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Reviews

JÜRGEN RÜLAND / CLEMENS JÜRGENMEYER / MICHAEL NELSON / PATRICK ZIEGENHAIN, *Parliaments and Political Change in Asia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005. xvii, 324 pages, $ 43.90 (hb.), $ 28.50 (pb.). ISBN 978-981-230-232-8 (hb.), ISBN 978-981-230-273-1 (pb.)

While political institutions such as political parties and the military have long been considered as factors relevant to democratization, parliaments (and judiciaries) have long been neglected. This is especially true for Asia: whereas at least some studies exist for Latin America and there is already a second wave of research on parliaments and second chambers, Asia can be considered a terra incognita. Jürgen Rüland and his research team fill this gap with their study of the political role of parliaments in India, Indonesia, South Korea, the Philippines and Thailand. They bring legislatures back into the focus of democratization studies, in a region which has no original tradition of research into parliaments. This book is thus a welcome and significant contribution to the field of democratization studies in Asia. Commissioned by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation it helps to understand the central position and impact of parliaments for the respective political systems.

The study has a neo-institutionalist theoretical framework (institutions as dependent and independent variable) and is inspired by four debates in democratization studies: The debate about the conduciveness of parliamentarism/presidentialism to democratic consolidation (Linz, Mainwaring/Shugart), the debate on majoritarian versus consensus forms of democracy (Leijphart, Reilly) and the transition paradigm. Although the latter has come under fire in recent years (Carothers), it serves well as analytical tool to describe the role of parliaments under authoritarianism (chapter 2), to illuminate its impact on the new rules of the political game (3−7) and to assess the impact on democratic consolidation (8−9). The latter is assessed against the level of inclusiveness and performance of the political systems. The study also convinces with its richness of empirical data, which is based on 100 semi-structured interviews carried out by the authors in India, Indonesia, South Korea, the Philippines and Thailand.

The most important findings can be summarized as follows: The parliaments under study have generally started from a low degree of institutionalization – given the long period of authoritarianism and the short time for democratic change in some countries, this is hardly surprising. In three (out of five) cases parliaments played a greater role in the demise of the authoritarian order than previously acknowledged in the literature (273). However, democratic rules are increasingly accepted by veto-actors (267) and a growing professionalisation in policy-making and parliamentary debate is taking place

(267). As a result of democratization inclusiveness has increased, although it faces great challenges, since electoral fraud and manipulations, weak political parties and patronage still characterize all five parliaments (269). Altogether, the contribution of legislatures to the consolidation of democracy is ambiguous: "Without a vital and vocal public as corrective, and further consolidation of the changes in actor behaviour, parliaments are in constant danger of degrading into clientelist institutions, dominated by the patronage networks of conservative traditional politicians whose unprincipled wheeling and dealing endangers the deepening of democracy" (270f). There also seems to be no real clear idea about the second chambers in the region. Another finding is that there seems to be no causal relationship between the performance of legislatures and their role in the political system (parliamentarism/presidentialism).

All in all, the book contains helpful insights into the functions, performances and impacts of the young legislatures in democratizing Asia. It provides valuable information on the role of political parties, elections and election systems and the functional aspects of legislatures in Asia (legislation, representation, control). For the first time the role of parliaments in Asia is brought into focus. Given the low number of cases, however, these findings have little value for overall research on parliaments. Although the study itself is highly commendable and should be a must-read for those interested in democratization and institutional change in Asia, the overall structure of the book can be questioned for a number of reasons. First, transition theory has come under heavy criticism in recent years, since a huge number of democracies do not easily consolidate, e.g. Thailand, a case in point. A case study approach reflecting other theoretical strands of the literature as well, might have been more fruitful and placed each case in its own (historical) setting. Another criticism refers to the so-called informal institutions and the role of clientelism and corruption, which in some of these countries is endemic (Indonesia, Philippines). The real functioning of parliaments might have been illustrated more clearly if seen in this light. Despite this criticism the book fills an important gap and does so in an innovative manner.

