

notes that unlike Greeks, Persians, Indians, or Romans, the Arabs developed unique equine knowledge. They have names for each and every part of the horse (§2.2.1), and he proceeds to illuminate them in the next ten paragraphs. I am sure everyone will appreciate how difficult it is to turn this into English, the more so since Ibn Qutayba was proud of the immense and sophisticated vocabulary of Arabic (p. 229 n. 171). After discussing stars, physiognomy, soothsaying, and the like, the largest part of book two is devoted to language-related subjects: oratory, proverbs, and, above all, poetry, to establish the value of the Arab heritage.

Ibn Qutayba entertains us with interesting insights, such as that an Arab tribe without a poet is only known by highly specialized experts (§2.8.4)—he being one of them—or that Arabs were unlettered and forced to rely on poetry to record their deeds and bestow praise upon themselves (§2.8.16). He underlines the gargantuan force of poetry that can either extol groups or humiliate them (§2.8.31). Poetry is also beneficial in battle, when it can be used to calm the warriors (§2.8.38). To communicate desires, praise, boasts, rebukes, revilements, and much more, Ibn Qutayba assures us that nothing can match the efficacy of Arabic poetry (§2.8.36).

Ibn Qutayba cites wisdom poetry: “the tongue is as injurious as the hand”; “words pierce where the needle cannot” (§2.9.10); “life is but scarcity, anxiety, and hope” (§2.9.16), and treats it in his penultimate chapter. It is followed by a chapter that dazzlingly sums up aphorisms: “generosity is swift spending”; “the walls have ears”; “who dares, wins”; “don’t pee on a hill”; “don’t share a secret with a maid-servant”; “duck, and danger will miss you”; “evil begins in little things” (§2.10.7). Along with “joking breeds hatred”; “new ruler, new age”; “know your companion before taking to the road” and “know the neighbor before buying the house” (§2.10.8). Truly marvelous to read. As an aside, some of these aphorisms are still frequently used in modern Arabic.

Ibn Qutayba’s extraordinary erudition and literary skill are now on view in the LAL Arabic edition and translation at hand, *The Excellence of the Arabs*. It was no easy task to prepare the Arabic edition: the only extant manuscript (in Cairo’s *Dār al-Kutub*) is fragmentary and partly illegible. The editors puzzled out an excellent rendering of the Arabic text, relying on previous editions (notably the partial edition by M. Kurd ‘Alī [Cairo, 1954] and that by W. M. Khālīṣ [Abu Dhabi, 1998]) and collating parallel texts from Ibn Qutayba’s other works to restore lost passages and emend the text. Passages that could not be identified are duly marked by ellipses. All emendations are recorded in the footnotes, and, with no exception, the editors’ proposed changes are intelligent and wise. Unfortunately, one section of book two, on Bedouin medicine, seems to be completely lost. An anecdote that was probably part of this lost section (§2.3.22) is presented in translation by citing al-Dīnawarī (p. xxix), testifying to the misfortune of this section being lost.

The English translation is a page-turner. The Arabic is difficult, but the translators’ command is apparent in how they avoid the complex syntax, verbosity, and numerous repetitions that are characteristic of Classical Arabic. The judiciousness of the series’ decision to opt for English felicity over a more literal English rendering of the Arabic provides the reader with a genuine grasp of what Ibn Qutayba is really saying. All involved are to be congratulated!

The translation is further enhanced by numerous endnotes that clarify—for instance, Arabic word-play, sources, and utensils referred to—or provide a context for historical events. As is standard for LAL, people, tribes, places, and a number of key terms are included in a glossary; only thirteen names appeared to be unidentifiable. In addition, an extended glossary and a list of errata are available online.

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Longing for the Lost Caliphate: A Transregional History. By MONA HASSAN. Princeton: PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2016. Pp. xv + 390. \$45, £37.95.

