

## Reviews

KLAUS MYLIUS, *Wörterbuch des kanonischen Jinismus*. (Beiträge zur Kenntnis südasiatischer Sprachen und Literaturen, 13). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005. VII, 203 pages, EUR 49,80. ISBN 3-447-05181-7

In the introduction of his recent *Wörterbuch Ardhāmāgadhi-Deutsch* (Wichtrach: Institut für Indologie, 2003, p. 10), the first dictionary of its kind, Klaus Mylius states that he had to resist the temptation to incorporate the entire technical vocabulary of canonical Jainism (Jainism). Although only selected words from a limited number of Jain canonical texts and glossaries of A. Weber, H. Jacobi, E. Leumann, W. Schubring, and others found their way into the book, the dictionary comprises more than 17,500 entries. It has been reviewed by J. Gippert (*Archiv Orientalni* 71, 4 (2003): 595–7), A. Esche (*Asiatische Studien* 57, 4 (2003): 927–29), M. Mayrhofer (*Die Sprache* 43 (2002/3) [2004]: 120–121), K. R. Norman (*Asiatische Studien* 58, 1 (2004): 264–66), and others.

The aims of the author's more modestly sized *Wörterbuch des kanonischen Jinismus* (Dictionary of Canonical Jainism) are not clearly stated. The text offers a selection of Jain technical terms and proper names from the Ardhāmāgadhi dictionary, while adding more extensive explanations of their meaning and indicating the sources in which they occur. The book has eight sections. After the preface, and a short introduction, an overview of the forty-five texts of the Mūrtipūjaka Śvetāmbara 'Jaina-canonical' is offered in form of an idiosyncratic list which, for no apparent reason, omits three *Uvanga* texts, one of the *Paiṇñas*, and one of the *Cheyasuttas*, while including two extra-canonical texts (the *Karmagrantha* and the *Paümacariya*) rather than, for instance, the ancient *Isibhāsiyāim*, whose vocabulary is close to the oldest texts of the canon. Next comes an alphabetical table of abbreviations, which is followed by a rather eccentric 'list of primary literature (editions, translations, studies)' which, for instance, cites Ācārya Sāgarānandasūri's 1915 edition of the Āgamas not under his name, which is missing, but under the name of the place of its publication (Mehasana). The eclectic bibliography of secondary literature does not include titles already listed under 'primary literature'. Many useful references such as Royce Wiles' "The Bibliography of the Svetambara Canon" (*Jain Journal* 35, 2 (2000): 53–81; 35, 3 (2001): 104–131) could have been added. The dictionary itself comprises 2,500 keywords with Sanskrit *chāyā* and 'definitions, respectively explanations' (p. 1) in the style of an encyclopaedia. The selected words focus on the 'Jaina dogmatics', 'hagiography' and 'philosophy', but less on 'cosmography' and other areas where 'reality is dominated by phantasy' (p. 2). Because of the 'incompatibility of the available editions' (p. 2) only the names of the

original sources of individual lemmata are given without mentioning specific verse numbers. Occasionally, references to the relevant secondary literature are inserted. A welcome unusual addition is a separate index of the Sanskrit words at the end of the book. The dictionary was obviously collated at great speed and would have benefited from more extensive consultation. In this way the lacunae and minor mistakes could have been limited. The Introduction claims without hesitation that the Śvetāmbara canon of forty-five texts was redacted in 508 CE, though the debated conventional dates are CE 453 or 466 (p. 1). There is also no specific 'school' associated with another cited list of fifty-two canonical texts. Moreover, the use of the word *Jinisten* (p. 1) for the modern word *Jains* (Skt. *Jainas*) sounds somewhat old fashioned. One wonders whether German Jains would recognise themselves if so addressed.

However, these are minor criticisms. Students of Indology and those who study Jainism from the point of view of Anthropology, History or the Study of Religions will welcome this extremely useful and informative dictionary, which is available in paperback. The author has to be congratulated for having accomplished within a short period of time what four generations of distinguished Prakrit scholarship in Germany failed to do. With his two dictionaries he has prepared the ground for a transformation of Jainology in the German-speaking world from an inaccessible 'secret science' of academic elites into a subject which can be easily learned and taught.

Peter Flügel

PAUL DUNDAS, *The Jains. Second Edition.* (Library of Religious Beliefs and Practices). London: Routledge, 2002. XIV, 354 pages, index, US\$ 35.95. ISBN 0-415-26606-8(pbk), 0-145-26605-X (hbk).

At present, only four textbooks in European languages can be recommended unreservedly to any student of Jainism. The oldest and still most comprehensive work is Helmuth von Glasenapp's *Der Jainismus: Eine Indische Erlösungsreligion* (Berlin: Alf Häger Verlag, 1925) which was belatedly translated into English under the title *Jainism. An Indian Religion of Salvation* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsiidas, 1999). Although it contains long chapters on the history of Jainism and the Jain scriptures, the presentation of Jain doctrine is synchronic. It is largely based on the *Tattvārthaśūtra* of Umāsvāti of the 4<sup>th</sup> Century CE, the only text which is accepted by most Jains. Yet, sources from all periods are used, under the assumption that the 'essential aspects' of Jain doctrine remained the same through the ages. At the time, Glasenapp's chapters on Jain universal history and hagiography were original contributions. Their principal sources are the works of the Śvetāmbara authors Hemacandra (12<sup>th</sup> CE) and Vinayavijaya (17<sup>th</sup> CE), though conscious attempts are made to give equal consideration to Digambara views throughout. The last chapters of the book provide a general depiction of

Jain society and contemporary religious practice on the basis of secondary sources.

One decade after *Der Jainismus*, Walther Schubring's modern classic *Die Lehre der Jainas. Nach den alten Quellen dargestellt* (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter & Co., 1935) appeared, and a translation of the revised German text was published in 1962 (*The Doctrine of the Jainas. Described after the Old Sources* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 1962/1977/2000). For a long time it remained the only systematic representation of Jainism in English – its standard portrait. Schubring's exemplary book remains unsurpassed as a work of original research. Yet its scope is limited. It offers only an analytical summary of the contents of the Śvetāmbara canon. Post-canonical and Digambara sources are not covered. Nor does the book convey an impression of contemporary Jain religious life. Moreover, it is written in a condensed *sūtra*-like style which restricts its usefulness for teaching and learning. The study is not a-historical *per se*. Schubring gives many clues how the individual components of the canonical compilations can be dated, but inevitably presents the material as a synchronic totality. The first accessible scholarly introduction to Jainism for the English speaking readership, and therefore for a global audience, was Padmanabh S. Jaini's *The Jaina Path of Purification* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979). It is the clear favourite of students, because of its lucid style, insightful interpretations and ample learnable detail of classical Jain soteriology and ritual. In contrast to Schubring's book, the text is mainly based on post-canonical and Digambara sources. In scope and structure the work resembles Glasenapp's text, although it focuses almost exclusively on Jain ethics and ascetic practice, with an excellent chapter on the category *samyak-darśana*, or right insight, at its centre.

For different reasons, Glasenapp, Schubring and Jaini present canonical and classical Jain doctrines in an a-historical form. Not much consideration is given to the differences between canonical and classical Jainism, nor to post-classical, medieval and modern developments, such as the emergence of the contemporary Jain sub-sects, in particular the aniconic sectarian Jain traditions, from the 11<sup>th</sup> century onwards, or current religious practices, which are only hinted at because of a lack of information. These previously unresearched aspects were for the first time explicitly addressed in Paul Dundas' admirable study *The Jains* (London: Routledge, 1992), which was sold out within a few months. The long overdue and much improved second revised and expanded edition of this important work was published ten years later. Though structurally identical, it is seventy-eight pages longer due to the publisher's use of a larger font, added material, an extended index and bibliography, as well as expanded notes, reflecting the unprecedented increase of research on this once obscure subject during the last decade. The value of the text has been further enhanced by the use of diacritics throughout the text whose omission was much lamented by reviewers of the first edition. Originally, the work was conceived as a primer on Jainism for the series *Library of Religious Beliefs and Practices* (edited by John

Hinnells and Ninian Smart) which produces scholarly introductions to the religions of the world. Yet, as in the case of Glasenapp, Schubring and Jaini, Dundas' book is not really a text for the beginner (as seven years of undergraduate teaching of Jainism taught the present writer). It is rather a commented summary of the state of the art in Jain Studies, drawing on both textual and ethnographic sources, which became increasingly available since 1985, while contextualising the relevance of recent findings within the wider academic discourse on South Asian religion, culture and society. The style of the well written book is discursive rather than encyclopaedic or matter of fact. Specialists and students alike are invited to deliberate with the author over the numerous points of detail of Jain history and culture which remain obscure, and many, now updated, sections contain nuggets of original research or reflect the author's extensive publications in this field.