Marco Bünte

MUHAMMAD KHALID MASUD (Hrsg.), *Travellers in Faith. Studies of the Tablīghī Jamā'at as a Transnational Islamic Movement for Faith Renewal*. (Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East and Asia, 69). Leiden: Brill, 2000. lx, 268 Seiten, € 118,00. ISBN 978-90-04-11622-1

Der pakistanische Gelehrte Muhammad Khalid Masud, ehedem Leiter des renommierten, aber nun von der niederländischen Regierung nicht weiter finanzierten Institute for the Study of Modern Islam und anschließend des pakistanischen Council of Islamic Ideology, gilt als eine herausragende Figur der

muslimischen Gelehrtenwelt. Ihm gelang es schließlich nach mühsamer Arbeit, die Beiträge zu einer Konferenz über die Tablighi Jamaʿat ("Missionarische Gemeinschaft") aus dem Jahre 1990 zusammenzustellen. Der Band ist in zwei Teile untergliedert: Während im ersten K. Masud, B. Metcalf und M. Talib die Organisation der Tablighi Jamaʿat (TJ) – Geschichte, Gender, Ideologie – behandeln, untersuchen im zweiten Teil sieben, mehrheitlich junge ForscherInnen (E. Faust, M. Tozy, F. Dassetto, G. Kepel, E. Mossa, Sh. H. Azmi sowie M. Gaborieau) die TJ als transnationale Bewegung in Europa, Nord- und Südafrika sowie Nordamerika. Selbst wenn sich die einzelnen empirischen Daten im Laufe der Zeit verändert haben, so haben die Beiträge an Relevanz kaum verloren.

Wir haben es bei der TJ mit einer muslimischen Missionsbewegung zu tun, die durch „gelebten Hadith" und eine Fülle missionarischer Methoden zu einer der sichtbarsten religiösen Bewegungen weltweit wurde. Gegründet wurde die TJ um 1934 durch Muhammad Ilyas Kandhalawi (1885-1944) in Mewat nahe Delhi, einer Gegend, die für Spannungen zwischen Hindus und Muslimen bekannt war. Zunächst richtete sie sich an Stammesgruppen wie die Meos aus Mewat. Bald wurde das intellektuelle Zentrum der Jamaʿats in der Madrasa al-ʿUlum in Saharanpur etabliert, während das administrative Zentrum in Nizamuddin/New Delhi angesiedelt wurde. Die puritanische, doch gleichzeitig pietistische und sufische missionarische Bewegung, die sich durchaus an dem bekannten Seminar von Deoband orientierte, lud Muslime ein, einzutreten in das Reich des „wahren" Islam. Dieses ist z.B. in dem berühmten *Hayat al-Sahaba*, das vom zweiten *amir* und Ilyas' einzigem Sohn Muhammad Yusuf Kandhalawi (1917-1965) verfasst worden war, und in dem auf Erzählungen der Hadith basierenden, zwischen 1928 und 1940 von Muhammad Zakariyya Kandhalawi (gestorben 1982), dem Neffen von Ilyas, geschriebenen *Tablighi Nisab* (Der Studienplan der Bekehrung), später *Faza'il-e A'mal* (Die Tugenden/Gewinne der Tat) genannt, dargestellt worden. Die Akzentuierung des „korrekten moralischen Verhaltens" im Sinne der Nachahmung des prophetischen Vorbilds wurde bald, so Khalid Masud, durch den zweiten *amir*, der sein Amt 1943 antrat, in einen transnationalen Kampf umgewandelt. Bald schloss sich die Nadwat al-ʿUlama der TJ an und trug ihre bescheidenen, aber effektiven Ideen weit über die südasiatischen Region in die arabische Welt hinaus, nicht zuletzt aufgrund des Aktivismus ihres verstorbenen Rektors Abu al-Hasan ʿAli Nadwi (gestorben 1999). 1965, als der dritte *amir* Inʿam al-Hasan (1918-1995) in sein Amt eingeführt wurde, hatte die Bewegung sich in über mehr als 90 Ländern ausgebreitet. 1995 war sie so groß geworden, dass das Konzept des *Imamat* zugunsten eines Rates (*shura*) dreier Gelehrter aus der Gründerfamilie aufgegeben wurde, basierend auf *mashwara*, der Konsultation. Die TJ zählt zu den neuen religiösen Bewegungen, die innere Mission und kommunitäre Identität, gleichzeitig aber auch Dekulturalisierung, Sozialkontrolle, verdichtete Netzwerke, Mobilität, Ökonomisierung und Mediatisierung vertritt.

