

RECENT BOOKS

HADRAMAWT AND THE INDIAN OCEAN: EIGHT YEARS OF RESEARCH ON DIASPORA AND HOMELAND

Hadhrami Traders, Scholars, and Statesmen in the Indian Ocean, 1750s-1960s, ed. by U. Freitag & W.G. Clarence Smith. Leiden: Brill (Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East and Asia 57) 1997. x, 392 pp. ISBN 90-04-10771-1. € 141 hb.

Indian Ocean Migrants and State Formation in Hadhramaut: reforming the homeland by U. Freitag. Leiden: Brill (Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East and Asia 87) 2003. xv, 589 pp. ISBN 90-04-12850-6. € 161 hb.

The past decade has seen an increasing interest in the Indian Ocean as a field of study, in disciplines as varied as social anthropology, history, cultural studies (ethnomusicology, arts etc.) and linguistics. A number of conferences have been held and there has been a surge in publications. The common theme in these studies has been the underlying assumption that the Indian Ocean over a very long period has been a field of intense cultural exchange between the coastal regions of East Africa, South Arabia, India and the archipelagos of Southeast Asia. The Ḥaḍramīs of southern Yemen were one group who travelled this world from an early time.

In 1995, a workshop entitled ‘South Arabian Migration Movements in the Indian Ocean, the Hadhrami case c. 1750-1967’ was held at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. The result was a volume of articles edited by U.

Freitag and W.G. Clarence-Smith, containing 20 articles on various aspects of Ḥaḍramī presence on the shores of the Indian Ocean. The articles dealt with politics, social stratification, religious and social reform as well as economic dynamics—both in the homeland and in the Ḥaḍramī communities overseas. The volume also represented a major renewal of research, after the long hiatus following the works of scholars like R.B. Serjeant and Abdallah Bujra.

In the years that have passed since that workshop, several of the contributors have completed monographs or large-scale studies on their respective topics. This includes Natalie Mobini Kesheh (*The Hadrami Awakening: Community and Identity in the Netherlands East Indies 1900-1942*, Southeast Asia Program Publications 1999), Linda Boxberger (*On the Edge of Empire: Hadhramawt, Emigration and the Indian Ocean, 1880s-1930s*, SUNY Press 2002), Friedhelm Hartwig (*Hadhramaut und das Indische Fürstentum von Hyderabad. Hadramitische Sultanatsgründungen und Migration im 19. Jahrhundert*, Mitteilungen zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte der Islamischen Welt, Band 8, Würzburg 2000), Eng Seng Ho ('Genealogical Figures in an Arabian Indian Ocean Diaspora', Ph.D. Thesis, University of Chicago 2000) and Peter Ridell (*Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World*, Hurst 2000). Last, but not least, in 2003 the co-editor of the initial volume, Dr. Ulrike Freitag, published her own monograph *Indian Ocean Migrants and State Formation in Hadhramawt*. In addition, several other scholars have completed studies that deal either directly or indirectly with Ḥaḍramawt or the Ḥaḍramī presence in places other than Ḥaḍramawt.

In total, the past ten years has seen very active publication in the field of Indian Ocean studies, and in the study of the Ḥaḍramī presence in its coastal areas. It is timely, thus, to review together the volume edited by Freitag and Clarence-Smith with the monograph published by Freitag in 2003.

As mentioned above, *Hadhrami Traders* included 20

articles distributed on four different topics. Seen together, they bring out the complexities (home/diaspora, issues of identity and social change) and theoretical challenges connected with this type of study, as well as the rich variety and wide geographical distribution of the Ḥaḍramī Indian Ocean experience. Most prominently, they highlight the complex relationship between homeland and diaspora. Those who left worked to pay for those at home, and by the late nineteenth century, they were also involved in concrete efforts to reform their homeland. Those who stayed behind had their own concerns but their political, economic and social development were inextricably linked to the fate of the overseas community. At the same time, those both at home and abroad were subject to various degrees of change in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, due to European expansion, economic shifts and intellectual changes in Islamic thought and practice.