An important aspect of the book which has not been sufficiently appreciated by reviewers of the first edition such as K.R. Norman (*Modern Asian Studies* 29, 2 (1995): 439–441), perhaps because it is too obvious, is the shift from *Jainism* to *Jains* in the title of the book, which signals a conscious move away from the over-reliance on texts and doctrines towards the study of the agents of religious history. Dundas does not attempt 'to give an ethnographic account of Jainism' (p. 11). But his style of writing history adopts the outlook and results of the new field studies and integrates them with the classical Indological approach befitting a professional Sanskritist. Rather than textual ideals, questions of practice and identity of 'individuals, monks and nuns, laymen and laywomen, who would down through the centuries describe themselves and their mode of life as Jain' (p. 3) move into the foreground. Who are the Jains? Dundas starts with the modern Sanskrit dictionaries and defines the *Jains* (Sanskrit *Jaina*) as the followers of the *Jinas*, the spiritual conquerors, such as Mahāvīra, the last prophet of the Jains: 'The Jains are at the most basic level those who credit these spiritual conquerors with total authority and act according to their teaching of the Three Jewels, namely, right knowledge, right faith and right conduct' (p. 3). This definition alludes to the first aphorism of the *Tattvārthaśūtra* which lists the three principal means of salvation. The problem is that most lay Jains, the *śrāvakas* or listeners whose historical role Dundas' book strives to reassess, are unable to live up to this high ideal and would not qualify as category members. Proper knowledge and proper practice are difficult to attain at the best of times even for faithful ascetics. Dundas points out that it is 'not clear when the term "Jain" was first employed to designate an adherent of a specific religious path', but speculates that 'it was probably in use by the early centuries of the common era', 'it was no doubt the gradual emergence of a self-aware laity supporting the bondless ascetic which led to "Jain" eventually becoming current for both the teachings of the religion and those who followed them' (p. 3f.). This may, however, not have happened before the 17<sup>th</sup> century, becoming widespread only in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. There is no clear evidence for earlier uses of the word *Jaina* in the sense of 'followers of the Jinas' to date. On the other hand,

Dundas analyses the contextually 'shifting nature' of Jain-Hindu self-categorisations and religious practices and in the new edition reiterates a point that is generally associated with Louis Dumont's work on caste – that there is no 'all or nothing' exclusivity of religious identity in 'South Asia' but 'a commonality of religious culture' (p. 6f.). Yet, this hypothesis clearly does not correspond to the contemporary participants' view: 'It would be misleading to pursue this too far', writes Dundas. 'In common with many contemporary Jain writers, I would wish to see Jainism [sic!] as representing the various levels of meaning embodied in the Sanskrit word *samskruti*, "culture", "civilisation", a specifically Jain mode of life which is independent, coherent and self-contained and yet at times can also intersect with the conceptual world which surrounds it' (p. 7). The implications of the recent analytical distinction between *Jainism* and *Jains* (see also the work of John E. Cort) are by no means certain, neither for the Jains nor for academic analysis, and remain to be explored since there are no easy alternatives. The title of the book signals the opening up of a new field for research. It does not pretend to be the last word.

There are minor points in both editions of the book which will continue to provoke criticism, at least from within the Jain community. Statements such as 'The major sect, numerically at any rate, is the Śvetāmbara, 'White-clad' (p. 3) are somewhat speculative in the absence of hard data, but reflect the continuing lack of detailed studies on the Digambara tradition. The somewhat mislabelled section 'recent developments' covers the period from the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and assembles for the first time material on the aniconic Jain traditions which are followed by approximately 30% of all Jains without any details being mentioned in other textbooks. It also describes the 20<sup>th</sup> century lay movements of Śrīmad Rājacandra and Kānji Svāmī, without however marking out the modern period. The chapter heading demonstrates the continuing focus on the doctrinal works of the classical period in the current academic discourse on Jainism. More research can be expected in these areas as well.

Dundas' book emphatically succeeds in presenting a succinct summary of more two thousand years of religious and social history while boldly venturing into unexplored territory and setting new targets for future research. Given the vast amount of new research since the 1980s, when the groundwork for the first edition was done, one wonders whether a further revised edition can be expected or rather a completely new account, oriented towards the history and ethnography of the contemporary sub-sects each with its own official doctrinal interpretation and idiosyncratic ritual and institutional framework, which will build upon the four classical textbooks of the Jain tradition.

Peter Flügel

PETER SCHALK (ed.), *Buddhism among Tamils in Precolonial Tamilakam and Ilam*. Part 1&2. (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Historia religionum, 19&20). Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 2002. 931 pages, illustrations, SEK 631.00. ISBN 91-554-5357-0 (Part 1), ISBN 91-554-5358-9 (Part 2)

Peter Schalk, the editor-in-chief, and his co-authors (Alvappillai Veluppillai, Iramaccantiram Nakacasi, Civacuppiramaniyam Patmanatan and Turaicami Tayalan), have compiled a truly monumental work of almost 850 pages (with the bibliography accounting for another 80 pages) in which the relationship between Buddhism and the Tamil people on both sides of the Palk Straits is described, analyzed, and thoroughly revised. Painstakingly and exhaustively, the authors re-assess practically any piece of evidence that bears upon their topic, to produce a detailed, almost encyclopaedic study. Quite in contrast to the massive body of the text, the major conclusions can be summarized very briefly.

First, it is contended that Buddhism was unknown in Tamilakam, the Tamil country (roughly defined as the area south of the 14° NL, p. 56), before the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE. Neither Ashoka's intensive propaganda in the area around Brahmagiri nor the support of Buddhism by the Ikshvaku rulers had any repercussions in the area south of the Godavari-Krishna rivers. In this connection, it is interesting to note how Schalk deals with the famous mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century CE inscription from Nagarjunikonda which records a donation for Buddhist monks from Tambapanni who allegedly converted many countries including "Damila". Schalk points out that the term in question, though commonly translated as "conversion" (*pasadaka*), means "to exposit, to teach" in a more general sense. This new interpretation does not contradict the author's claim that openly. Moreover, he emphasizes that the reading of the term *damila* is less clear than previous editors of the inscription may have us believe; in fact, it appears to be influenced by the partly similar list of countries found in the Sinhalese chronicle Mahavamsa.

Secondly, the author(s) assert that Buddhism did not fare much better in the subsequent period, as the rise of the Pallavas went along with Hindu revivalist movements which also resulted in persecution of Jains and Buddhists. With Hinduism striking deep roots in Tamil society, Buddhists penetrating into Tamilakam were increasingly compelled to move across the Straits to Sri Lanka. The result was the well-known antagonism between insular Buddhism and subcontinental Hinduism. This antagonism, however, was and is a product of history, as the authors confirm in their third conclusion. Practically the whole of the second part of the book serves to show that Tamilness and Buddhism are not mutually exclusive and that Buddhism could and in fact had occasionally become part of Tamil culture.

Certainly, the book does not make easy reading. In investigating practically any aspect that might have a bearing on the subject, the circumstantial presentation of facts and their interpretation conveys the impression of a certain obsession with detail. Take for instance the discussion of the attitude of the Pallava rulers towards Buddhism, which is summarised in section 4.1.3.2.8 (the vicissitudes

of this method can be seen from the fact that the section is actually missing from the book). The attention paid to linguistic and philological discussions makes reading even more tedious, and above all the reader gets constantly distracted by the consequential Tamilization of spellings: "Antiram" is Andhra, "Apakiri" the Abhayagiri monastery at Anuradhapura, "Puttar" the Buddha, "patti" is *bhakti*, and so on. This even includes personal names of scholars like Makatevan throughout the text except for the bibliography, where the better established spelling Mahadevan is used. The combination of the great amount of evidence assembled, the great attention paid to detail, as well as the nominal style of writing, by which series of categorical statements are hammered into the text, make reading quite exasperating.

Although the style of the book would appear to give little room for criticism, two points still deserve to be picked up. The first one concerns the methodology in relation to the statement that Buddhism had not entered Tamilakam before the 5<sup>th</sup> century. The way this statement is achieved by meticulously re-examining the data and refuting their interpretation by other scholars appears to be convincing, but we have to keep in mind that the conclusion is still an argument *ex silentio*. The statement is founded on the fact that no trace of Buddhism has been found so far, which does not necessarily exclude future findings (unlikely as they may be) and therefore the existence of Buddhist objects or followers of Buddhism (at least their sporadic appearance) in pre-5<sup>th</sup> century Tamilakam. One may refer to Sannathi as a case in point, where not long ago fragments of an Ashokan rock edict were found in a Hindu temple. Sannathi is of course outside of Tamilakam proper, but the area around Brahmagiri-Erragudi is replete with remnants from the Mauryan empire, so that further discoveries including possible evidence for activities of Buddhists cannot be excluded altogether.

A second, though minor, caveat refers to the translation of a Tamil inscription from Sri Lanka (p. 726–737), which records the establishment of a monastic complex consisting of an image house (or temple), a monastery, "a splendid street exhuming the odour of honey" and a *cetiya*. Quite obviously, a "splendid street" does not really fit into a list of religious buildings; the more so since the term used in the Tamil text of the inscription is *calai* (Skt. *sala*) or "hall". Its combination with fragrance leads me to think that the expression describes a "hall of fragrance" or *gandhakuti*, which is a common term for a place of residence of the Buddha. As such, it may denote either an image house or (preferably in the present context) a preaching hall inside a monastic complex.

On the whole, one cannot but acknowledge that this richly textured, thoroughly researched and authoritatively presented study is a milestone in the field of South Indian and Buddhist history, and will definitely remain so in the years to come – unless new archaeological discoveries (which would be nothing less than spectacular) require us to re-examine and rethink the relationship between Buddhism and early Tamil society.

Tilman Frasch

SWATI CHATTOPADHYAY, *Representing Calcutta. Modernity, nationalism, and the colonial uncanny*. (Asia's Transformations/Asia's Great Cities). London / New York: Routledge, 2005. 336 pages, numerous pictures, maps and plans, £ 85.00. ISBN 0-415-34359-3

At the centre of the book, as is pointed out on the first page, lies the problem of "representing the city, representation understood as description and narration, as well as political representation". In doing so the author wants to question the idea of colonial cities as dual cities, split into black and white quarters and divided into different areas of "civilised" and "uncivilised". Instead, Chattopadhyay argues in favour of a "more complicated view of the topography". To elaborate the different story of Calcutta Chattopadhyay concentrates on the "colonial uncanny", the "limits of the white town", on various aspects of architecture and on selected samples of Bengali literature, thus covering Calcutta's history from the eighteenth to the early twentieth century.

Starting from a European perspective the readership is introduced to the colonial perception of Calcutta as a city of British civilisation in the midst of Indian wilderness. British travellers, writers and painters described and depicted Calcutta according to their 'pre-fabricated' imaginations or along colonial necessities. British representation of Calcutta has always been about showing the European lifestyle, ordering the urban topography in accordance with European concepts, thus keeping Indians at bay. An imagined line between the Indian and the British areas in Calcutta seems to have divided the city into the controlled white and uncontrolled black quarters of Calcutta. However, as the author convincingly elaborates, this line was indeed a figment of colonial imagination as boundaries were mostly blurred or did not exist at all.