Die Internationalisierung der Bewegung wurde ermöglicht durch eine flexible, gleichwohl hierarchische Organisationsstruktur auf der Grundlage

personaler Beziehungen zwischen den Amiren und Räten (*shura*). Die TJ war, und ist noch immer, trotz begrenzter weiblicher Beteiligung, eine Grassroots-Bewegung, die sich selbst trägt. Diese recht lockeren organisatorischen Strukturen spiegeln sich ebenfalls in den wohl absichtlich nicht durchgeführten Wohlfahrts- oder Bildungsprogrammen. Ebenso gibt es kein offizielles Statut oder eine reichhaltige Literatur wie im Fall der Ahmadiyya. Jedoch von größter Bedeutung für die Bewegung ist der Sechs-Punkte-Plan der Tat, bekannt als *chah baten* (sechs Punkte), die das Leben und die Handlungen der Tablighis regeln: 1) der Artikel des Glaubens (*kalima*), 2) das Gebet (*salat*), welches die Wichtigkeit der Moschee und der *da'wa* zur Verstärkung der Gemeinschaft betont, 3) das Wissen und die Erinnerung (*'ilm wa dhikr*), die der Integration verschiedener islamischer Auffassungen dienen, etwa der sufischen und der orthodoxen, 4) der Respekt für einen Muslim (*ikram-e Muslim*), 5) die Aufrichtigkeit der Absicht (*ikhlas-e niyyat*), die hilft, sich Allahs Gefallen zu verdienen, 6) die praktischen tabligh-Aktivitäten (*tafrigh-e waqt*), durch die sich der Tablighi von profanen Ablenkungen und unnützem Gerede fernhält.

Diese sechs Punkte werden in die Praxis umgesetzt durch Methoden, die sufische Elemente repräsentieren, wie die 40 Tage dauernde Übung der Einsamkeit (*chilla*) und *dhikr*, sowie öffentliche Zusammenkünfte (*ijtima'at*), Gruppen (*jama'ats*), die in der Nachbarschaft Runden machen (*gasht*), um die Menschen zu den Gebeten anzuhalten, und die Einladung zum Gebet (*da'wa*), das Unterricht (*tadris*) und Disputation (*munazara*) einschließt. *Da'wa* wird angesehen als spirituelle Anstrengung, während die missionarischen Reisen (*chilla*) dem Konzept der Hijra wichtige Bedeutung verleiht. *Gasht* sorgt für einen Zustand der Liminalität, der strenges islamisches Verhalten ermöglicht. Somit sind körperliche Bewegung und transnationale Reisen Mittel zur Erneuerung des Glaubens (*tajdid*), die zur Erweiterung der Legitimität der Bewegung dienten.

Diese Aktionen erlauben es der Tablighi-Bewegung, sich an viele Menschen unterschiedlicher sozialer Schichten und Berufe über ethnische Grenzen hinweg zu richten, vorwiegend an Händler, Angestellte und wohlhabendere soziale Kreise. Ihre jährlichen Treffen im Hauptquartier in Raiwind in Pakistan, nicht weit entfernt von Rabwa, entwickelten sich zu den zweitgrößten Zusammenkünften der muslimischen Welt nach der Hajj. Darüber hinaus war die Bewegung in der Lage, führende Regierungsbeamte, Politiker, Geheimdienstler und Soldaten sowie Sportler anzulocken, insbesondere nach der Gründung Pakistans im Jahr 1947. Khalid Masud nimmt an, dass "ihr Fokus auf individuelle Wandlung und Glaubenserneuerung ohne soziale Schranken ein starkes Gefühl für die Trennung von persönlicher und sozialer Moral hergestellt hat. Das scheint nicht die Vision von Mawlânâ Ilyâs gewesen zu sein" (S. 31). Tatsächlich sagt Ilyas, dass „die Ziele moderner politischer Autorität und die Ziele des Islam nicht zusammen passen. Sollte der Islam als religiöses System Fortschritte machen, muss es von der Politik getrennt werden." Die programmatische Beseitigung von Heiligtümern und den zugehörigen Kulten, die Kritik am Säkularismus, Modernismus, an den Hindus, Juden und Christen sowie der

restriktive Standpunkt gegenüber Frauen sind ebenso bemerkenswert wie die konstanten Versuche, auch Nicht-Muslime zum Islam „einzuladen", wie in den zahlreichen Beiträgen des Buches immer wieder deutlich wird.