Home and away: Diaspora and homeland and a wider perspective

Friedhelm Hartwig ('Expansion, State Foundation and Reform', p. 35-50) gives a persuasive analysis of the political turbulence in nineteenth-century Ḥaḍramawt and the close links between the contestants for power and tribesmen in the service of the *niḡām* of Hyderabad and the 'Alawī *sādā* and their compatriots in Indian Ocean lands. While focusing more on the homeland itself in her presentation of its politics from 1888-1967, Linda Boxberger ('Hadhrami Politics, 1888-1967', p. 51-66), too, returns frequently to the amassing of fortune and influence of Ḥaḍramīs, particularly in Java. This, in turn, could be used to influence politics in the homeland. The two next articles—by Omar Khalidi ('The Hadhrami Role in the Politics and Society of Colonial India', p. 67-81) and Mohammed Reduzan Othman ('Hadhramis in the Politics and Administration of the Malay States in the late 18th and 19th Centuries', p. 82-93), respectively—present the reverse picture: The impact of the Ḥaḍramīs in

colonial India (Hyderabad in particular) and in the Malay states. The tendency of the Ḥaḍramīs to succeed in finance, their careers in the army as well as their status as Arab Muslims, tended to make them influential also in their adopted homelands. As Huub de Jonge shows in his contribution ('Dutch Colonial Policy Pertaining to Hadhrami Immigrants', p. 94-111), the Ḥaḍramīs in the Dutch colony of Indonesia (Dutch East Indies) were so numerous—and some also so influential—that a series of special policies were issued to deal with their presence. As Ulrike Freitag points out in her article ('Hadhramis in International Politics, c. 1750-1967', p. 112-30), which discusses Ḥaḍramīs in international politics between 1750 and 1967, internal dissent both in the homeland and in the *maḥjar*, led to the internationalization of conflict which reflected colonial rivalries and hence led to colonial intervention.

The issues of political dissent portrayed by these authors is reflected in studies of social change. Eng Seng Ho ('Hadhramis abroad and in the Hadhramaut: The *Muwalladīn*', p. 131-46) focuses on a familiar figure in Ḥaḍramī history: the *muwallad*, or ethnically mixed offspring born in diaspora. The *muwallad* journey from *maḥjar* (land of migration) to homeland and back reflects a series of complex issues in the study of a 'travelling people', such as genealogy, social and political status, differences in experience and ascribed typologies which continues to have an impact in present-day Ḥaḍramawt. Although Ḥaḍramī society has been described (by early scholars such as Ingrams, Serjeant, and later Abdallah Bujra) as rigidly stratified, Sylvaine Camelin ('Reflections on the System of Social Stratification in Hadhramaut', p. 147-56) discusses this dictum by presenting a view which incorporates other realities, particularly the local whereby each community can be said to be organized by its own distinct stratification lines. Marriage patterns are one way of reproducing social hierarchies, and Françoise le Guennec-Coppens discusses the marriage pattern of Ḥaḍramīs in East Africa ('Changing

Patterns of Hadhrami Migration', p. 157-74). Here, again, the links between 'overseas' and 'home' is played out, as marriage patterns are also a way of forming networks. The patterns of integration and the roles of the Ḥaḍramīs in their new homeland are also the theme of Stephen Dale who describes the situation in Malibar in India ('The Hadhrami Diaspora in South-Western India', p. 175-84). Eventually, the diasporic experience (however defined) touches on issues of ethnicity, especially so under colonial rule, as Sumit K. Mandal shows from Java under Dutch rule ('Natural Leaders of Native Muslims: Arab Ethnicity and Politics in Java under Dutch Rule', p. 185-98).

Through migration, Ḥaḍramīs also represented the spread of Islam to Indian Ocean lands, and the spread of their particular form of Islam. Alexander Knysh ('The Cult of Saints and Religious Reformism in Hadhramaut', p. 199-216) and Peter G. Ridell ('Religious Links between Hadhramaut and the Malay-Indonesian World', p. 217-30) both discuss the spread of the particular Sufi order adhered to by the *sādā* (*ashrāf*) of Ḥaḍramawt; both in the physical dissemination of books and the itineraries of wandering scholars. Islamic reform, too, was an 'item' that could travel—in both directions. This is demonstrated by Natalie Mobini-Kesheh ('Islamic Modernism in Colonial Java', p. 231-48) and Azyumardi Azra ('A Hadhrami Religious Scholar in Indonesia: Sayyid Uthman', p. 249-63).