Lack of control created a specific colonial anxiety. This anxiety appears at the interstice between desire and experience, between representational mastery and inadequacy of the representative strategy, and takes the form of the uncanny (p. 33). The uncanny is an outcome of the "process of representations" and invoking Sigmund Freud, Chattopadhyay asserts that the uncanny is produced through a "process of repression". Therefore colonial likeness had to be rejected, the self-as-native to be denied. Yet the psychological approach is not very convincing. First, it would need more than a paragraph to elaborate such an argument. Second, it does not need Freud to explain colonial anxieties. Reading between – or simply reading – the lines of texts would have been sufficient. Colonial rule was in many ways about controlling the native, his body, his landscapes, his agriculture, his trade and his towns. Some more reading of literature on Indian history would certainly have been a great help. However, interpreting pictures and drawings make a new and valuable contribution to the established notion.

Had Chattopadhyay's research been more thoroughly embedded in current historiography on South Asia, a much more nuanced approach towards her history would have been likely. Chattopadhyay often depicts the British colonial regime in India as a monolithic entity and a homogeneous agency bound to sub-

jugate India and her people from the very beginning. However, essentialising colonial rule to this extent was often criticised after Edward Said's seminal book on "Orientalism" when, likewise, essentialising concepts of the West ended in some kind of "Occidentalism". Yet, to take up one of Chattopadhyay's examples, a colonial regime, like every other political regime ruling and administering a city like Calcutta ravaged by epidemics such as cholera, has to draw maps to locate the disease. This was also done in Europe (compare John Snow's map of Soho in London, marking the homes and houses of the cholera victims) and had likewise to be done in India. It is, however, true – as the author along with other scholars points out – that cholera maps in Calcutta were drawn to show that the disease was Indiaborne which is why Europeans had to be protected (pp. 68–75). Taking into account that maps illustrating the plague and cholera in European cities showed that disease was most prevalent in the poor quarters, which for that reason needed public policing, demonstrates that we need a more nuanced analysis.

The most interesting chapter of the book is on architecture. Apparently Chattopadhyay is on firm ground. It is highly interesting to note how the British adopted Bengali styles of construction. Particularly the example of Government House commonly described as a bad copy of Kedelston Hall in England, is evidence of an architecture which took into account the tropical climate of Calcutta. To enable ventilation Government House was built on a concept of openness in contrast to the seclusiveness of Kedelston Hall though the outer appearance of both buildings is much the same. Similarly, the Bengali *bhadralok*, the educated middle class and elite, used European styles of architecture including Palladian porticos to enrich their buildings. The Indian verandah also became prominent in urban houses, blurring the boundaries between the public and the private. Certainly the most interesting instance of colonial perceptions of the Indian private space is the British notion of the purdah. Idealistically constructed as an inhouse space of complete seclusion, the idea represented administrative needs rather than everyday reality, ordering the female and the male, inside and outside, private and public. A court case on the inheritance of a Bengali woman shows that even within the household boundaries blurred and that the purdah was by no means the secluded space for women and that women even permitted men access to their 'apartments'.

The study gains analytical depth the more the reader proceeds. Examples demonstrate that Calcutta's society was heterogeneous, hardly able to be controlled efficiently, class and caste boundaries blurring as did the public and private, just as one would expect in a European city. For this reason Calcutta was, as Chattopadhyay rightly stresses, always modern particularly from the second half of the nineteenth century. Despite the above mentioned critique the study deserves great attention and a place in every appropriate library.

Michael Mann

CHRISTIAN WAGNER, *Die „verhinderte“ Großmacht? Die Außenpolitik der indischen Union, 1947-1998.* (Internationale Politik und Sicherheit, 56). Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2005. 373 pages, EUR 59.00. ISBN 3-8329-1128-6

In his book (*The 'prevented' great power*), Christian Wagner from the Research Unit Asia, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin, systematically analyzes the history and gradual evolution of India's foreign policy, beginning with India's independence in 1947 and ending with her becoming a nuclear power in 1998.

The book is organized in four parts. The introductory chapter presents a general overview of theories of international relations. Wagner summarizes the most significant theories – using the systemic, sub-systemic and actor level – and explains their relevance and advantages or disadvantages for analyzing foreign policy in general and thus provides the basic analytical categories for the following chapters on India's foreign policy.

In the subsequent chapters, the foundation of India's foreign policy – going back to Kautilya's Arthashastra – are explicated (such as its identity and domestic roots in the Indian national congress), as is the background of the Kashmir problem and of the unceasing conflict with Pakistan. Nehru's initial diplomatic successes after independence and the first failures are presented (especially the lost war with China), and India's role in the non-alignment movement and in multilateral fora (such as SAARC) is portrayed and discussed.

Despite the well-known fact that India boasts the second largest population in the world and despite her status as a nuclear power, something in India's international standing still distinguishes her from being a real great power. Consequently, the hypothesis (and hence the title of his book) which Wagner utilizes is: Why can the Indian Union be categorized as a "prevented superpower", the definition of great power being here founded in role theory. Examining the claims of the Indian Union with regard to its great power status, the author uses *great power* as a role concept (norm) and as role behavior (interaction).

The author not only adopts a historical and linear approach (he divides the book into two major parts, the pre-1991 and the post-1991 era), but he employs a matrix of national, bilateral and international dimensions in which he has embedded his analyses. This structure which is derived from the theoretical debate outlined in the beginning of his book (systemic and sub-systemic), enables him to deal with crucial elements of foreign policy in the specific context (e.g. the neighboring states are described in the regional chapters, the relationship with China or USA in the international chapter). This makes for a well structured book and permits the reader to trace the various attempts of the Indian Union to become a great power.

In a nutshell, the author argues that India is a prevented superpower because, despite possessing salient features which it shares with superpowers

(such as size, military and economic strength), its recognition as a great power is dependent, *inter alia*, upon the interaction with other actors and processes of learning and adaptation. It is precisely in this area where India has not (yet) fully succeeded.

According to Wagner, the answer to the question why India is only a "prevented great power", also explains why certain theories of international relations are in this case preferable to others: a realist approach with its focus on power will have difficulty explaining why India, despite its many obvious advantages, is not (yet) a great power, while a constructivist and role theoretical approach, with its inclusion of norms and identities, offers a more adequate explanation.

The book not only makes use of extensive secondary literature, but also of primary data which the author has generated by conducting interviews with eminent experts in South Asia. The list of interview partners at the end of the book reads like a "who's who" of India's foreign policy elite, from both the political and academic sector.

There are only two minor shortcomings: The book lacks an index which would have allowed the reader to look up specific names or dates in the context of the chapters. The wealth of information presented here would certainly have required such an index. Also, there are no charts, graphs or maps which might have provided essential information in a concise way.

In conclusion, the book is a finely argued chronicle of small and big shifts in 50 years of Indian foreign policy, thoroughly researched and well written. It can be read as a historic summary of India's foreign policy, but at the same time it is a genuine work of political science, employing a working hypothesis and constantly making references to the influence of international relations theories on foreign policy thinking. In this respect, the book also fills a gap in German foreign policy literature dealing with South Asia.

Arndt Christian-Andrew Michael

ANNE PETERS (comp.) / HEINZ BECHERT (ed.), *Birmanische Handschriften, Teil 5: Die Katalognummern 901–1015*. (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland XXIII, 5). Stuttgart: Steiner, 2004. XXIX, 159 pages, EUR 60.00. ISBN 3-515-08460-6

This volume is the fifth of a multivolume catalogue of the Burmese manuscripts kept in German libraries and which, in turn, forms part of the "Union Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts in German Collections," seeking to register all "Oriental," that is, Asian and Middle Eastern, manuscripts in Germany in, so far, 45 series. The first volume on the Burmese manuscripts was published in 1979, more than twenty-five years ago, subsequent volumes came out in 1985, 1996, and 2000, respectively. The last decade has shown a regular pace of publication of 4-5

years between volumes, but this was achieved at the expense of depth of information. Hence, the current volume is much shorter than the preceding ones – but not cheaper – because the authors drastically reduced the amount of material printed in transliteration. The five volumes published so far have presented 613 codices. Most of the texts can be found in one of three repositories, namely, the Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin), the Bavarian State Library in Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek), and the Lower Saxon State and University Library in Göttingen (Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek); the remaining 54 codices are scattered over eleven further collections.

Part 5 introduces the reader to the details of 115 codices, all stored in the Bavarian State Library. Thus, the volume concludes the systematic cataloguing of this collection begun in part 4. The Burmese manuscripts in Munich share the shelfmark “Cod.birm.” with a number of Shan, Mon, and Northern Thai manuscripts, which will be covered in separate series. The first such volume is already available (Barend Jan Terwiel, comp. and ed., *Shan Manuscripts*, part 1, Stuttgart: Steiner, 2003). Still, although all the *Burmese Manuscripts* contained in the current catalogue are written in Burmese script, a minority of only 27 are exclusively in the Burmese language – others are at least partly in Pali. The large proportion of Pali texts can partly be explained by the predominance of religious content in the 110 different texts and fragments that make up the 54 palmleaf manuscripts. Yet Pali was also used in medical and astrological treatises. Next to palmleaf, the most important writing material among the manuscripts listed was thick white or black paper, worked into folded books or *parabaiks*. Further, one finds some single-sheet paper manuscripts and pieces of cloth used for magical purposes. Many of the *parabaiks* contain texts and pictures on medicine, astrology, tattoos, and other aspects of magic, opening a rich field for future research into indigenous medicine and popular religious beliefs. *Parabaiks* may grant historians a fresh look at Burmese society and culture, particularly at the non-elite strata. These manuscripts were often used as a sort of universal household notebook, especially when the main treatise did not cover the full length of the writing material. Burmese filled the blank pages with notes and texts of very different contents, which renders them intriguing to interpret, but also difficult to trace – at least without a comprehensive catalogue. A good example for such a multi-content *parabaik* is manuscript no. 1014, which includes a medical-magical handbook and several real estate contracts from the 1940s. Unfortunately, only one-third of all the manuscripts, fragments, and objects are dated, and among those, the late Konbaung period (1853–85) dominates, as in part 4. The oldest manuscript dates back to 1760, the most recent one was written in 1963.

