

court nobility and court officers and who holds his durbar with his divine tributary rajas who live in their respective temples and shrines in Puri. Here again the analogy with the kingdoms of the rajas of Orissa as Jagannatha's earthly deputies is quite self-evident. But the most fascinating result of Rösel's analysis of the temple legends is Jagannatha's integrative power. It operates on four different levels: 1. Through substitution of well-known Hindu gods and goddesses from all over India and Orissa, e.g. Rama from Rameshwar, Siva from Benares or Samalesvari from Sambalpur in Western Orissa; 2. accumulation of conquered or donated divine figures; 3. socialization of dangerous spirits and tribal deities, e.g. Bhadrakali, who devoured human beings in the jungles of Orissa, was allowed to settle in Puri and to become a vegetarian; 4. interregional coordination of portions of deities who have been dismembered after their death and spread all over India. All these deities were accommodated in Puri and duly honoured by separate shrines inside and outside of Jagannatha's temple compound. Through these different modes of integration the cult of Jagannatha and the temple city of Puri acted as the most important factor of local integration, the emergence of a regional tradition in Orissa and its integration or "universalization" in the all-Indian context.

The importance of Rösel's monography, however, lies not in the vast amount of detailed information, part of which has not even been mentioned at all in this review, e.g. the organization of pilgrimage and Puri's famous "pilgrim hunters". The uniqueness of his study certainly is the comprehensiveness of his structural analytical approach which leads him to far reaching conclusions. Some of them may be precipitate. But even historians will profit from the results of his "ahistorical and structural-anecdotal method" (p.99) of analysing the copperplate inscriptions, and Indologists should read carefully his "critical remarks on the Indological method" (p.218 ff.) which serve as an introduction to his analysis of Puri's temple legends. A few minor errors and Rösel's delight in witty formulations should not detract from the importance of his study. Its value can be appreciated only by those who have once stood at the "lion's gate" in front of the "Palast des Herrn der Welt" which no European has yet been allowed to enter.

Hermann Kulke

UWE HOERING (unter Mitarbeit von Christa Wichterich): Indien ohne Gandhi. Begegnung mit einer Gesellschaft im Aufbruch. (Peter Hammer-Taschenbuch, 22). Wuppertal: Peter Hammer Verlag, 1984. 207 pages, DM 14.80

The title of this book ("India without Gandhi") is, of course, doubly ironic after Mrs. Gandhi's assassination, but the author is referring to the Mahatma, who serves as a kind of discursive foil to situate topics like industrialization,

caste conflicts or land reforms in the context of an introduction to the complexity of India's socio-political configuration. The author does not romanticise Gandhian positions and Ambedkar and E. M. S. Namboodiripad are quoted to provide an objective and distanced presentation. This attitude accounts in no small measure for the book's success in steering clear of the usual extremes into which European reactions to India often fall: unconditional admiration or complete rejection. The author understands the simultaneity of feudal and capitalist social formations in the country with their conflicting and mutually reinforcing interests as also the international context of the situation. Many otherwise more ambitious and detailed books often do not pay enough attention to this point with the result that the India they present is in theoretical terms a monolithic undifferentiated entity. The resultant texts often have a peculiar "closed" character. There is a claim to authenticity ("I was out there") coupled with a symptomatic possessiveness about the subject matter which often brinks on authoritarianism.

Fortunately, Höring seems prepared to occupy a generic space which comes to terms with some of the textual problems posed by all attempts to represent other societies and histories. Attention to such problems is, of course, all the more necessary when there is an explicit claim to participate in some kind of internationalist discussion which does not reduce the "Third World" to the role of the mute object of study. The kind of polyphonic text without a dominating author that one would like to see more often is quite serious about the responsibility of writing about "Others" and therefore tends more and more towards a montage of elements, thus allowing the participation of both reader and reality in the complicated process of constructing a point of view.

Höring proceeds from the kind of exotic detail most readers would expect, like the village well, women tobacco workers or Howrah bridge and succeeds in eight precisely written texts in indicating their place in socio-historical contexts, like the weakening of caste barriers in times of need or the resistance to class exploitation or transportation problems.

These "encounters" as the author calls them form a spectrum which supplies the themes that form the subject matter of the book: the caste system and social oppression, land reform, agricultural development, ecological problems and energy crises, industrial development, health and hygiene, urbanization. The technique of reportage enables the author to convey a great deal of information within a readable presentation. Fortunately the author does not have a prescriptive authoritarian formula to project or a vision to redeem. This does not mean that the book does not take sides. On the contrary, there is a conscious "view from below" which is the fulcrum of the presentation: changing Indian reality is judged from what it does to the worker, Dalits, women, tribals, peasantry. The implicit underlying point is that the combination of socialist rhetoric, capitalist innovations and continuing feudal interests characteristic of the Indian crisis do not hold out the promise of any meaningful kind of progress as a whole. It remains literally sectarian.

There is, of course, enough evidence for this. The author contrasts the

failure of the land reform movement as practised from above with the more encouraging experience of West Bengal under the CPI(M). He sees how the nexus of caste-class oppression does not change through moral exhortation or a bureaucratic quota system and presents the very real problems Dalits have to realize their identity by either joining with all sections of the exploited or opting for a secessionist stance. The political and economic interests which underlie religious conflicts are also brought out. Likewise the author can show how international debt and dependency grow with capitalist ventures like 'operation flood' and how essential factors like land, prices, power and social structure are not touched by such innovations.

One can hardly demand that an introductory book of this kind can exhaust all facets of India. With the exception of a brief piece on the Bombay film industry for instance, cultural aspects are missing. Since these are usually responsible for mystifications of India, a critical discussion in this area may well be considered relevant for future presentations of this kind. A useful appendix with a chronology of Independent India, facts and figures, glossary of Indian terms and a brief bibliography enhance the utility of this commendable introduction.

Anil Bhatti

KIRSTEN WESTERGAARD: *State and Rural Society in Bangladesh - A Study in Relationship*. (Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, Monograph Series No.49). London and Malmö: Curzon Press, 1985. 190 pages, £ 6.50

Social justice is a moral and political imperative if Bangladesh is to be able to cope with the future. This is the central theme of "State and Rural Society in Bangladesh" by Kirsten Westergaard. The study is a result of some fifteen years' work on the political development of Bangladesh. The data for this study was gathered during repeated visits to Bangladesh, formerly East Pakistan, between 1970 and 1981. A center-piece of her research is a seven months' empirical study in a village in Bogra, North Bangladesh.

K. Westergaard has chosen two basic approaches to the study of the political system. Firstly and originally, the study was conceived within the "mobilization/centre-periphery model". According to the author's definition mobilization is a process related to social change and social development with a focus on the relationship between the state and society. This relationship is analysed in a centre-periphery frame of reference, based on theories of imperialism and structural dependency relations.

Secondly, the final analysis came to focus on the evaluation of rural social structure according to concepts of mode of production.