Unabhängig von der notorischen Gleichgültigkeit der Tablighis gegenüber politischen Dingen muss die scheinbar quietistische Einstellung dieser ethisch orientierten Bewegung doch hinterfragt werden. Die beabsichtigte verinnerlichte Islamisierung – durch die Imitierung der Sunna und Orientierung am Hadith – brachte langfristig eine Expansion der Interessenssphäre, d. h. den Einschluss einer territorialen Dimension mit sich. Diese graduelle Externalisierung des internalisierten Islam scheint in Übereinstimmung mit Abu al-Hasan ʻAli Nadwis Ideen von einer allumfassenden Islamisierung zu stehen, die durch die, von Personen wie A.A. Maududi, dem Altmeister des politischen Islam, unterstützte Islamisierung kontrastiert werden. Neuerdings haben sich weitere neue religiösen Bewegungen entwickelt, die mit der TJ konkurrieren, indem sie deren Methoden und Strategien anwenden, wie etwa die 1981 in Karachi gegründete Daʻwat-e Islami.

Der Sammelband ist nicht nur für Islam- und Religionswissenschaftler von Relevanz, sondern auch für Sozial- und Kulturwissenschaftler sowie Theologen.

Jamal Malik

IRENE HILGERS, *Why do Uzbeks have to be Muslims? Exploring Religiosity in the Ferghana Valley*. (Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia, 22). Berlin / Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2010. 192 pages, € 29.90. ISBN 978-3-643-10176-1

In this work Irene Hilgers analyses the revival of Islam in the public sphere in post-socialist Uzbekistan, with particular reference to its role in the construction of a new national identity.

Tragically, the author did not live to see her work published, and was not even able to edit it herself. Compiling a meaningful text out of the sometimes incomplete notes of a deceased author is by no means an easy task, particularly if one aims at creating a book which does credit to the author's thoughts and arguments. Nor does it make the task of appraising the work critically any easier.

Yet Hilgers' editors have done a creditable, if not admirable, job in creating a book which, at least in its central section, delivers a coherent, convincing and insightful text about the role of religion in general and Islam in particular in modern Uzbek society.

The author approaches the topic in three steps: she first describes the emerging "market of identities" after the demise of the Soviet Union with particular regard to religion. Contrary to official Uzbek history, she points out

that by no means all Uzbeks suddenly "re-discovered" religion once given the liberty to do so. It is true that religion became an important factor in the daily lives of Uzbeks. Yet the choices individual Uzbeks made with regard to religion, the importance they accorded it and, last but by no means least, the methods of the Uzbek regime to capitalise on this religious revival have created a very multi-faceted picture. It appears justified to claim that, while Uzbeks no doubt enjoy their greater freedom of religion compared with the Soviet past, they are at the same time also apprehensive of radicalising and fundamentalist tendencies, and particularly of the social stigma associated with them.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in the official government propaganda about what it means to be Uzbek. According to the regime, being Uzbek means to be Muslim. But, and this is the crux of the matter, it means to be the "right" kind of Muslim: it means being an adherent of the "traditional" Hanafi school of Islam. A more "fundamentalist", stricter interpretation of Islam is frowned upon by the regime and, as Hilgers finds out, also by the majority of Uzbek society: the adherent of this more radical version of Islam may easily find him- or herself tainted with the epithet "Wahabi", which in modern-day Uzbekistan appears to have an entirely negative connotation. The Uzbek regime thus falls into the category of countless other regimes trying to instrumentalise Islam in order to fabricate and cement loyalty of the population towards it by arrogating itself the authority to interpret Islam – more precisely, to define what is "Islamic" and what is not – according to its own needs.