The presentation of the texts broadly follows the same pattern as the previous volume. The compiler provides us with a general description of each text, indicating the writing material, the number of folios, title, author, date, writer, and donor. Very often, however, not all of this information is available. Whereas

earlier volumes included fairly extensive transliterations of the beginning and end of each text, such text passages are much shorter in the present volume, and the number of cross-references to manuscripts in other catalogues has been reduced drastically. A number of indices at the end help find manuscripts according to their titles, authors, years, and shelfmarks. Unlike earlier parts, the manuscripts are neither arranged in thematic order (Buddhist texts, grammatical works, etc.), nor is such information given in the introduction, which would have been useful.

This is a fine piece of thorough scholarship, which includes crucial information on the location and contents of the manuscripts. As mentioned in the review of part 4, the extracts of the manuscripts would have been more accessible if text passages had been printed in Burmese script. It is to be hoped that a version of the complete catalogue, say, on CD-ROM, will implement the corrigenda in all parts and provide for a uniform system of transliteration. Currently, however, the project seems to have narrowed its focus, publishing the part under review in German and not in English. It is difficult to understand why this has happened, since it restricts the use of an already very specialized tome to a very few people. It is, therefore, strongly suggested to return to the English language in the future.

Jörg Schendel

MARY P. CALLAHAN, *Making Enemies. War and State Building in Burma*. Ithaca / London: Cornell University Press, 2003. XX, 268 pages, 7 maps, 14 halftones, 7 tables, US \$ 39.95 (cloth). ISBN 0-0814-4125-0

On March 2, 1962 the Burmese army under the command of General Ne Win staged a coup d'état and toppled the civilian government. Since then, most political analyses trying to explain this continuing domination were, however, limited by two factors: they were based on sources available only outside of Burma and they lacked a detailed examination of the events that led to the coup.

Both shortcomings were addressed by a thesis presented to Cornell University in 1996, written by Mary Patricia Callahan, entitled "The Origins of Military Rule in Burma". Material archived at the Defence Services Institute in Yangon has been used for analysis for the first time by a Western scholar. However, the permission given was limited to material covering the time up to 1962. This restriction confined the scope of the thesis. It concentrates on the military's development from 1945 to 1960 and thus aims at filling the "missing link" in the research on the *Tatmadaw*, as the military is called in Burmese. In addition, the dissertation offers a – so far tentative – explanation of the alleged "particularities" of the "Burmese way to Socialism" under military rule after 1962. It points out the unfolding of different "axes of tension" within the military and in the military-civil relationship. It sheds light on Ne Win's caretaker government between

1958 and 1960, the coup of 1962 and the following period as a result of long-term structural rather than short-term political factors.

The book under review contains an abridged as well as an extended version of the thesis. It is divided into seven chapters that give a chronological overview of the history of the military forces in Burma from the colonial period (1826–1941) to 1962. The thesis focuses on the institutional aspects of the emergence and development of the Burmese military as the most stable institution within Burma at the end of the 1950s that could claim to secure its sovereignty as well as its, albeit always fragile, unity. A coherent picture of the gradual evolution of the Tatmadaw emerges, exemplified and illustrated by excerpts from the archival material used. The single steps on the way to the Tatmadaw's ascendancy over Burmese politics are summarized at the end of each chapter.

The symbolically armed para-military pocket armies (*tats*) mushrooming before the outbreak of World War II paved the way for the emergence of the Burma Independence Army (BIA) as well as the many local armed groups after the war that emphasized political claims through the use of force. (Chapter 1: Coercion and the Colonial State, 1826–1941). Assisted by the BIA the Japanese occupation forces trained Burmese military personnel both technically and mentally. This gave occasion to the establishment of a dichotomy separating "us" (the Burmese and their soldiers) and "them" (the collaborators with the British and the "hill people" outside the sphere of Burmese politics). Besides, tendencies of local autonomy against Japanese domination were strengthened. (Chapter 2: The Japanese Occupation, 1941–1943). Chapter 3 (Resistance and the United Front, 1943–1945) describes three lines of friction: The efforts by the Allies to fight the Japanese increased ethnic tension; the Burman resistance that caused a distribution of tasks within the united front against the Japanese between the communists and the socialists, the former acting as partisans in the countryside, the latter politically active in the capital; finally, contacts between the Burmese army and the British against the common enemy did not decrease the hostility between the two sides. In the years between the end of the war and Burmese independence, no stable foundations for the future state had been laid. There were ad hoc compromises in uniting the two Burmese armies that fought each other during the war while fragmentation – both in the fields of military and politics – continued and was further institutionalised (Chapter 4: Making Peace and Making Enemies, 1945–1948). After independence, the Burmese government survived the attacks of the communist and Karen rebels mainly due to the counterinsurgency efforts of local militia, which led to an accommodation between the central power and upcountry leaders. This adjustment was mediated by local military leaders (Chapter 5: Insurgency and State Desintegration, 1948–1959). The institutional build-up of the Tatmadaw began with the invasion of Kuomintang troops into Burma in 1950. During this time, the already mentioned axes of friction emerged. These frictions resulted in a relaxation of civilian control over military affairs and an extension of army activities into the economic sector. However, it also led to a field-staff rivalry about who should

control the fruits of victory against the enemies outside and inside the country. (Chapter 6: Warfare and Army Building, 1950–1953). The final Chapter 7 (Warriors as State Builders, 1953–1962) explains the reasons for the military's takeover of state control within a wider Southeast Asian context. The counter-insurgency as well as the breakdown of civilian-governed state machinery led to a transformation of "military-as-institution" into "military-as-state" itself. "In this solution" – so the conclusion of the main part – "citizens became barriers to the army's consolidation of political power and national sovereignty" (p. 206).

One great merit of this analysis lies in the destruction of two myths regarding the Burmese military: The first is the military's view of itself as being independent Burma's sole saviour from external as well as internal threats. The counter-myth portraying the Tatmadaw as a group of power-hungry individuals has been corrected as well.

The book's weakness is connected with the extension of the dissertation's scope to cover the events after the military's takeover in 1988. This amplification is expressed in the title and elaborated in the introduction and epilogue. Unlike the dissertation, the book starts with the author's recollection of her experiences in Yangon on December 10, 1991, the day Aung San Suu Kyi was awarded the Nobel Prize in Oslo. This prompts her to ask the question why the Burmese military "overreacted" as it had on previous and subsequent occasions. The answer given is that the long tradition of warfare in Burma turned the military into a state institution "that in many situations cannot distinguish between citizens and enemies of the state" (p. 3).

In the epilogue, Burma's history since 1962 is summarized on 21 pages focussing on a description of what happened after the takeover of 1988. The intervention of the military after Ne Win's abdication is pictured as a parallel to the taking over of state control in 1958 and 1962. The analogy is substantiated neither by evidence nor theoretical reasoning. The main argument is the author's own emotional account of what she witnessed and the sympathy evoked for the protesting students and Aung San Suu Kyi. An explanation of what happened in 1988 needs as thorough an investigation into the developments before the coup as presented by the author with regard to the coup of 1962.

Callahan's epilogue clarifies that she is well aware of Burmese political traditions that encompass all Burmese governments past, present and future. She points at two "institutional dilemmas" that every future Burmese government, civilian, military or civilian cum military, will have to address. The first dilemma lies in the difficulty of granting rights to the many ethnic minority groups without losing support of the ethnic Burmans who constitute the majority of the population and have dominated the politics of the country since the struggle for independence. The second dilemma lies in the traditional coexistence of the need for unity and an "us-them-dichotomy". Both dilemmas made and make compromise difficult.

GERRY VAN KLINKEN, *Minorities, Modernity and the Emerging Nation. Christians in Indonesia, a Biographical Approach.* (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 199). Leiden: KITLV Press, 2003. X, 285 pages, \$ 58.95. ISBN 90-6718-151-X

In modern Indonesia there are more Muslims than in any other Muslim country in the world. So one easily tends to forget the existence of other religious minorities among which the Christian community is the largest. Its history dates back even further than the arrival of the first missionaries and traders from Portugal and Spain more than five hundred years ago. Gerry van Klinken, a researcher at the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV) in Leiden, who lived and taught science (!) at universities in Malaysia and Indonesia before he moved to Asian studies which he taught in Australia and Indonesia, describes the lives and political convictions of five prominent Indonesian Christians in the light of the development of Indonesian nationalism between 1914 and 1950.

Van Klinken begins with an overview of the expansion and activities of Christianity, be it Protestantism or Catholicism in the Netherlands Indies which did not change the communal character of the society in general. However, links and control of the Dutch colonial power over the Indies Protestant and Roman Catholic Church among whose members were also Dutch colonialists, were close. Christianised "natives" were regarded as more loyal and easy to govern. Yet, the European democratisation process at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the discussion about concepts of identity and the state mainly among Calvinists but also among Catholics in the Netherlands, influenced Indonesian Christians as well and empowered them.

In his next chapter van Klinken deals with the political history of the colonial Indies from 1900 until the Japanese invasion in 1942. The Indonesians experienced first the emergence of a modern bureaucracy with the need for an educated local elite, the implementation of a kind of welfare system, the relaxation of controls on freedom of expression and of association also for Indonesians, the creation of the "Volksraad", an advisory body, and after World War I the decline of most liberalizing initiatives. At the same time a growing number of indigenous intellectual elites, often coming from minorities, discovered nationalism as a political option different from pan-Islamism or communism.