The caliphate has long been an elusive subject for scholars and nonscholars alike. This is especially so given that a universally recognized caliphate ceased to exist after 1924 and that most Muslims

today live under nation-states carved out of former world empires. It is thus convenient to assume that Muslims have simply moved on. Scholars such as H. A. R. Gibb and Ann K. S. Lambton have traced this supposed Muslim apathy toward the caliphate even further back in time. They claim that in light of the Abbasid caliphate's political weakness from the tenth century onward, medieval Muslim jurists and theologians formulated legal fictions to preserve the caliphate as the cornerstone of the Sharia, but eventually dropped them altogether after the Mongols trampled to death the last Abbasid caliph in 1258. Mona Hassan's *Longing for the Lost Caliphate* aims to revise this view by addressing Muslim reactions to the loss of the caliphate following two separate events: the Mongol destruction of the Abbasid caliphate in 1258 and the abolition of the Ottoman caliphate in 1924 by Mustafa Kemal and the Turkish Grand National Assembly. It adopts a transregional approach by exploring the collective memories of the caliphate among Muslims living within and far beyond domains under the direct suzerainty of the caliphs.

The book consists of an introduction, six chapters (divided evenly between post-1258 and post-1924 developments), and an epilogue. Chapter one maps out the emotive responses to the Mongols' killing of al-Musta'şim and their sack of Baghdad in 1258. As Hassan demonstrates in this chapter, a deep-seated sense of nostalgia, anguish, trauma, and eschatological end can be discerned in the historical writings and poetry addressing this devastating event. While these works circulated widely in the Islamic world, so too did the emotions that these writings sought to express. In fact, the transregional, mobile network of Muslim intellectuals across Afro-Eurasia helped sustain the tragic events of 1258 as a collective memory that "continued to generate intense depths of emotions" (p. 28) among Muslims over the centuries.

Most of chapter two focuses on the revival three years later of the Abbasid caliphate in Cairo by the Mamluk sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars. Despite the dizzying array of personalities and events involved in this endeavor, Hassan effectively reconstructs and renders it into readable prose. Inclusion of a genealogical table of the Abbasid dynasty (given that five claimants of the caliphate after 1258 are accounted for in this chapter) and a concise timeline of events would have been helpful to readers unfamiliar with this episode of history. The second half of the chapter discusses the tensions engendered by the reinauguration of the caliphate. The presence of the caliph in Cairo added religious prestige to the Mamluk sultanate and a sultan's maltreatment of the caliph could risk alienating leading members of the religious and military elite. This suggests that the Cairene caliphs were key players in Mamluk politics and overturns prevailing misconceptions that they were merely insignificant and powerless ceremonial figures at the Mamluk court. The chapter closes with a brief sketch of how the subsequent Delhi, Bengal, and fledgling Ottoman sultanates sought legitimation from the Cairene caliphs, thus attesting to the Abbasids' enduring legacy beyond Mamluk domains.

Chapter three returns to the realm of texts and analyzes how Mamluk-era scholars "articulated creative solutions to solidify the legal foundations of the reconstituted Abbasid Caliphate in Cairo" (p. 108). In addition to widening the pool of sources for the study of Islamic political thought, the strength of this chapter lies in Hassan's attempt to situate the scholars and their writings in relation to specific circumstances of the Cairene caliphate. For instance, al-Qalqashandī's *Ma'āthir al-ināfa fī ma'ālim al-khilāfa*, usually mined for historical data on the caliphate in Baghdad, is given a more contextualized treatment as a work dedicated to the Cairene caliph al-Mu'taḍid III (r. 1414–1441). Yet while Hassan successfully proves that the Abbasid caliphate in Cairo still constituted the focal point for much political thinking during the Mamluk period, the texts discussed are largely legitimist in character with regard to the caliphate. Taking into consideration scholars who did not adopt such pro-caliphal views might yield more diverse opinions on the caliphate and a richer landscape of political discourse. The Mālikī jurist Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī (d. 1285)—along with Sherman Jackson's works on him ("From Prophetic Actions to Constitutional Theory: A Novel Chapter in Medieval Muslim Jurisprudence," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 25,2 [1993]: 71–90; *Islamic Law and the State: The Constitutional Jurisprudence of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996])—though absent in Hassan's discussion, is a case in point.