In contrast, according to popular opinion Uzbek national identity consists of several elements. There is Islam (the social aspects of which are called *odat*) and ethno-cultural tradition (*'urf*). It is important to note that not only do *odat* and *'urf* sometimes contradict each other, but that this contradiction is noticed by Uzbeks themselves. For the majority of Uzbeks, however, *'urf* is a sufficiently important part of national identity to justify its priority in spite of occasional violations of stricter Islamic prescriptions. The outcome is a hybrid identity which Hilgers calls "Muslimness" – doubtless an important socio-anthropological concept greatly transcending a "purely Muslim" identity.

Besides analysing the re-emergence of religion as an important aspect of identity in the post-1991 period, and the importance of this development for Uzbek national identity (and particularly for the Uzbek regime), Hilgers also introduces the highly important element of pragmatism inherent in any religious development. In order to demonstrate this "economic religiosity" she analyses a supposedly "Islamic" wedding she is invited to witness.

In principle the feast takes place according to Muslim commandments: no alcohol is served and, at least superficially, the sexes are separated. However, Hilgers' elderly lady acquaintances soon set her right about this "Muslim" wedding. They note countless deviations from Muslim customs and commandments, resulting in the fairly crushing verdict that the families chose the "religious" form of wedding not out of piety, but out of economic considerations. The analysis boils down to the sober fact that an "Islamic" wedding, at which

no alcohol is served, at which no music is performed and neither dancing nor the mingling of the sexes takes place, is to be had at considerably lower expense than an "Uzbek" one, where all the above- mentioned "vices" are in evidence in abundance. The lower degree of "fun" to be had at an "Islamic" wedding also has the pleasant side effect of substantially reducing the number of wedding guests: while an "Uzbek" wedding might attract as many as 500 guests, "Islamic" weddings are seldom attended by more than 200. While it is clear that the "Islamicity" of the wedding ceremony described above is of a new kind, Hilgers – and this is a rare exception – might here be accused of being a little imprecise, for it is one of the few examples of juxtaposing "Islamic" and "Uzbek" characteristics of a ceremony.

There is thus much to be praised in the book, and little to be criticised; though it is not easy to criticise if one is dealing with what is, in principle, an unfinished work. The title, after perusing the work, appears almost too modest; although the incomplete material available to the editors explains why some lines of thought remain only partially explored, the book does much more than just explain why both the Uzbek regime and Uzbek Muslim society regard only Muslims as "proper" Uzbeks. It sheds light on the complicated process of how people cope with the disintegration of one "world" – the Soviet one – and try to find meaning and orientation in a new one – post-Soviet, post-socialist and, if one wishes to treat the Soviet period as one of often forced "modernity", post-modern. It shows that generation, gender, education, socialisation, and even place of residence etc. play an important role in the attitude of people towards religion, and in the Uzbek case towards "traditional Uzbek" Islam.

The persons Hilgers interacted with reveal surprisingly different attitudes: there is the Soviet-socialised elderly male "cultural Muslim", but equally the elderly female attempting to improve her "Muslimness" by stricter observance of religious prescriptions. A young, educated student has discovered Islam to be so important for him that he intends to leave Uzbekistan because the local regime prevents his living according to his beliefs and conviction. And, finally, there is also one case study of a lady wishing to leave "Islam" altogether by conversion to charismatic Christianity. Almost more interesting than these choices appear the reactions of families, friends and neighbours: while the process of "Re-Islamisation" has met with tacit approval, the "deviation" of the Christian convert has not only exposed her to surveillance by the Uzbek authorities, but also to a certain degree of social ostracism.

It is regrettable that Hilgers does not deal at all with Sufism, this highly important aspect of Central Asian Islamic religiosity. It is praiseworthy that she at least mentions this omission as a serious drawback to the value of her work; there is always the possibility that she would have tried to incorporate it at a later stage, but this is not for the reviewer to decide.

Finally, a little more attention might have been paid to the issue of identity being the result of a process and continuously in flux. It would be intriguing to find out precisely how persons choose to immerse themselves deeper in

religion, be it their "traditional (Islam)" or an "imported brand (charismatic Christianity)." Also, it is a bit disappointing that there are no "Wahabis" among her interviewees. All the persons Hilgers describes seem to regard religion as a highly individual and private affair, unconnected to any political conviction. The most "extreme" example of a "politicised" Uzbek Muslim is the young man who recently discovered his deeper interest in Islam. He has finally decided to seek further education abroad, not – and this is surely interesting – because he thinks such a course of action would suit his educational needs better, but because he accuses the Uzbek regime of preventing him from "living like a Muslim should." Yet, once again, we are dealing with what is in fact an unfinished doctoral thesis. The observations made and the questions raised give much food for thought – which makes Hilgers' work highly deserving of praise whatever the shortcomings.