Against this background van Klinken narrates the biographies of five Indonesian Christians who were politically active: the Javanese Catholic Ignatius Joseph Kasimo (1900–1986), the Batak Protestant Todoeng Soetan Goenoeng Moelia (1896–1966), the Dutch-educated Minahasan G.S.S.J. Ratu Langie (1890–1949), the Sumatran Batak Amir Sjarifoeddin (1907–1948), a convert from Islam to Protestantism, and Albertus Soegijapranata (1896–1963), a Jesuit priest from Central Java. The author shows the close link of the protagonists with the colonial power, derived not only from their shared Christianity but from education and their having spent some years in the Netherlands, their

isolation/alienation from the traditional society and their different ways of overcoming these ambiguities by being politically active in various parties. Two of them were members in the "Volksraad", two active in confessional parties, one was even Prime Minister in the Republic of Indonesia for one year and one became the first indigenous bishop in the Indies in 1940.

The book fills a gap in the literature of Indonesian nationalism in the last decades of colonial rule as it focuses on a minority, the Christian politically active elite, its struggle for identity and modernity and its place in modern Indonesian society. The lists of archival sources, interview partners and the literature used explain why the oeuvre is so in-depth as regards historical events, theological discussions in the Netherlands and Indonesia as well as the biographies of the five Christians. For a reader not so familiar with Dutch colonial or Indonesian history the many details and background might be a bit tedious. But the book, and especially the biographical chapters, make extremely interesting reading, as a reflection of history on the lives of individuals as well as the politics of an emerging nation.

Helga Dickow

KAREL STEENBRINK, *Catholics in Indonesia, 1808–1942. A Documented History. Vol. 1: A Modest Recovery, 1808–1903.* (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land en Volkenkunde, 196). Leiden: KITLV Press, 2003. XVIII, 534 pages, EUR 47.50. ISBN 90-6718-141-2

As Islam is the most widespread religion in Indonesia, making it the most populous Muslim country in the world, the other Indonesian religious communities generally receive much less attention. According to official statistics, apart from 87 % Muslims, 6 % of the Indonesians are Protestant, 3 % Catholic, 2 % Hindu (mostly Balinese), 0.9 % Buddhist (mostly Chinese), and about 1 % belong to "other religions" (mostly local traditions). Since the Indonesian population is currently estimated at between 220 and 240 million, these "smaller" religious communities in fact comprise millions of followers whose history is important, beyond the respective special interest, because of their sheer numbers. 6 to 8 million Indonesian Catholics outnumber the entire population of numerous countries, such as Singapore, Brunei, East Timor, or Laos – in Southeast Asia alone. Clearly, the subject is worth intensive research.

The author of the current volume, Karel Steenbrink, has been contributing to the study of Indonesian Catholicism since the early 1970s and can be safely considered a senior authority in this field. Upon its completion, his two-volume project will be one of the most important resources for the study of Indonesian Catholicism for the period until the declaration of Indonesian independence in 1945.

The first volume covers the early period of Catholic history in the Indonesian archipelago until around 1900. This history begins with the advent of the

Portuguese in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and their early attempts at conversion, notably in Malacca, the Moluccas, Flores, and Timor. However, after the Dutch succeeded the Portuguese as the major power in most of the archipelago, from c. 1600 to c. 1800, Catholic missionary activities were banned in the territories controlled by the Dutch East India Company (VOC). Instead, the central Dutch authorities in Batavia (now Jakarta) supported the Reformed Church of the Netherlands. Those Indonesians who had converted to Catholicism, for instance in the Moluccas, were often "taken over" by Protestant missionaries.

Steenbrink's account of this complicated inner-Christian relationship in Chapter 1 is the starting point for his major theme in this volume: the development of the Catholic church in 19<sup>th</sup> century Indonesia. In the following two chapters, he describes this development as two phased. The first phase, 1808–1847, is marked by the small scale of Catholic activities in the colony. The few Catholic priests concentrated mostly on the Catholics among the European and Eurasian communities in a few Javanese cities. For the services performed for the colonial government, the priests received a regular salary from the colonial administration. This led to conflicts between some of the priests and the government about the limits of the influence of the state authorities. After 1850, however, the Vatican and the Netherlands resolved most of these problems. A period of steady growth of the Catholic community in Indonesia was the consequence. Nonetheless, until around 1900, most of the activities of the Catholic priests were still concentrated on the increasing European and Eurasian population in the Dutch East Indies. Only slowly, around 1900, did missionary activity also target the vast masses of the Indonesian population. Steenbrink's decision to take this turning point as a major structuring device for his two-volume project is therefore quite justified.

Steenbrink's account itself is a very detailed narrative, revealing an amazingly diligent archival research. After the initial chapters that provide an overview, most of the book is devoted to individual regions of the archipelago – beginning with Java, then counter-clockwise through the islands, ending in Chapter XI again in Java. These regional chapters have great merit for further regional research, for instance on the religious history of Flores, North Sulawesi, the Moluccas, and Timor. Especially Indonesians who want to recuperate their own history from colonial-era distortions in Western historiography, will benefit from the decision of Steenbrink and KITLV Press to include about 200 pages of otherwise not easily accessible documents at the end of the volume. This way, Steenbrink's work can also serve as a textbook in the classroom and university in Indonesia and elsewhere.

The last chapter on "The construction of complex religious identities" is an attempt to sum up some of the findings of the book and connect them with general theories of religious change. Readers from more theory-oriented disciplines such as anthropology or sociology might not be content with the marginal place devoted to theoretical reflection in Steenbrink's volume. However, his

historical account in the tradition of empirical description is completely in line with important currents in disciplines such as history or religious studies. Even the most ardent proponents of theory-based approaches should therefore acknowledge the great documentary value of this volume.

Arndt Graf

THOMAS WEYRAUCH, *Gepeinigter Drache. Chinas Menschenrechte im Spätstadium der KP-Herrschaft*. Gießen: Longtai Verlag, 2005. 189 Seiten, EUR 24,80. ISBN 3-938946-00-8

In seinem Buch *Gepeinigter Drache. Chinas Menschenrechte im Spätstadium der KP-Herrschaft* untersucht und bewertet der Jurist Thomas Weyrauch die Entwicklung der Menschenrechte in China in den letzten Jahrzehnten. Der Autor lässt von Anfang an keinen Zweifel aufkommen an seiner Einschätzung der politischen und menschenrechtlichen Situation in China und macht keinen Hehl aus seiner Verachtung für das Regime in Peking. So stellt sich für ihn nicht die Frage, ob die Kommunistische Partei ihre Macht verlieren wird, sondern wann dies geschieht. Seine offene Sympathie gilt den Opfern des Regimes, den politischen Dissidenten, den Falun-Gong-Anhängern und den Minderheiten.

Im ersten Teil wird die Entstehung menschenrechtlicher Ansätze in China behandelt, insbesondere in den Denkschulen des Konfuzianismus, Menzius, Daoismus und Buddhismus, denen die naturrechtlichen Ursprünge des Abendlandes gegenübergestellt werden. Immer wieder wird das „Mandat des Himmels“ angesprochen, das entzogen wird, wenn der Herrscher despatisch regiert. Dieser Fall rechtfertige auch ein Widerstandsrecht des Volkes. Es folgt eine systematische – fast stichwortartige – Zusammenstellung aller völkervertraglichen Bindungen der Volksrepublik China im Bereich der Menschenrechte. Dabei wird auch die Haltung der chinesischen Regierung wiedergegeben, die einerseits das Existenzrecht der Menschen betont und andere Rechte für sekundär erachtet, andererseits aber in ihrem jährlich erscheinenden Weißbuch der Menschenrechte auf den Fortschritt gegenüber der Vergangenheit hinweist. Mittlerweile ist die Regierung sogar in die Gegenoffensive gegangen und gibt seit dem Jahr 2000 einen Bericht zur Menschenrechtslage in den USA heraus. Von besonderem Interesse ist der Teil über die deutsch-chinesischen Beziehungen, in dem der Autor schwerpunktmäßig die Besuche deutscher Politiker in den vergangenen zwei Dekaden Revue passieren lässt. Als Zwischenergebnis sieht der Autor die – meist konstant gute – wirtschaftliche Dynamik unbeeinflusst vom deutschen Auftreten in Sachen Menschenrechtspolitik. Der erste Abschnitt endet mit einer knappen Bestandsaufnahme der chinesischen Rechtslage, insbesondere der Verfassung, des Straf- und des Verwaltungsrechts.

Der Mittelteil des Buches problematisiert die Kluft zwischen Anspruch und Wirklichkeit der Rechtslage in der Volksrepublik China. Dabei weist der Autor

differenzierend darauf hin, dass nicht alles schlecht ist, was im Westen häufig beklagt wird, so etwa die Behandlung ethnischer Minderheiten (S. 38).

Es folgen detaillierte Ausführungen über die Unterdrückung durch das Regime, die einen guten Überblick über die schwierige Menschenrechtslage in China ermöglichen. Dabei stellt der Autor verschiedene Opfergruppen vor, „Autonomisten“, religiöse und politische Gruppen, aber auch Familien und Paare, die im Rahmen der Familienpolitik mit Zwangsausbürgern und -sterilisation konfrontiert wurden. Des Weiteren zeigt er die verschiedenen Mechanismen der Repression auf: Illegaler Freiheitsentzug, unfaire Strafverfahren einschließlich des Strafvollzugs sowie Verhängung und Vollstreckung der Todesstrafe, Folter, Umerziehung durch Arbeit, Umgang mit Flüchtlingen, Beschränkung der Meinungs- und Informationsfreiheit und anderen Freiheitsrechten. Der Autor kann sogar absichtliche Verletzungen von Menschenrechten anführen, denen jede spätere Reue abgeht, im Gegenteil die Ausführenden wurden vom Staat noch belohnt.