Last, but not least, the widespread migration had its own dynamics. As Christian Lekon shows ('The Impact of Remittances on the Economy of Hadhramaut', p. 264-80), Ḥaḍramawt in the period 1917–1967 was a society heavily dependant on remittances. Conversely, as shown by Janet Ewald ('The Economic Role of the Hadhrami Diaspora', p. 281-96) and William G. Clarence-Smith ('Hadhrami Entrepreneurs in the Malay World', p. 297-314), the Ḥaḍramīs were net contributors also in their host societies—such as in the Red Sea area. Gervase-Smith shows the same phenomena to be true also in the Malay world.

With hindsight, the volume edited by Freitag and Clarence-Smith can be seen as presenting the wide range of topics and themes relevant to the study of Ḥaḍramawt and the Ḥaḍramī diaspora—and the state of research as it was by the mid-1990s. Its primary achievement is the wide scope through which social, political, religious and economic issues are discussed. It is a thoroughly well composed and edited volume that incorporates a level of theoretical reflection and analytical discussion which brings the topic of study a real and substantial step forward. As it stands today, it is a useful book for anyone interested in the dynamics of Indian Ocean studies, as well as those with an interest in South Arabia and its connections to the outside world.

Migrants and the state: Travellers in reform

However, as mentioned, the volume served as a ‘point of reference’ for a number of its contributors. In that sense, the monograph recently published by Ulrike Freitag can be seen as a touchstone for the state of this research today. As several of the contributions described above stressed the relationship between migrants and home, this is the main topic and underlying hypothesis of Freitag’s book. The reform of the homeland was closely connected with developments in the overseas communities—particularly in Southeast Asia but also India and the Arab world—Yemen and the Ḥijāz in particular. Based on a wealth of sources, deriving from Ḥaḍramawt, from several corners of the Ḥaḍramī diaspora, the wider Islamic world as well as from colonial records, the author discusses the various forms of reforms emerging from the early nineteenth century and onwards to the revolution of 1967.

The wealth of sources allow for a wide discussion which thoroughly brings out the dynamic element even in the early reform movements of nineteenth-century Ḥaḍramawt. Drawing on biographical material, Freitag demonstrates the range of impulses which shaped the views of a reformers such as Ṭāhir b. Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir and Aḥmad

b. °Umar b. Zayn b. Sumayṭ. The wide scope also allows for discussion of such reformist ideas in relation to traditional tribal leadership and emerging thoughts of Islamic (Sufi) reform. The author discusses very convincingly the political history of Ḥaḍramī society, with reference to the Qu°ayṭī and Kathīrī tribal rulers and their respective links—and opponents—both locally and overseas. In so doing, she draws on a range of previously un-used material which allows for greater detail in the portrayal of the emergence of the Ḥaḍramī version of *dawla*—statehood.

Chapter Four contains a very detailed, thoroughly researched and fascinating description of the world as seen by the traveling Ḥaḍramī trader-scholar in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The author here manages to demonstrate the impact of such scholars as Aḥmad Zaynī Daḥlān (on whom a full biography should be written!) and of contemporary developments in Cairo, Istanbul, Syria, Hyderabad, Europe and even Japan. All of these were ‘ports of call’ for a man like Sayyid Abū Bakr b. Shihāb al-Dīn (1846-1922). The widened perspective introduced by Freitag brings out clearly the burgeoning ‘proto-globalisation’ of the Ḥaḍramī world, and the impact this had on ideas concerning the homeland. The culmination of this process is discussed in Chapter Five, where the alleged *naḥḍa* or ‘renaissance’ of the Ḥaḍramīs in Southeast Asia is convincingly re-interpreted. Freitag brings new nuances to the *sayyid / irshādī* (Prophet’s descendants versus Islamic modernists) dichotomy and demonstrates the complexities of this development. This chapter also contains an important discussion of the actual financial activities (capitalist entrepreneurship) of the Ḥaḍramīs in Java and Singapore, empirical data which until now has been lacking. This, in turn, can be linked to changing definitions of status, as well as to the formation of associations—as Freitag demonstrates. In other words, the emergence of the outspokenly reformist groups in Southeast Asia was the product of a long evolution—economic, political and intellectual—and influenced both by local,

regional and global developments.