Tilman Lüdke

GITA DHARAMPAL-FRICK / ALI USMAN QASMI / KATIA ROSTETTER (eds.), *Revisioning Iqbal as a Poet and Muslim Political Thinker*. Heidelberg: Draupadi Verlag, 2010. 231 pages, € 19.80. ISBN 978-3-937603-43-8.

Iqbal, to put it very bluntly, is a controversial figure. There is a chameleon ambiguity about him which makes him susceptible to appropriation by almost every ideological camp under the sun. Indian nationalists are eager to honour his 'Sare Jahan se Achchha' as a quasi national song for the country; Pakistani nationalists see him as the inspirational genius behind the foundation of their state; 'secular' modernists hail him as a founding figure of Islamic modernism and reform in South Asia; religious puritans see him as an arch-defender of the faith against the evils of Western modernity; connoisseurs of poetry eulogize him for the way he strove to carve out a modern, and yet 'authentic', Indo-Islamic canon of poetry, even as one is forced to recognize the pervasive influence of European aesthetics (Goethe being particularly important in this respect) on the poet. How can a man be so infinitely polyphonic, so stubbornly resistant to any one categorization? The book under review is a worthy attempt to grapple with these questions. Ably edited and synergized by Gita Dharampal-Frick, head of the history department at the South Asia Institute of Heidelberg University, with the assistance of Ali Usman Qasmi and Katia Rostetter, the volume brings together articles by eleven scholars from Pakistan, India and Germany. The book, a product of an interdisciplinary and international conference organized by the South Asia Institute in 2007 to mark the 130th anniversary of Iqbal's birth as well as the centenary of his stay in Heidelberg, aims to examine his person by reviewing the three fields where he is considered to be a master: poetry, politics and philosophy.

For the reviewer the crux of the issue lies in Iqbal's theology. As generations of scholars, from Carl Schmitt in interwar Germany, from the later

Foucault (of the *History of Sexuality*) to – most recently – Agamben, have ceaselessly reminded us, many (perhaps even all) of modernity's most important ideological concepts are secularized forms of theological ideas. Iqbal, I would say, represents, for South Asian Islam, one of the most significant reference points of this secularization (for South Asian Hinduism, Rammohun Roy or perhaps Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay would be its representatives) where modernity emerges with volcanic vigour, with a sudden burst of indomitable energy, by seemingly laicizing the powers of divinity. As Ali Usman Qasmi, Stephan Popp and Shamim Hanfi remind us in this volume, Iqbal's concept of the perfect modern human being is one whose will is completely at one with God's, and who can therefore transform society in a this-worldly manner; for Iqbal, the Nietzschean will to power is only the manifestation of God's own power. The drive for religious reform is also the drive to create a modern political society free from colonial heteronomy. Soteriology is transformed into a penchant for revolution.

The danger of course lies in defining the will of God, or the true community of God. The moment 'other-worldly' and 'mystical' tendencies are abandoned (such as Sufi beliefs about which Iqbal became increasingly sceptical, as Hans Harder shows in this book), the moment a highly politicized theological individualism is constructed, modern political theology, too, must face the issue of constructing a community of righteousness, of waging a moral battle between good and evil which inevitably becomes more lethal as the battle turns away from an inner battle within the self towards an outer battle over concretely identifiable theo-political enemies. Iqbal's obsession with constructing an ideal Islamic political community encodes this duality: his theology makes him both a religious puritan and a modern revolutionary. There is perhaps no difference between the two. And it is for this reason that, as Inayatullah Baloch describes the trajectory, Iqbal gradually becomes increasingly hostile to ethnic nationalism, including Indian nationalism for, faced with the elegant abstraction of divine rationality, what is ethnicity but a primeval obstruction of justice?