Der Schlussteil setzt sich mit den verschiedenen Szenarien zur politischen Zukunft Chinas auseinander und hält den Zusammenbruch der KP-Herrschaft für unausweichlich. Die schweren Menschenrechtsverletzungen lassen den Autor zum Schluss kommen, dass trotz zahlreicher Verträge, Deklarationen und Diskussionen mit dem Ausland in den letzten Jahrzehnten kein nennenswerter Fortschritt erzielt wurde und das chinesische Rechtswesen als „böse Posse“ zu bewerten sei – eine provokante These vor dem Hintergrund der diplomatischen Bemühungen der EU und Deutschlands. Das chinesische Regime gehe zur Erhaltung seiner Macht weiterhin über Leichen und verneine weitgehend die Beachtung der Menschenrechte. Welche Legitimation hat diese Partei noch und welche Alternativen gibt es? Thomas Weyrauch sieht die KP seit Maos Tod im Niedergang. Als Symptome nennt er die schwindende Zentralmacht, kürzere Amtszeiten der Politiker, neue Einflussgruppen, mangelnde Unterstützung der KP durch die Bevölkerung und die zunehmende innere Heterogenität der Partei. Die Partei sei bestenfalls als „effizient“ einzuschätzen, lehne aber die Teilung der Macht ab, was den eigenen Bürgern gegenüber nicht gerecht werde und zu einer Legitimationskrise führe. Zwar sei die Herrschaft der KP nie legitim gewesen, aber die zunehmende „Verbürgerlichung“ von Gesellschaft und Partei verstärkten die – im internationalen Trend liegende – Erwartungshaltung der chinesischen Bürger bezüglich einer Legitimation der Führung. Menschenrechte spielten dafür eine zentrale Rolle. Als systemerhaltenden Faktor sieht der Autor vor allem die Angst vor einer unsicheren Zukunft ohne die Partei. Das Stichwort, das seit der Kulturrevolution kursiert, lautet „Chaos“ (*luan*). Gleichwohl sieht er deutliche Zeichen für eine Abkehr vom Untertanengeist und für den Wunsch nach Demokratisierung nicht nur in der Bevölkerung, sondern auch innerhalb der Partei. Als Beleg werden die öffentlich bekannt gewordenen Parteiaustritte angeführt. An der Rolle des Auslands lässt der Autor kaum ein gutes Haar; das menschenrechtsverletzende Regime bedrohe letztlich die weltpolitische Stabilität und das Ausland begehe durch den Verkauf von Waffen einen

Kardinalfehler (S. 146). Die Einflussmöglichkeiten des Auslandes, namentlich der EU, seien vorhanden und zu nutzen.

Der Autor hält eine „relativ schnelle“ Demokratisierung des Landes für wahrscheinlich und schließt den Machterhalt bis 2025 aus (S. 153). Er setzt sich schon jetzt mit der Aufarbeitung des autoritären Regimes auseinander und plädiert gegen eine Amnestie für die Führungspersonen. Stattdessen bestehe eine Verfolgungspflicht sowohl durch die chinesische als auch durch die ausländische und internationale Justiz (S. 156).

Das Buch zeichnet sich durch seine detaillierte Zusammenstellung rechtlicher und empirischer Informationen aus, auf der weiter aufgebaut werden kann. Der Versuch, möglichst viele Aspekte der Menschenrechtsproblematik anzusprechen, lässt manche Ausführungen als Stückwerk erscheinen. Neben formalen Mängeln trübt manch unnötiger inhaltlicher Fehler den Gesamteindruck, zum Beispiel wenn der Autor, offenbar unter Nutzung zweifelhafter Sekundärliteratur, von einem „Verwaltungsgerichtsverfahrensgesetz von 1994“ spricht, seit Jahren aufgehobene Entscheidungen im Strafrecht (S. 34) als fortbestehend anführt oder schreibt, dass die bekannte Maßnahme der Umerziehung durch Arbeit unbefristet verlängert werden kann (S. 33). Eine weitere Durchdringung und systematische Ordnung erscheinen wünschenswert, möglicherweise sind diese durch eine zweite Auflage zu erreichen.

Thomas Richter

PETER C. PERDUE, *China Marches West. The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia*. Cambridge, MA / London: Harvard University Press 2005. 752 pages, \$ 35.00. ISBN 0-674-01684-X

“Our histories will always be only imperfect efforts to capture the ungraspable realities of the past.” This cautionary note from the author (p. 469) ought to introduce a volume containing many interpretations, suited more for experts familiar with much of the multilingual bibliography than for those seeking an introduction to Central Asian history. I found the book rather heavy going; much detail distracts from the big picture, if indeed one can be constructed at all without over-interpreting the facts. The first half presents extensive military history, involving the Muscovite/Russian empire (1613–1917), the Chinese (Qing/Manchu) empire builders and steppe/nomad societies between them, with a focus on the Mongolian Zunghars (1671–1760). Subsequent chapters cover economic and logistical aspects of that conquest: An integrated presentation would have been preferable, and more maps of the various battles would have helped illustrate the stages of military advancement that Perdue vividly describes in the text (e.g. “Yinti enthusiastically supported an immediate invasion.” p. 238).

Critical historians point out that every generation has a unique personal experience of its present, the feeling for which even their immediate successors

cannot reconstruct, much less re-live. We rely on testimony and built environment to retrieve an abstract version of lived history. Studies of regions in 16th and 17th century Europe are based on incomplete data, as food supplies may be recorded for one village, while defense installations are described for another, possibly also years apart in time. The history of a whole region is then written by drawing generalizing conclusions. What a huge challenge it is for historians of less well-documented regions like Central Asia, to have to generalize from a much more sparsely populated and less researched region. The question arises as to how many alternative possibilities of interpretation may be lost in Perdue's integrating endeavour.

In the concluding chapters, he uses structuralist generalizations to compare state-building in Europe and China as a whole, relying mainly on Eurocentric 'world historians' like Eric Hobsbawm, Immanuel Wallerstein or Charles Tilly. He uses Western interpretations instead of exploring more of what may be offered in Central Asia, denying readers that rare glimpse into the self-interpretation of other cultures that could build bridges of true understanding. The author refers to a quote from Werner Sombart that war is inseparable from capitalism (p. 550). He stresses the role of expansive warfare in the construction of the Qing state, while repeatedly trying to question the legitimacy of its geographic expanse as legacy to the People's Republic of China today (starting with his reason for the book title in the preface).

Perdue initially argues that a simple Russian-Chinese divide cannot define a cultural area which he designates as Central Eurasia – yet his approach to the topic focusses on potential separatist tensions that might support a clash of civilizations in that region. And on the international level, while he briefly mentions the controversy between Alfred Mahan's claim in 1890 that sea powers dominate history and Halford Mackinder's claim in 1904 that land powers have the upper hand (p. 505), he consistently uses the term 'Eurasia' (which he sees legitimated also by its use in the US State Department) without referring to its problematic political overtones. Those are exploited for example by the controversial Russian historian Lev Gumilev (1912–1992) who implies that Russia is culturally closer to Central Asia than to Western Europe. Secondly, in a sort of nationalistic mysticism, a united Eurasia is pitched against a declining trans-atlantic West, for instance by political sectarians like the Lyndon LaRouche group (of intransparent origins), which is little known publicly but tries to spread its influence from the US into Europe and beyond. It remains to be explored why a US group would want to damage its home country in such a way.

*Sabine Grund*

PIERRE-ANTOINE DONNET / ANNE GARRIGUE, *Le Japon: la fin d'une économie*. Paris: editions Gallimard, 2000. 285 pages, EUR 6.80. ISBN 2-07-041355-1.

MASAFUMI MATSUBA, *The Contemporary Japanese Economy*. Tokyo: Springer Verlag, 2001. 225 pages, US\$ 42.00. ISBN 981-230-126-7.

FRIEDERIKE BOSSE / PATRICK KOELLNER (eds.), *Reformen in Japan*. (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Asienkunde, 337) Hamburg: Institut für Asienkunde, 2001. X, 306 pages, EUR 24.00. ISBN 3-88910-254-9.

The days of the Great Japan Boom in publishing – most oeuvres appeared with titles like “What can we learn from Japan as number one?” and seemed to cover the same ground from quality circles to paternalist management – are surely over for good, nor will they be missed. More interesting and intellectually nourishing, however, are analyses of what went wrong with Japan and how Japanese decision makers struggle to reverse their country's economic and societal misfortunes. Publications in Western languages have become much rarer now. But here are three attempts to tackle the enigma of Japan's contemporary decline from different angles and with clearly mixed results.

Donnet and Garrigue have produced a very readable, but still fairly conventional story about the rise and fall of post-war Japan. To illustrate their points articles from “*Le Monde*” are inserted into their text which helps to enliven the book.

The rise of Japan contains no surprises. We re-read of Ikeda's income doubling plan (1960–70), US procurement during the Korean War, the Tokyo Olympics which modernized the transport infrastructure, MITI's neomercantilist industrial policies, the export offensives of the *sogo shosha*, vertical *keiretsu* cartelization, paternalist corporate cultures, a Confucian ethic in work and education, continuous restructuring and huge productive investment aided by cheap capital and high domestic savings. In the absence of raw materials Japan's human capital thus made the country the world's second largest economy. Small wonder that not only Ms. Edith Cresson, the then short-lived PM of France, in 1990 suspected that Japan intended to colonize the world economy (p. 71).