Chapter four fast-forwards to 1924 and investigates the immediate responses to the abolition of the Ottoman caliphate. In addition to offering a diverse map of responses among the learned and political elite in different Muslim lands, Hassan's use of consular reports preserved in the British National

Archives ensures that popular sentiments on the ground are also taken into account. The removal of the Ottoman caliphate, she observes, was met with opposition and protest from various groups in Turkish society, including disenchanted nationalists like Halit Bey, Zeki Bey, and Rıza Nur. Dissenters across Turkey were dealt with using a mix of military force, political show trials, and assassinations. Elsewhere, in India, Egypt, Indonesia, and the Maghrib, the swift abolition of the caliphate elicited an overall sense of shock, resentment, and betrayal, especially among Muslims who had rendered assistance to the Turkish War of Independence. This was not true, however, in the Levant, where popular opinion “leaned more heavily in support of a vocally independent Arab nationalism and the competing caliphal claims of Sharif Ḥusayn” (p. 171).

Chapter five centers on the discussions leading up to the Cairo caliphate conference in 1926, drawing heavily on documents in the al-Azhar library and the British and Egyptian national archives. Although the conference’s ultimate aim of resurrecting the caliphate was not realized, it spurred a wide range of opinions from Muslim intellectuals worldwide regarding what institutional form the new caliphate ought to assume. Hassan remarks that these contributions “merged a sensibility of Islamic transregionalism with the infectious spirit of a new age of global internationalism” (p. 186). Particularly noteworthy were suggestions to model the reconstituted caliphate on the post-World War I papacy, which reversed its loss of territorial sovereignty into an opportunity to widen its transnational religious authority and social influence. Hassan also argues against scholarly views that write off the conference as “a disastrous affair bereft of positive outcome” (p. 214) by drawing attention to lines of continuity in the writings of the Egyptian jurist ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Sanhūrī and in the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC).

Chapter six examines the heated debates regarding the caliphate among Turkish and Egyptian intellectuals during the early 1920s as well as the dire consequences that ensued. Most of the chapter revolves around the controversial book *al-Islām wa-uṣūl al-ḥukm* by ‘Alī ‘Abd al-Rāziq, an Islamic court judge and graduate of al-Azhar. In this treatise, ‘Abd al-Rāziq contended that the caliphate had no basis in the Islamic faith, a view previously alluded to by the Turkish politician Seyyid Bey. But what made ‘Abd al-Rāziq’s ideas more controversial was his claim that “the Prophet Muḥammad himself was only a messenger sent by God and not a political ruler” (p. 226). ‘Abd al-Rāziq’s treatise generated scores of refutations from leading religious scholars of his time and eventually led to his removal from the ranks of al-Azhar scholars and from his post as *qāḍī*. Hassan’s analysis of ‘Abd al-Rāziq’s ideas and career could have been enriched by delving into his intellectual influences from European orientalist, a point alluded to (pp. 225–26) but not elaborated. In justifying his claim that there is no Quranic justification for the caliphate, ‘Abd al-Rāziq refers to Thomas Arnold’s book *The Caliphate*. It is no mere coincidence that this work, which insists that the caliph enjoyed no spiritual functions and deems the formal transfer of the caliphate from the Abbasid caliph in Cairo al-Mutawakkil III to the Ottoman sultan Selim to be a fabricated fiction, was published the same year the Ottoman caliphate was abolished. A deeper engagement with this and other orientalist writings of the period might shed light on the circulation of ideas between Europe and the Middle East and bring the book’s transregional approach into sharper focus.

Overall, *Longing for the Lost Caliphate* lives up to its claim as a revisionist enterprise in demonstrating that the loss of the Abbasid and Ottoman caliphates, far from marking the end of the Muslim quest for legitimate leadership, in fact invigorated it and produced creative intellectual and institutional solutions. The book would benefit from an inquiry into more concrete connections between 1258 and 1924. For instance, did post-1924 writers draw parallels between the abolition of the Ottoman caliphate and the Mongol destruction of the Abbasid caliphate in 1258? Aside from a brief statement pointing to the Turkish intellectual Said Nursi’s (d. 1960) possible likening of Mustafa Kemal to Hülegü Khan (p. 249) and his allegorical interpretation of a hadith linking the demise of the Ottoman caliphate to the Abbasid caliphate (pp. 251–52), this question is hardly probed in the book, which thus reads like two separate monographs. This minor quibble aside, Hassan is to be praised for mustering a staggering range of sources in laying out a rich tapestry of emotive, institutional, and intellectual responses to 1258 and 1924. Her engagement with scholarship on medieval Europe and modern-day Christian and

Jewish movements also provides useful insights for comparison. This book is a welcome contribution to modern scholarly studies on the caliphate.