In this light, Chapter Six returns to the Ḥaḍramawt to discuss the changes in religious education in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Central to this is a thorough analysis of the new *ribāṭs* (religious colleges) of Say³ūn and Tarīm, their funding, teaching programs and social impact. Freitag's contention is that the new organizations were given the *organizational structures of reform* but that real reform (of state, of finance, of thought), was slow in coming, if not wholly lacking. This, in turn, frustrated prominent diaspora Ḥaḍramīs, and the dynamic between home and away is again brought out. Here, Freitag draws particularly on a range of journals and contemporary writers, and provide new insights to a contested period.

In the following chapter, the author deals with the role of the influential and wealthy al-Kāf family in the 1937 'Ingrams Peace'. Again, the impossibility of fully describing the developments of the 1930s without taking the diaspora into account is clearly demonstrated. The last two chapters concern the period from the Second World War until the 1967 demise of British presence in Southern Arabia. In this period, as the author demonstrates, new forces played a role, while the links to the diaspora remained—albeit tenuously.

The strength of Freitag's work is its focus on biography (personal life narratives) combined with a theoretical clarity which places the events described in relief both to internal Islamic thought and to European points of view. A further strength is the clarity by which the dualism of home and diaspora is demonstrated in every period, on issues political, economic and intellectual. The enormous amount and variety of sources (especially the richness of Ḥaḍramī and other Arabic sources) adds to its solidity and makes this book an obvious must for any scholar interested in Ḥaḍramī society and the dynamics of reform. Its distinct integration of 'home' and 'away' narratives also makes it an exemplary work for readers interested in the dynamics of diasporic societies. Last, but not least, this book is a substantial

contribution to the field of 'Indian Ocean Studies' as it is a thorough portrayal of one of the peoples who has left a mark on this region.

In light of the volume discussed above, Freitag's work is also a substantial integrative effort, whereby the several themes of Ḥaḍramī history are discussed and interpreted in one coherent and thorough narrative. It deserves to be a new 'point of reference' for the future continuation of this research.

Anne K. Bang

THE GELEDI SULTANATE

Somali Sultanate: The Geledi City-State over 150 Years by Virginia Luling. London: Haan Publishing 2002. xiv, 296 pp. ISBN 1-87420958-8. £ 30 pb.

Since the fall of Siyad Barre's government in early 1990 Somalia has been regarded as something of an intellectual black hole by most scholars. While countless books have been published since then, these have mainly been of the 'what went wrong' school serving as either a case study in the failure of post-colonial states or a cautionary tale about the dangers inherent in so-called 'humanitarian' military intervention. A few books, based mostly on pre-civil war fieldwork, have emerged since then that provide welcome relief from the usual catalogue of grief and mayhem. One of these is Virginia Luling's *Somali Sultanate—The Geledi City-State over 150 years*.

Somali Sultanate is the long overdue published version of Luling's 1971 Ph.D. thesis 'The Social Structure of Southern Somali Tribes', which took as its subject the southern town of Afgooye. From its origins along the lower reaches of the Shabeelle River in the mid-nineteenth century Afgooye served as the political and economic epicenter of the Geledi sultanate, a loose confederation of agro-pastoral clans led by the Goobroon sultans whose power was based partly on their perceived military and mystical prowess but more importantly on the sudden rise of commercial agriculture from the 1830s. By the early 1990s and the outbreak of civil war, the town had become more or less a suburb of 'greater' Mogadishu and a shadow of its former self. Luling notes that as a work of social anthropology her primary goal is to sketch the historical boundaries of the Afgooye community from its founding down to the near present. As such she wishes to treat 'the recent upheavals simply as the latest episode in the community's history—an

episode which it experiences in its own way, as it did earlier episodes, and in which both change and continuity with the past are manifested' (p. 2). Such a historical approach, while not seeking to directly engage the debates surrounding the pathology of the 'failed state' does have something to offer those hoping to gain insight into the current plight of Somalia. Specifically, through her examination of Geledi social and communal structure in and around Afgooye, Luling suggests a more nuanced understanding of clan and kinship relations within a historical context may result in more productive efforts to restore the country's shattered civil society.