Curiously enough, the reasons for Japan's rise were also major factors in its undoing. The obsession with market share and the neglect of profitability seduced companies to create huge overcapacities financed with cheap credits. The club land atmosphere and conformist mind-set of the bloated senior management ranks prevented rigorous analysis and a clear strategic focus on corporate objectives and allowed most *keiretsu* companies to continue their wasteful drift with fuzzy logic. The much lauded high tech sector made the biggest losses. Due to rapid innovation and quick product replacement cycles even market leaders were hardly ever able to make money. When the Yen's rise (*endaka*) had made exports more expensive during the 1980s, MoF and the Central Bank

responded with a low interest rate policy to stimulate domestic demand. What they actually stimulated was – apart from overinvestment in industrial over-capacities – a mad speculative binge into real estate and the stock market. During 1983–90 real estate prices in Japan's big cities tripled. Purchases were no longer made with the rationale of rental returns but for speculative purposes. They were financed by banking loans with the inflated real estate values as sole collateral.

Once the bubble burst, it did so thoroughly. In two years the Nikkei lost 70% of its value. From January 1990 to August 1992 it went down from Yen 38,900 to Yen 14,300. Once real estate holdings had to be liquidated, they obviously depressed falling prices further. Asset deflation has happened elsewhere, but what is unique about Japan is that the planned recovery has been so badly mismanaged that since 1992 the "lost decade" of economic stagnation continues until the present day, with no end in sight.

Japan suddenly discovered that her erstwhile neomercantilist industrial policies had produced a dual structure, with highly competitive export industries coexisting with uncompetitive, protected and highly subsidized domestic sectors like agriculture, food processing, transportation, construction, distribution, finance and other industrial services (p. 95). Structural reform would hurt these sectors most, generate more social pain and was hence shirked by the ruling LDP in favour of mindless reflationalary spending programmes.

When there was a brief recovery in 1996 it was quickly undone by the VAT increase from 3% to 5% and by the Asian crisis, which led to a drop in private and corporate spending, to the first spectacular corporate failures and to rapidly rising unemployment.

In the view of the authors, Japan's political structures remain archaic. Periodically voters rebel, however without lasting consequences. The much acclaimed electoral reform of 1994 did not restore public confidence (p. 196), as the LDP's *koenkai* system of local patronage and pork barrel remained. Except for brief intervals in 1947/8 and 1993/4 the LDP remained in power as a cartel, with up to 8 factions in permanent ritualistic power contests. Aided by public scandals and performance failure of central ministries, some administrative reforms were pushed through, like merging ministries and public agencies, and dismantling and privatising public monopolies such as JNR and NTT. Yet the merged ministries enhanced their discretionary powers by virtue of the vast investment programmes which they could allocate to their usual favourites (p. 147).

But Japan's crisis is clearly more than financial, corporate, administrative or political, it is a profoundly societal one. Demography is the most objective indication. While life expectancy is wonderful: 84 for women and 77 for men, birth rates are a notorious disaster at 1.25% and further declining. Clearly Japanese society has managed to define child rearing from being a blessing to becoming an avoidable burden. And like similar societies it will pay the price. With their absentee fathers Japan's nuclear families have become feminized,

conformist with norms emanating mostly from television and schools. Growing up isolated and bored in a suburban maze and in a sterile and affluent environment, most youth are too weak as personalities to escape the stifling societal conformism (p. 119).

Professor Matsuba of Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto has produced a different book. It contains a lot of tables – 107 to be precise – and accompanying texts. Most of them are descriptive. First he compares a selection of economic indicators for Japan and the “West” (Chapter 1), he then deals with the composition, trends and direction of Japan’s foreign trade (Chapter 2), the movements and structure of Japan’s foreign investments (Chapter 3), some data on the six *keiretsu* groupings (Chapter 4), their companies’ and banks’ earnings, losses and bad loans (Chapter 5), the deficits of central government finances (Chapter 6), some labour market statistics (Chapter 7), followed by some indicators for the rural economy (Chapter 8), and income distribution, social security payments and land prices (Chapter 9). All of this is somehow meant to support the argument that corporate power has squeezed out civil society in Japan. Maybe so. Yet most of the very detailed tables and charts appear to be reproduced just because they were around, copied from some official source and duly translated. Little attempt is made to link most of the data to the overall argument of the book.

Japanese academics are well known to produce books of this sort. Yet it is irritating that the volume essentially consists of a collection of articles written at different times during the preceding decade. The preface claims updating. Yet this has been done only rarely. The time series of the tables simply end in 1987, in 1989, or in 1995. This is annoying since updates would have posed no difficulty, for none of the data represents original research, but are based on periodically published Japanese sources. Why an economist should forego the opportunity to analyze the most dramatic development in his country’s contemporary economic history and reproduce data, outdated by more than a decade, is difficult to comprehend. This may indicate something about the predicament of Japan’s academia. To be fair, sometimes there are attempts at updates, but as with the banking crisis (pp. 117), they are written like consecutive postscripts to an unchanged old text.

Bosse and Köllner have edited an interesting volume on Japan’s manifold attempts at reform. In a substantial introduction they state the parameters. So far the government’s access to the large financial assets of its citizens has allowed the state to muddle through and to largely postpone structural reforms (p. 3). Yet they are needed notably as regards taxation, for social assistance and retirement funds. Richard Katz is quoted to the effect that Japan is still stuck in the 1950/60s structures, habits and mind-sets, which reflected a then successful high-growth, egalitarian, politically stable system with “embedded mercantilism”, a cartelized industry, an interventionist bureaucracy, and considerable protection and subsidization of the peripheral second tier of the dual economy (p. 5).

Sixteen contributions then cover sectoral reform policies mostly during the 1990s, ranging from public finance to education. Franz Waldenburger draws attention to the unproductive domestic sector of Japan's dual economy (p. 31) and the demographic risks for the pay-as-you-go social security system (p. 33). T.J. Pempel succinctly states: "The country thus remains stalled at a crossroads – unable to move past patterns" (p. 39). Retarded sectors, like cement, power generation, food services, construction, banking, brokerage and insurance remain protected by regulations (p. 40), with the LDP "taxing future generations to retain its contemporary hold on power" (p. 43). A later chapter by Waldenburger on public finances agrees that in Japan debt financing – tomorrow's taxes – is politically easier than immediate tax hikes (p. 196). The chapter by Bernd Martin deals with the Prussian models during the Meiji period, which he somehow seems to hold responsible for everything that went wrong in Japan before 1945. This pretty much ignores the role of the other advanced country models, like for instance French centralism for Japan's administrative set-up or the UK for Japan's navy, as well as the function of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance 1902–23. Professor Martin also has difficulties with geography. While it may be argued, as he does, that Shimonoseki lies opposite Korea, Shikoku is surely not Japan's southernmost island, nor did the Satsuma clan ever live on it (p. 51).

Jiro Yamaguchi is rightly sceptical about the achievements of administrative reforms so far. They mainly concerned additive mergers of ministries. The fact that some tasks were commissioned to local administrations did not constitute real decentralization (p. 71). With the resignation of PM Hashimoto after losing the Upper House elections of 1998, his successor Obuchi froze most reforms, choosing to issue gimmicks like vouchers of Yen 20,000 for kids below 15 and for poor old folks in a vain attempt to reflate the economy (p. 85). Toru Morotomi documents the concerted resistance of MITI and the car industry against a reform of car taxation which would have discouraged carbon dioxide emissions (p. 209). Verena Blechinger reviews the long saga of unachieved reform plans since the 1970s. Yet she is confident that the "iron triangle" of LDP/central government/big business collusion has eroded (p. 102/3). Since 1993 Keidanren has strongly reduced contributions to the LDP. The central ministries suffer from a decline in legitimacy and power.

Ben Warkentin looks at new orientations in Japan's foreign policy. On the one hand he observes a Japanese orientation towards Asian interests (p. 142), an assertion doubtful at best. More plausibly he describes the continued "muddling through" in Japan's unfocussed development policies given the lack of co-ordination and friction between various aid delivering ministries and agencies (p. 160).

Three final chapters deal with educational reforms. Botho von Kopp describes plans for more flexible admission systems to high schools and universities (p. 243). According to Annette Erbe these have, however, hardly been modified in reality (p. 290/1). Susanne Kreitz-Sandberg represents reduced curricular burdens

since 2002 and the privatization of the national universities as major achievements so far (p. 270).

In sum, it appears that Japan's attempts at reforms during her first lost decade have yielded fairly mixed results. This qualification also seems to apply to Japanese and Western scholars' attempts at analysis and evaluation.

Albrecht Rothacher

HIDEFUMI IMURA / MIRANDA A. SCHREURS (eds.), *Environmental Policy in Japan*. Cheltenham, UK / Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 2005. XVII, 406 pages, £ 71.96. ISBN 1-84542-370-4

This is, I'm sure, the most comprehensive and the best book ever on Japan's environmental policy.

It contains 14 chapters, written by 11 authors, the two editors particularly involved, with Imura writing five and contributing to three chapters, and Schreurs to two chapters.

It is a book on the environmental past, present, and future, a book about suffering and relief, the costs of economic growth and the benefits of environmentally friendly technology. It is a book about blindness to environmental damage and compensation for damage, damage to people and nature. It is, especially, a book about actors, the destroyers and the defenders, economists and environmentalists, about government, industry, and civil society, the legislative and the executive branch of government, about hardliners and softies, pretenders and doers, learners and deniers, and those who first denied and then learned.

Japan was a latecomer to industrialisation. Then, in the 1960s, it started a "turbo" that led to unprecedented growth rates with serious side-effects. Japan became a heavily polluted country; pollutants of all kinds affected both the health of people and of nature. The sufferings were immense, but so was the social learning that took place. Learning by ordinary people, and learning by the leaders, in government, business, and the academia. In this process, Japan developed a unique kind of environmental governance, governance with less emphasis on litigation, more emphasis on administrative guidance, and – probably most important – considerable use of voluntary mechanisms for policy implementation.

The authors analyse in detail what factors contributed to Japan's relatively successful efforts at dealing with severe industrial pollution. Relatively successful, as there is still a lot to improve in a society that was conditioned for exponential growth at home and abroad.