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Against Dharma: Dissent in the Ancient Indian Sciences of Sex and Politics. By WENDY DONIGER.
New Haven: YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2018. Pp. xvi + 226. \$26.

Against Dharma is a comparative study of what we might call the *trivargapradhānaśāstrāṇi*. These are the premiere (*pradhāna*) instructional treatises (*śāstras*) of ancient India associated with each of the “group of three” virtues (*trivarga*): sacred law (*dharma*), material success (*artha*), and pleasure (*kāma*). All three texts will be well known to Indologists. The first is the *Mānava Dharmasāstra*, commonly known as the *Laws of Manu*. It is the most important of the *dharmaśāstras*, texts that enunciate tenets of Brāhmaṇical orthodoxy and orthopraxy. The second is the *Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya*, the most extensive manual of statecraft to have survived from the classical period. The last is the *Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana*, the oldest extant handbook of erotics in South Asia. Based on Professor Doniger’s 2014 Terry Lectures at Yale University, *Against Dharma* puts these three texts in conversation and argues that the latter two give evidence of a robust tradition of scientific dissent against the dominant cultural ethos, which is expressed in the first.

The historical context of the study is the Maurya-Gupta interregnum (second c. BCE to fourth c. CE). Doniger characterizes this period as a time of foreign invasion and influence in which “[t]here were no great dynasties,” and small kingdoms were “almost constantly at war with one another”; it was “a creative chaos that inspired the scholars of the time to bring together all their knowledge, as into a fortified city, to preserve it for whatever posterity there might be” (p. 2). Among the intellectual products of this unsettled period were treatises “devoted to the three human aims (*puruṣārthas*)” (p. 5), another expression for the chief virtues pursued by humans. The elements of the *trivarga* have served historically to epitomize the disciplinary values that characterize the *Mānava Dharmasāstra*, *Arthaśāstra*, and *Kāmasūtra* as bodies of technical instruction. Although these texts claim that each virtue can be pursued in a way that reinforces the others, Doniger rightly points out that “[a]rtha and kama are in direct conflict with certain aspects of dharma from the start” (p. 13). The *Arthaśāstra* and *Kāmasūtra*, whatever else they might say, advise actions that go against sacred law as a matter of course. Based on “the power of the more traditional Brahmins” (p. 22), however, it was *dharma* among the *trivarga* that was hegemonic. The composers of the *Arthaśāstra* and *Kāmasūtra* had to contend with Brāhmaṇical orthodoxy as the dominant cultural ethos.

The detailed comparative study in *Against Dharma* is at once so promising and so fruitful that one wonders why it has not been attempted more often. The answer lies, perhaps, in the fact that few have possessed the requisite expertise to produce much more than superficial comparisons or narrowly targeted studies. Professor Doniger has co-translated both the *Mānava Dharmasāstra* and the *Kāmasūtra* and explored the relationship between the *Kāmasūtra* and the *Arthaśāstra* in her recent monograph, *Redeeming the Kamasutra* (Oxford 2016). Her fine-grained understanding of all three texts supports a depth of comparison that has, in general, been wanting, and her insight into their potential relevance to contemporary understandings of India’s past sharpens the conclusions that she is able to draw. By attending to what is harmonious as well as what is dissonant between these three important Brāhmaṇical texts, Doniger’s study illuminates the vibrancy and variegation of their intellectual milieu, which improves the potential value of each as a historical source.

Following on her previous work, Doniger shows that the *Kāmasūtra* was heavily influenced by the *Arthaśāstra*, in form as well as in content (chapter 2). Both “advocate blatant transgressions against dharma” (chapters three and four), but “developed mechanisms to allow them to pay superficial lip