Luling looks at this past thematically rather than chronologically. Chapters One to Four provide a general historical and sociological overview of town history while subsequent chapters tackle more specific issues and the ways in which the community has confronted them over time. Thus, Chapters Five to Seven explore the world of social relations through the traditional Somali descent system and the complex—not to mention contentious—relationships that exist between pastoralist and farmer; rural and urban; free and slave. Chapters Eight and Nine examine how such social divisions 'conditioned' the local economy determining who could and could not hold land and defining client-patron as well as commercial relationships. Chapters Ten and Eleven describe the political organization of Afgooye and the Geledi sultanate as a whole and how its power structures managed to maintain their relevance long after losing their political independence first under Italian colonial and later Somali national rule. While covering a span of more than 150 years, Luling notes that the one constant is the almost unceasing tension between various elements of society described in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. How, she asks, does the community function despite the attendant animosities? The last three chapters (Twelve-Fourteen) set out to shed light on how such a fractious community could maintain its cohesion over such a

long period of time. Chapter Twelve examines the use of inter-clan alliances that cut across 'barriers of culture, dialect and descent group', as a way of maintaining communal tranquility while Chapter Thirteen takes a brief look at the use of religion and spirituality as both a unifying and occasionally disruptive local force. Finally, Chapter Fourteen examines the role of the annual stick fight known as *istun*. Luling argues that this ritual combat acts not simply as an outlet for social tensions within the Afgooye community but also serves as a model for broader socio-political relations. In more recent years in particular, rather than a simple ritual conflict between well defined elements of the town, she notes, the annual fights take place between various teams fighting as loose coalitions representing traditional alliances.

At first glance many of the chapters of *Somali Sultanate* may seem 'old-fashioned' ethnography with a heavy emphasis on structural/functionalism and 'thick description'. Certainly, most of the chapters are written in a style that tends to emphasize detail over analysis. To regard this as a fatal flaw, however, would be to overlook two of the book's greatest strengths. First is the very detail itself. Apart from the works of Lee Cassanelli (who draws heavily on Luling's thesis) Luling has been one of the few scholars to write in detail about the Geledi or the town of Afgooye. As a result much of the data contained in this work regarding topics such as descent group relations, domestic life and spiritual practice has until now been available only in her thesis. Making this data more accessible would, by itself, warrant the publication of this book.

More important, however, are the conclusions Luling draws from this data. The author argues that until now most lay observers of the Somali situation have passively accepted the idea of 'clan competition' as the 'natural state' of Somali society and the root cause of the currently intractable civil war. This competition, according to this school of thought, takes place not only between pastoral lineages but

characterizes the relationship between groups that follow different modes of existence. Thus, pastoralists farmers and urbanites find themselves locked in a never-ending battle for resources with one another resulting in a state of undying antagonism. Luling contends that while competition between groups certainly exists, it hardly characterizes social interaction as a whole. Instead, she argues, social relations between descent, ethnic and economic groups are just as likely to be governed by concepts of tolerance, cooperation and alliance as they are by competition a contention her data easily supports. Luling's book, therefore, represents an important alternative paradigm for studying Somali society. Rather than approaching it as a society riddled by factional competition where chaos and violence are the natural state of affairs, Luling views such moments as anomalies. Instead, she argues, the more usual state of Somali society is one where tolerance and cooperation hold sway in the name of common interest. Certainly, all would agree, this is an image that holds much greater hope for the future.

Scott S. Reese

IZALA AND MUSLIM MODERNITY

Muslim Modernity in Postcolonial Nigeria: A Study of the Society for the Removal of Innovation and Reinstatement of Tradition by Ousmane Kane. Leiden: Brill (Islam in Africa, 1) 2003. xxii, 283 pp. ISBN 90-04-12588-4. € 90.

This volume is a very valuable contribution to scholars of Islam in Northern Nigeria, Islam in the modern world, colonialism and postcolonial studies, African politics, and the educated general reader. The author states: ‘This study aims to provide an analytical account of the restructuring of the religious field in Kano in particular, as the result of radical social changes that occurred particularly in the 1970s. In the process, I hope to provide a study of the largest single Islamic reform movement in West Africa, that is, the Society for the Removal of Innovation and Reinstatement of Tradition’ known more commonly by its acronym ‘Izala’ (p. 20). Kane’s central contention is that Islamic reform movements are agents of an Islamic modernity that is different from Western/European modernity, generally regarded as the normative modernity. He characterizes the ‘normative modernity’ that developed in Western Europe between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries as the result of a series of the emergences (i.e., appearances): capitalism (economic modernity), nation-states (political modernity), social order comprised of individuals with equal rights and duties (social modernity) and scientific reason replacing religious beliefs on the origins, development and future of the universe (cultural modernity). Kane examines the evolution of Islamic reforms in Northern Nigeria to demarcate the contours of an alternative modernity among Muslims, thereby demonstrating that ‘the notion of modernity that was born in the West and exported to the rest must be transcended and that an alternative approach to a modernity, whose contours were to a large extent shaped by

the colonial relation, be refocused' (p. 6).

