

structures, which contain or foster ethnic violence (p. 24). In his view politicians are more active than re-active, party politics are more a subject than an object, and the institutional and constitutional aspect of society is more a force than a result of history. Rösel's analysis clearly moves politics into the centre of society, which - from a different point of view - lacks a focal point.

This is a massive book, full of information, and it covers events until 1996, just one year before the year of publication. The author guides his readers through a jungle of events and masters the difficult task of telling the tragic story of ethnic violence in Sri Lanka in an appropriate form. His language is close to the subject and carries the voice of the observer at the same time. Occasionally he cites long quotations from witnesses or earlier analysis. Rösel characterises each phase of recent history and all chapters are structured into several units, each carrying an informative title. Each period stands for one trend that he identifies and characterises. Although the reviewer shares most of the author's opinions, occasionally a different emphasis is conceivable. I shall give one example: Many observers spoke of a turning point - which Rösel mentions only *en passant* (p. 363) - when Tamil separatists resumed violence in April 1995 after the newly elected government under Chandrika Kumaratunge announced a ceasefire in 1994.

To sum up, this book is a brilliant analysis of a major ongoing conflict. It offers a well grounded historical framework for party politics, public elections, constitutional changes and the development of ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. As Rösel's strength is clarity in his analysis and in the arrangement of his arguments, his work can be used as a reference book as well.

Frank Heidemann

TILMAN FRASCH, *Pagan - Stadt und Staat*. (Beiträge zur Südasiensforschung, 172). Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1996. XIV, 370 pages, 6 maps, DM 122,-. ISBN 3-515-06870-8

The thesis reviewed here deals in six chapters with the little explored history of the medieval Pyu town of Pagan, the capital of the first Burmese empire (1044-1287). In the 36 page introduction Fräsch describes at length the sources esp. the (sand)stone inscriptions, gives examples of the difficulties they present and shows his care in dealing with them (p. 12), which required an inductive procedure rather than theoretical concepts (p. 35).

Fräsch repeatedly argues the readings and translations even of authorities like Charles Duroiselle, Gordon Luce and ÜPe Maung Tin (p. 8), 16f., 25, 84 et passim). Thus, the diffamation of the Ari monks, who, according to late chronicles, had violated the third and fifth monastic rules (against sexual activity resp. the use of intoxicating drinks), seems to be due to a misinterpretation of the sources (p. 288). Yet Fräsch not only evaluates the work of his predecessors, he also takes an interest in their lives, which many readers will appreciate, because it is sometimes difficult to obtain information on these as in the case of Duroiselle.

Ch. 1 deals with the rise of Pagan, showing the Pyu, and not the Mon, as the original inhabitants the Burmese encountered on their arrival. Fräsch rightly rates the Pyu as skilled artisans (tiles), architects (real vaults) and irrigation engineers (p. 48f. et passim). - Ch. 2 discusses the person of the king, succession and family policy. The latter is very important though the reviewer would not get as far as to assert that a Buddhist kingdom lacks an ideological basis of its own (p. 87). - Ch. 3 treats the administration. Here Fräsch shows that military and civil functions were not distinguished nor were offices and duties assigned to specific dignitaries. - Ch. 4 discusses the legal system, or rather, the lack thereof. - Ch. 5 describes the economic base of the realm and in this connection Fräsch critically examines the conversion of the medieval weights and land measures into modern ones. Pagan as a city in a desert was absolutely dependent on imports for all its supplies, so trade and communications were of great importance. - The last chapter deals with religious conditions: the Buddhist schools in the various monasteries in Pagan; the close relation between king and *sangha*, and the literary productivity of the monks which reached its acme in the 13th century.

On the whole this book makes the impression of being well researched, exhaustive and well written. Anglophone scholars with no reading knowledge of German will regret that it has only a three-page English summary. Should the author consider a translation, a check of the form, orthography and/or meaning of Sanskrit, Pāli and French words seems desirable, e.g. *en retrait* (p. 3), *uyyāna* (p. 29), *Ratanasagāra* (p. 29), *simā* (p. 44 et passim; Skt./Pāli *simā* means 'boundary' in the dictionaries), *compremettre* (p. 87), *Mahājanata-jātaka* (p. 90), *padmaraga* (p. 282), *jaya-* and *jeyya-seṭṭhi* (p. 284; missing in the index), *cankarā* and *sardhana* (p. 289), and *umanga* 'cave monastery' (p. 337), which is certainly not Sanskrit and, as to Pāli, the *Critical Pali Dictionary* gives it as a *varia lectio* of *ummanga/ummagga* 'tunnel for escape; underground watercourse'. Only Pe Maung Tin's *The Student's Pali English Dictionary* (Rangoon, 1920) lists *umanga* in the sense of 'wisdom; cave' with no references. In the rich bibliography all authors are mentioned with their Christian name, but for Gordon Luce, and of the essays in honour of the latter, the same volume is given the number 2 in the Bibliography, but 1 on p. 90. Finally, references with no page numbers are annoying (e.g. on p. 23, 163, 237 and perhaps others). On p. 44, 1004 should be 1104 and on p. 94, note 53 read 123 instead of 153.

Willem Bollée

PHILIP J. ELDRIDGE, *Non-Government Organizations and Democratic Participation in Indonesia*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford UP, 1995, 260 pages., illust., £ 22.50. ISBN 967-65-3091-3

The current political and economic crisis in Indonesia has pushed the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) of that country into an "uncomfortable" but crucial position. Though many of the NGOs occupy themselves with, strictly speaking, "non-political" projects such as rural self-help organisation or farmers' marketing co-operatives, their political impact on Indonesian society has been quite extensive