Japan is now "greening", and on a path towards sustainable development. Delinking economic growth from environmental pollution became possible due to

rapid increases in resource productivity, leading in many cases towards a "circular economy", and in quite a few cases even close to "zero emission systems".

The authors also put Japan's environmental policy experiences in comparative perspective, considering what lessons could be drawn and should be learned from the Japanese case in other parts of the world. The one editor (Schreurs) does so by comparing environmental policy-making in Japan with that of the European Union, and the United States of America; the other (Imura) by evaluating Japan's environmental policy performance with a view to the need for new policy directions and Japan's role in future international environmental cooperation.

Considering all the work presented in this volume, one can say that a fundamental analysis has been undertaken of Japan's experiences with industrial growth, pollution, clean-up, and policy development, thus providing a systematic view on what Japan did wrong, where it has learned lessons, how Japan eventually coped with many of its serious pollution problems, and where Japan is still learning and moving towards sustainability.

What is missing? It is, as I stated at the beginning, a very comprehensive book. Still, I would have liked to see a special chapter on the extremely interesting environmental advisory system in Japan. Also, I would have liked to read more on the extremely helpful role of the courts in the early process of environmental policy implementation. And lastly, some significant literature on the early days of policy formulation, the early 1970s, is missing; for instance the stimulating work of K. William Kapp and his colleague, Shigeto Tsuru.

This said, I just want to repeat myself: This book is a must; it is best reading for all interested in or working on environmental policy formulation and implementation, be it in a polluted industrial country or in a polluting developing country.

*Udo E. Simonis*

ALEXANDER VON SIEBOLD, *Die Tagebücher. Bd. 1: 1866-1892, Bd. 2: 1893-1911, Bd. 3: Anmerkungen und Register*. Herausgegeben von Vera Schmidt. (Acta Sieboldiana VII; Veröffentlichungen des Ostasieninstituts der Ruhr-Universität Bochum 33, 7). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999. 2352 Seiten, EUR 148,00. ISBN 3-447-04145-5

Die drei voluminösen Bände flößen wohl dem Leser und erst recht jedem Rezensenten beim ersten Betrachten einen Schrecken ein bzw. vermitteln eine unüberwindliche Aversion gegen jedwede Besprechung (daher auch die lange Verzögerung). Handelt es sich doch nicht um konventionelle, das Tages- oder Wochengeschehen reflektierende Eintragungen, sondern eher um eine Art Kalendarium, ausgefüllt mit kurzen Bemerkungen, in der Hauptsache Banalitäten. Und das Ganze fortlaufend über 40 Jahre lang, vom 1. Januar 1871 bis zur letzten Eintragung am 14. Januar 1911, neun Tage vor dem Tode des Autors.

Alexander von Siebold (1846–1911) und Heinrich von Siebold (1852–1908), die beiden ältesten Söhne des wohl berühmtesten westlichen Japanforschers, des Würzburger Mediziners Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796–1866), standen ihr Leben lang im Schatten ihres großen Vaters und fanden, so die zentrale Aussage der jahrzehntelangen Aufzeichnungen, nie zu sich selbst. Beide in japanischen Diensten beschäftigt und wie alle *yatoi* (fremde Mietlinge) fürstlich honoriert, überragte der jüngere mit seinem wissenschaftlichem *Oeuvre* zur japanischen Vorgeschichte noch den älteren Bruder, der bestenfalls über sein Hauptwerk ‚Der Eintritt Japans in das europäische Völkerrecht‘ (1900) etwas bekannt wurde. Alexander von Siebold hatte diesen japanischen Weg nach Westen bei vielen Verhandlungen in Japan selbst und den europäischen Metropolen wohl ebnen helfen, aber keinesfalls an prominenter Stelle, wie die deutschen juristischen Ratgeber Hermann Roesler, Otto Rudorff, Albert Mosse oder Georg Michaelis, der spätere Reichskanzler, mitgestaltet. Die zeitgleich mit den Siebold-Tagebüchern herausgegebenen Briefe und Tagebücher von Michaelis bzw. – einige Jahre zuvor – von Mosse sind daher auch aufschlussreicher als das Sammelsurium der Sieboldschen Aufzeichnungen.

Die Herausgeberin, mit ihrer Pionierstudie zur deutschen Eisenbahnpolitik in Shantung ausgewiesene China-Historikerin, hat sich in jüngster Zeit stärker den ‚drei japanischen Siebolds‘ zugewandt und mit dieser philologisch exakten Edition ein Lebenswerk vollbracht. Doch scheint sie selbst ein wenig am Ertrag dieser Sisyphus-Arbeit gezweifelt zu haben, wenn sie in der Einführung bemerkt, mit der Edition lediglich eine weitere Quellenbasis für das Wirken ausländischer Berater in Meiji-Japan vorgelegt zu haben, doch über den Wirkungsgrad der Tätigkeit Alexander von Siebolds keine genaueren Angaben machen zu können. Dies – so die Auffassung des Rezessenten – würde eine vergleichende Biographie der wichtigsten deutschen Ratgeber im Japan des Umbruchs leisten können. Doch ein solches Werk über die Meiji-Deutschen, das über die 1920 verfasste Abhandlung von Schmiedel hinausreicht, hat die deutsche Japanforschung bislang nicht vorgelegt.

Aus den fragmentarischen frühen Aufzeichnungen der Jahre 1866 und 1869 wird deutlich, dass Frankreich für das Shogunat Hauptansprechpartner in Europa war und in dem kurzen Bürgerkrieg vor der Meiji-Restauration auch Partei für die alten Kräfte ergriff. Wenn der junge Tenno tatsächlich Deutsch gelernt haben sollte (Eintragung 7. Februar 1869), dann war dies die Reaktion auf Frankreichs Niederlage in Japan, die durch seine weitere Niederlage im deutsch-französischen Krieg noch verschärft wurde und schließlich den Preußen-Deutschen den Weg nach Japan öffnete. Zu ihnen zählte auch Alexander, der in verschiedenen japanischen Ministerien arbeitete, bevor er ab 1887 endgültig im Auftrage des Gaimusko (Auswärtiges Amt) in Europa als Lobbyist für japanische Belange tätig wurde.

In seinem unsteten Leben waren beruflich die entscheidenden Jahre seine beiden letzten längeren Aufenthalte in Japan, 1882 und 1885 bis 1887. Bei

ersterem ging es in Tokyo um eine Reorientierung des Modernisierungsprozesses am deutschen Vorbild, was Siebold wohl registrierte (10. Februar 1882), aber nie reflektierte. Bei seinem letzten Aufenthalt standen die Arbeiten an der japanischen Verfassung und der Revision der ungleichen Verträge an. Obwohl Siebold die gesamte japanische Regierung oligarchie persönlich gut kannte und auch mit den einflussreichen deutschen Beratern auf gutem Fuß stand, geben die Aufzeichnungen wenig her. Reisen nach Hokkaido, zusammen mit dem Mediziner Julius Scriba und Michaelis, sowie Jagdausflüge mit Bruder Heinrich waren erwähnenswerter.

Das Inkraftsetzen der preußisch bestimmten japanischen Verfassung am 11. Februar 1889 konstatierte Siebold lapidar. Sein eigentliches Interesse galt dem gesellschaftlichen Leben, den eigenen Krankheiten sowie dem Gesundheitszustand seiner frisch angetrauten 23jährigen Frau (1888), die standesgemäß aus einem begüterten schlesischen Adelsgeschlecht stammte. Für die Familiengründung stand das kurz zuvor erworbene Schloss Colmberg bei Ansbach bereit. Ganz im Sinne der damaligen Zeit lebte die Familie über ihre Verhältnisse, so dass man das fürstliche Anwesen nach sieben Jahren wieder – natürlich mit Gewinn – veräußern musste. Alexander war ständig auf der Suche nach einer Bleibe, Wohnungen und Schlösser wurden laufend besichtigt und taxiert. Das Tagebuch liest sich über weite Strecken als Gesellschaftsgeschichte einer sich am Adel orientierenden reichen, bürgerlichen Aufsteigergesellschaft des wilhelminischen Deutschlands. Alexander von Siebold kränkelte schon in jungen Jahren, vermutlich als Folge eines exzessiven Lebens, das von Soirées, Tanzgesellschaften, Hofbällen, Jagden und natürlich vielen Intimitäten mit dem anderen Geschlecht bestimmt war, über die pikanterweise die Aufzeichnungen auf Japanisch erfolgten.

Nach dem Tode seiner Frau während der fünften Schwangerschaft 1898 wurde es einsam um Alexander, was ihn wiederum zu noch größerer Rastlosigkeit antrieb. Wohl war er während des japanisch-chinesischen Krieges 1895 von den Japanern nochmals für ihre Sache in die Pflicht genommen worden, zehn Jahre später 1904/05 sollte er auch wieder im japanischen Sinne die deutschsprachige Presse beeinflussen. Doch all zu viel scheint er nicht bewirkt zu haben. Zumindest finden sich über die Folgen seiner Tätigkeit keine Angaben in den Aufzeichnungen. In steter Sorge um seine ebenfalls laufend kränkelnden vier Kinder, vom Asthma geplagt und wohl doch von Alkohol und der Syphilis zerfressen, starb er 1911 im Kurort Pegli bei Genua. Er hinterließ ein Vermögen von etwa 400 000 Reichsmark, einer ungeheuren Summe, die ihm größtenteils aus Japan zugeflossen war und letztlich zum Nichtstun und permanenten Selbstzweifel verleitet hatte. Freud hätte seine Freude an diesem Prototyp einer selbstzerstörerischen gesellschaftlichen Schicht gehabt.

Die Tagebücher sind daher eher ein Sittengemälde der wilhelminischen Zeit denn eine Fundgrube für den Japanspezialisten. Es bleibt daher die Frage am Schluss, bei den wohl wenigen Lesern, ob der Aufwand der Edition die Mühe wert war.

Bernd Martin