Kane critically engages the vast literature on the modernization of Islamic societies in two ways: (1) reforming religion and society, and (2) Islamizing the state. He identifies rapid and massive urbanization, the impact of the Iranian revolution of 1979, anti-Western attitudes, and a lack of democracy as the key points commonly discernible in the growing literature on Islamic political activism (a.k.a. Islamism, Islamic fundamentalism, etc.). He remarks that although all these points are observable in Africa, 'little scholarly attention has been devoted to Islamism in sub-Saharan Africa' (p. 17). Had sufficient attention been paid to Islamism in Africa, the general but wrong impression that it is strictly based on Salafism would have been avoided, given the fact that in Africa many Sufis are equally attracted to Islamism. Kane presents his book as an update of the literature on Islam and social change in Northern Nigeria, emphasizing that none of the major works in this area pays enough explicit attention to the emergence of Izala Islamic reform movement as an agent of Muslim modernity. In each of the three areas (modernization of Islamic societies, the rise of Islamist political activism, and Islam in Northern Nigeria) that Kane positions his book, he significantly adds to our empirical knowledge and theoretical understanding of the issues.

Kane achieves theoretical clarity by the successful application of Pierre Bourdieu's field theory to explain linkages among components of Islamic reform movements without facile reduction of everything to economic determinism. He defines 'field' as a sphere of social activity (economic, social, religious, legal, etc.). The resources in a field that benefit actors constitute capital, including symbolic capital, that can be acquired in one field and exchanged in another. Kane then identifies 'five sorts of capital which are of significance in the socio-religious field of Northern Nigeria: non-formally certified cultural capital [religious expertise], formally certified cultural capital [reli-

gious and secular knowledge certified by university or another formal institution of learning], economic capital [material wealth], symbolic capital [status of a fighter for “true Islam” à la Qur^ʿān 4:95], and social capital [constituencies of supporters, clients, disciples *etc.* that a religious, economic, or political entrepreneur can recruit in the larger society]’ (p. 21-22). The pursuit, acquisition, and exchange of capital from one field to another are the mechanisms that theoretically account for the linkage and cleavage among the segments of Islamic reform movements in Northern Nigeria.

Although Chapters One and Two are based on secondary literature, even the Northern Nigeria specialists will find Kane’s reading of that literature refreshing in terms of what he calls ‘the process of the formation of modernity in Nigeria’ (p. 51). The novice will certainly find a very good outline of the main issues, particularly in Kane’s careful examination of the developments that have shaped Muslims’ encounter with political modernity through interface with the Nigerian state. Kane presents his primary data in Chapters Three to Six, with impressive attention to religious discourses that accompanied the intellectual challenge Islamic reformers posed to the dominance of Sufi orders. Chapter Three examines the rise of reform movements with membership largely comprising ‘rising generation of religious entrepreneurs [who] started to advocate interpretations of Islam that not only differed from, but, on some occasions, challenged or rejected the existing mainstream Sufi Islamic discourse’. Kane shows the various ways in which both internal (Nigerian) and external (Iran, Saudi Arabia, World Bank/IMF structural adjustment program) factors contributed to ‘the rise of new religious groups and the subsequent fragmentation of sacred authority’ (p. 103). In Chapter Four, he uses brief biographies of specific individuals to examine the social base of Izala by categorizing membership into three: religious leaders, patrons, and sympathizers. Kane shows convincingly that ‘Izala is a complex organization, supported by so many

different people with various motivations and different levels of commitment' (p. 122). By calling attention to how the various segments of Izala membership accumulate and exchange capital from one field to another, Kane demonstrates his skilful application of Pierre Bourdieu's field theory to illuminate the data at hand. In Chapter Five, he examines further the organizational dynamics of Izala by analyzing how the religious leaders select particular elements of *tawhīd* (theology), *ḥadīth* (traditions), and *sīra* (prophetic biography) to construct Islamic discourses aimed at 'emancipating the Yan Izala [i.e. members] from traditional institutions and beliefs, which have curtailed their autonomy', thereby revealing their role in the making of Muslim social and cultural modernity. Kane's mastery of Islamic studies shines through in this chapter just as his mastery of the modern social sciences is evident in every page.

