

of the bigger local merchants to whom he might owe his own appointment. But the rousing of a Muslim mob will antagonise the Jaina traders who control the mint and the money markets not only in Surat but in Yeman and Jedda as well ...

It is an ever recurring game that with an incredible speed tends to return full circle to some basic insoluble antagonisms.

Ashin Das Gupta's book admirably succeeds in connecting this narrow context of faction and intrigue with the broader one of Surat's decline. With the death of Aurangzeb, the rise of the Marathas and the weakening of Ottoman control over the Hedjaz and Yemen areas, new partners enter the game at a time of general restriction of the trading networks. The plot cannot tolerate too many villains.

Surat slowly loses control even over its own immediate hinterland Gujarat. By controlling the Jagir of the Surat officials the Marathas force them into the path of increased taxation and oppression. The Sidis, a semi-piratical force from the vicinity of Bombay, begin to stir. Hitherto paid as "the Mughal marine" they enforce additional "protection money" from the impoverished Surat government and even capture part of its merchant fleet. It is in this context that the British who control the rival station, Bombay and a more extensive trading system, gradually monopolize the important position of "honest broker". While Surat's trade gradually dwindles to 1/4 of its former size, the British not only increase their share, but their legal and economic standing as well.

While the Indian traders are too weak to explore new markets in Eastern Asia, the British begin to penetrate the immediate surroundings of Surat in order to compensate for the recession in the Red Sea area. By 1750 it becomes quite common for weavers and indigo planters to have hypothecated their looms or crops to the British. "Put differently what was being undermined was the autonomy of the traditional man." (p.19)

In his brilliant description of only five decades of Surat's mercantile microcosmos A.D. Gupta succeeds in conveying the impact of the great changes that were soon to transform India into a colony and at the same time a trading company into a major territorial power.

Jakob Rösel

HERMANN KULKE: Jagannātha-Kult und Gajapati-Königtum. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte religiöser Legitimation hinduistischer Herrscher. (Schriftenreihe des Südasien-Instituts der Universität Heidelberg, Vol. 23). Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1979. XII + 263 pages, 27 illustr., 2 maps, DM 88.-

Hermann Kulke deals in this exhaustive study with the process of state formation in Orissa, India. The scope and method of his study are remarkable be-

cause Kulke utilizes his reconstruction of state formation in Orissa only as a basis for conducting at least three additional enquiries. In these enquiries lies the theoretical interest and innovative value of his book.

The first sociological enquiry deals with the different types of religious and ritual legitimation developed or adapted by succeeding dynasties of local, regional and, finally, imperial rulers in Orissa.

This sociological enquiry leads to the next question and enquiry: In how far can the religious evolution in Orissa be interpreted in the framework of political interests and pressures? The process of "Hinduization", an established topic of indological studies can thereby be seen and interpreted from a fresh perspective. It can be traced on a local, regional and "imperial" level and this process can be described as a huge transfer of tribal traditions into the framework of brahminical adaptation, assimilations and rationalizations, a process initiated and structured by administrative as well as ideological constraints and needs. Both enquiries finally enable Kulke to enter upon a third one: An assessment and a critique of two alternative models used previously as an explanatory device for state formation in medieval India, the so-called model of "Indian Feudalism" and the "nuclear core area" model of Burton Stein.

Based on his Orissan source material Kulke can refute the basic assumption of the first model: That the structure of medieval Hindu kingdoms has to be interpreted as the result of the splitting up of greater and more centrally organised political units. On the other hand Kulke can substantiate as well as add some nuances to Burton Stein's picture of state formation, a picture developed mostly from a purely South Indian context. Kulke envisages a process of state formation that not so much entails a continuous displacement of tribal populations as their gradual transfer and integration in the realm of the slowly expanding and finally coalescing "core-areas".

Now, "integration" is a term that persuades us of its validity only as far as it is filled with new and convincing content. It is precisely here that the attraction of Kulke's study lies. His detailed description of the process of gradual enlargement of areas of political control from the local to the regional level and the concomitant evolution of not only subregional but regional deities and their cult centers is not only based on epigraphical records and architectural relics, but also on a detailed study of cult images and traditions, court ceremonies, legends and chronicles, most of them still existant in the semi-tribal periphery of coastal Orissa. Most of this additional material the author has for the first time described, transcribed and interpreted.

Since a short review cannot do justice to such an extensive study, I will concentrate only on the main part of Kulke's book: i.e. the chapters that deal with the installation by the imperial Gangas of a single state deity, Jagannatha, in Puri, for the whole region of Orissa, and the various changes in the status and function of this central image.

In Orissa a tribal tradition of the veneration of non-iconic, trunk shaped mother goddesses had been long established. Rulers on the local or sub-

regional level had emphasized and favoured such cults. The first ruler of the now permanently unified region of Orissa was finally able to conclude the slow process of fusing together these tribal traditions with their brahminical, Sanskritistic interpretations. The specific deity that embodied these contradictory traditions was a roughly hewn wooden cult-figure, venerated under the prestigious title Purushottama and, only later, Jagannatha and kept in a small cult center in Puri. Since the Gangas saw themselves as imperial rivals of the South Indian power of the Cholas, they gradually transformed Purushottama/Jagannatha into their pre-eminent state deity and Puri into the main cult center of their kingdom. With the growing involvement of this dynasty in the struggle for pre-eminence in South India and finally over the remnants of the declining Chola empire the newly constructed Puri temple could compete in size as well as in terms of its landed endowments and service groups with the great Chola centers of South India. But with the collapse of the great Hindu cult centers of North India under the Muslim invasions, Puri could in addition now claim the status of a "new Varanasi". While these two external developments already led to the growing pre-eminence of Puri, a third internal re-definition of the cult image culminated in its final enthronisation as the unique pan-Orissan state deity. Under the second great imperial Ganga ruler the wooden image of Jagannatha was enlarged through the addition of two new wooden statues, Balabhadra and Subhadra, that were interpreted as Jagannatha's brother and sister. But as these two newly added cult images were seen as the respective substitutes of two great archaic Shaiva and Shakti deities and cult centers of coastal Orissa, the temple of Puri finally enshrined all of the three great cult traditions of tribal as well as Hinduized Orissa. The ascendancy of this new trinity was concluded by the simultaneous formal effacement of the status of the Orissan rulers. A tradition developed which proclaimed the state deity the sole ruler of the kingdom, the Ganga kings resigning themselves to the humble position of "rauta", "deputy" of the state deity.

By way of the architectural and iconographical changes of the state deity Kulke is thus able to trace the military pressures, administrative constraints and ideological needs under which a medieval Hindu dynasty not only survived but slowly enforced a cultural and partly an administrative integration of its territory.

Jacob Rösel