generation that will be able to look upon the world with clearer eyes" and to "rediscover their kinship with other beings" on this Earth, one may notice a cosmopolitan awareness akin to the spiritual cosmopolitanism of the great Bengali philosopher Swami Vivekananda, who wrote in his poem "To a Friend" (1897):

> These are His manifold forms before thee,
> Rejecting them, where seekest thou for God?
> Who loves all beings without distinction,
> He indeed is worshipping best his God.

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