In Chapter Six, the author focuses on Izala as a new religious movement in Kano, and the emergence of counter-reform movements that were forced to make changes in their religious beliefs and practices in response to Izala's reform agenda. And in Chapter Seven, he analyzes further ramifications of Izala reformism in relations to the increased tensions between Muslims and Christians that led to repeated outbreaks of violence in Kano, and in turn changed the basic patterns of conflict among Islamic movements. In Chapter Eight, Kane takes again the analysis of organizational dynamics, including the factors that led to factionalism and domestication of Islamic reform movements by the Nigerian state in the course of attempts by military regimes to control all social movements. While clearly relevant to understanding the broader political environment and the wider social ramifications of Islamic reform movements, the analyses in Chapters Six to Nine are not as directly and explicitly connected to Kane's central thesis on the influential roles of Islamic reform movements in the making of Muslim modernity.

Kane states that both Islamic reformers and Westernized Muslims emphasize educating Muslim women and an egalitarian vision in society and religion. Westernized Muslims, however, advocate gender equity and egalitarianism in ‘the name of modernity and under implicit influence of the legacy of post-enlightenment Europe, whereas Izala people claim that they feel duty-bound to reinstate the tradition of the Prophet. Each is the product of and tries to mediate social change, but each has a different ideological justification for change’ (p. 142). This remark implies that ideology differentiates between ‘normative modernity’ and ‘alternative modernity’. Another difference that remains implicit is that ‘Muslim modernity’ is alternative to Western European modernity because of the difference in the agents that articulate each modernity. Kane should have been more explicit in helping the reader to recognize the differences that separate Western normative modernity and Muslim alternative modernity. There is also a curious omission of religious modernity (modern religions) as distinct form of modernity separate from cultural modernity. This would have been pertinent in discussing Izala religious beliefs, since its Wahhābī scripturalism is arguably comparable to the *sola scriptura* of Protestant Christianity, the normative example of religious modernity. Perhaps these issues will require another book different from this richly documented and theoretically sophisticated volume.

Muhammad Sani Umar

ISLAM AND POLITICS IN SUDAN

Islam, Sectarianism and Politics in Sudan since the Mahdiyya by Gabriel Warburg. London: Hurst & Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press 2003. xv, 252 pp. ISBN 1-85065-590-1. \$19.95 pb; \$39.95 hb.

In *Islam, Sectarianism, and Politics in Sudan since the Mahdiyya*, Gabriel Warburg traces the role that Islam played in Sudanese politics during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the preface he describes this book as the culmination of thirty years' research on Sudanese history, and notes that it follows on the heels of several earlier books and articles, including his *The Sudan under Wingate* (1971), *Islam, Nationalism and Communism in a Traditional Society* (1978), *Historical Discord in the Nile Valley* (1992), and others. Warburg's long commitment to Sudanese studies is apparent. The scholarship displayed in *Islam, Sectarianism, and Politics* is as deep as it is broad, making the book a must-read for Sudan specialists.

The book falls into three main parts. In a concise fifty-six pages, the first part provides a brilliant survey of developments in the Turco-Egyptian and Mahdist periods (1821-1898). Distilling the English and Arabic scholarship of historians such as Hill, Holt, Abū Salīm, al-Qaddāl, Bjørkelo, O'Fahey, Spaulding, and others, Warburg points to major developments in Sufism, the Mahdist movement, and the Mahdist state, commenting along the way on major economic, political, and social trends. This first section offers a fresh synthesis of extant scholarship on the nineteenth century and will be particularly useful and valuable to historians. The second section covers developments in the Anglo-Egyptian period (1898-1956), considering, for example, British policy towards Sufism and neo-Mahdism, the organization of Shari'ah courts and of Islamic personal status law, and the emergence of Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahmān al-

Mahdī and Sayyid ʿAlī al-Mīrghanī as sectarian political rivals. In this second section, Warburg draws extensively on British sources from the Public Record Office in London and the Sudan Archive in Durham, as well as on Sudan Government intelligence reports. The third section of the book covers the postcolonial period from 1956 until 2000. In great detail, it examines sectarian politics, parliamentary interludes, and the policies of the ʿAbbūd, Numayrī, and Bashīr military regimes. It also traces the growth of the Sudanese Muslim Brothers movement, which has assumed various names and guises over the years (e.g., as the Islamic Charter Front, the National Islamic Front, and more recently the National Congress). In this third section, Warburg pays close attention to the politicking of Ṣādiq al-Mahdī and Ḥasan al-Turābī. Drawing upon newspaper reports, interviews, and other sources, this third section offers a dense analysis that will appeal to readers who have a solid background in contemporary Sudanese history and politics. Those who are new to the subject (and who want, for example, an overview of the dynamics of the Sudanese civil war) should consult more general accounts, such as Ann Lesch's *The Sudan: Contested National Identities* (1998).

The two-century scope of *Islam, Sectarianism, and Politics* enables Warburg to draw out some interesting parallels in modern Sudanese history. For example, he notes the similarities in Turco-Egyptian and Anglo-Egyptian policies towards Sufism. Both colonial regimes regarded Sufi shaykhs as backward yet potentially dangerous figures who could excite their loyal followers against foreign rule; both regimes therefore tried to outmaneuver Sufi leaders by cultivating a more legalistically-trained cadre of ʿulāmāʾ to serve in a centrally organized Islamic judiciary. (The British, for their part, only warmed to Sufi leaders during World War I when their support became useful to the regime.) Warburg also draws some parallels between the Mahdist era (1881-98) and the NIF-Bashīr era (1989-present), two periods of autocratic Islamic rule. He notes, too, that Jaʿfar

Numayrī may have been consciously harkening back to the Mahdist enterprise when he made his turn to political Islam in the late 1970s and early '80s, and assumed the quasi-messianic title of *imām*.

In describing British policy towards Islam in the Sudan, Warburg asserts that the British throughout their empire were guided by the principle of separation of church and state. On this point, I disagree somewhat with the author. I would suggest instead that this British policy of church-and-state separation was not uniform across the empire, but was applied only in African and Asian communities that followed scriptural religious traditions and that had literate indigenous classes of scholars (whether religious specialists or bureaucrats) who were capable of organizing anti-colonial resistance. In other words, this policy applied notably to Muslim and Hindu societies. It appears that British policies were quite different in regions inhabited by traditionally non-literate practitioners of local religions (peoples who tended to be politically atomized). Indeed, in the southern Sudan, as in Kenya, southern Nigeria, and other parts of sub-Saharan Africa, British regimes worked closely with the church—or more precisely, with a variety of churches that were organized as missions—in arranging education and medical services. In this regard, British policy towards Islam in the northern Sudan was dramatically different from policy towards traditional religions in the southern Sudan—British policies in the latter region in fact facilitated Christianization. Bearing these patterns in mind, I would suggest that in the Muslim-majority northern Sudan, British policy towards religion was more a matter of imperial pragmatism than principle. By distancing the government from Islamic affairs—even while supporting and supervising from on high Arabic and Islamic education, the Shar^cīa personal-status court system, and the Meccan pilgrimage—the British hoped to appease Muslims or to make the prospect of rule by Christians less odious.

Concluding his chapters on the crisis-afflicted post-

1956 period, Warburg draws two conclusions. First, he suggests, sectarianism in its neo-Mahdist and Khatmiyya versions looks set to remain a strong political force in future Sudanese politics, even if the Bashīr regime has been working since 1989 to suppress sectarian elements. And second, Islamic law and government, while perhaps not inimical to democracy in theory, are unlikely to work democratically in a unified and culturally pluralistic Sudan, particularly given the presence of significant Christian minorities in the South and in northern cities. Otherwise phrased, the Sudanese civil war is unlikely to end if northern-dominated regimes continue to insist on the nationwide application of Arab-Islamic precepts.

As an Israeli citizen, Warburg has never been able to visit Sudan. It is all the more impressive, therefore, that he knows the country's history and politics so intimately, as *Islam, Sectarianism, and Politics in Sudan since the Mahdiyya* makes evident. This book makes a forceful contribution to the Sudanese historical literature: readers, both Sudanese and non-Sudanese, should take note.

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