As Qazi Jamal Husain reminds us in this volume, the power of Iqbal's poetry, with its almost liturgical and incantatory rhythms and its longing for the desert sands of Arab freedom and the glories of Islamic Spain, lies also in Iqbal's theology. Very different is this poetic world from the world of that other great South Asian exponent of Persian and Hindvi poetry, Amir Khusro. The turning away from that earlier romantic tradition to the new grandeur of political majesty in Indo-Islamic poetry is matched in South Asian Hinduism by Bankimchandra's progression from the Bhakti mystical celebration of Krishna as a lover god by precolonial poets like Jayadeva to the Hindu nationalist projection of Krishna as a political warrior in the colonial era, one who would unify India and free it from British rule. Confronted with Jayadeva and Amir Khusro on the one hand, Bankimchandra and Iqbal on the other, these constellations represent two completely different universes of aesthetics.

The world we inhabit, for good and for ill, is largely fashioned by the likes of Iqbal and Bankimchandra. It is a world where we constantly strive to create utopian communities, where we are fascinated by the concrete, where we seek to make God flesh in a ceaseless Hegelian quest towards realising God's presence in the world. Even for this reason alone, Iqbal, and this volume, should be studied by everyone interested in the history of modernity's quest to s(a)ecularize the transcendental.

Milinda Banerjee

DIETMAR ROTHERMUND, *Indien – Aufstieg einer asiatischen Weltmacht*. München: C.H. Beck, 2008. 336 Seiten, € 26,90. ISBN 978-3-406-57067-4

Die Vorstellung eines gefesselten Riesen, der sich erhoben hat und seine Fesseln endlich abstreift, um den Status einer Großmacht für sich zu beanspruchen, wird stets als Metapher bemüht, um die neue Position der Indischen Union, vor allem im Vergleich zur Volksrepublik China, zu beschreiben. Der Aufstieg dieser südasiatischen Macht, die sich viel zu lange selbst behindert hat, ist Thema des vorliegenden Werkes von Dietmar Rothermund. Rothermund gibt mit seinem Buch einen umfassenden Einblick in ein höchst vielfältiges Land, indem er die Gegenwart und die Zukunft vor dem Hintergrund der wechselhaften Geschichte, vor allem der britischen Kolonialmacht betrachtet.

In den ersten Kapiteln stellt Rothermund das Werden der indischen Nation dar. Ausgehend von der Kolonialherrschaft der Briten zeichnet Rothermund das Bild eines Landes, dessen Unabhängigkeit nicht nur mit dem Verlust von Territorien erkauft worden ist, sondern dessen Erfahrungen der Kolonialherrschaft tiefe Spuren im kollektiven Gedächtnis hinterließen, die die Nation während des Kalten Krieges in eine selbst gewählte Isolation gezwungen haben. Gleichzeitig manifestieren sich die während des Unabhängigkeitskampfes angelegten Strukturen einer politischen Selbstverwaltung später im so genannten Congresssystem und verliehen Indien für eine lange Zeit politische Stabilität.

Die Entwicklung der Atombombe und die damit zusammenhängenden politischen, militärischen, aber auch moralischen Fragen werden ebenso einer Analyse unterzogen wie die Struktur der Landwirtschaft. Rothermund stellt die derzeitige Krise der indischen Landwirtschaft dar und weist die vielen strukturellen Probleme der Bauern auf, wie beispielsweise fehlende Grundbucheintragungen (die wichtig für einen Weiterverkauf des Bodens sind) und fehlender Zugang zu staatlichen Krediten und Hilfsgeldern, mangelnde Investitionen in neue Technologien oder prinzipiell die geringe Bereitschaft, neue Produktionsmethoden wegen des zu hohen Risikos auszuprobieren. Da in Indien zwei Drittel der Menschen von der Landwirtschaft leben, sind Reformen jedoch dringend geboten. Doch sieht Rothermund die Krise der Landwirtschaft auch als Chance und beschreibt, welche Möglichkeiten sich im Bereich der Milch-, Ei- und Fischpro-

duktion ergeben haben. Um nur ein Beispiel zu nennen: Durch eine Verbesserung von Produktion, Transport und Verkauf ist die Produktion von Eiern zwischen den Jahren 1990 und 2004 von 21 Mrd. auf 45 Mrd. gestiegen.

Rothermund sieht in den Faktoren Wasser, Energie, Infrastruktur die Haupthindernisse für das Wachstum der indischen Volkswirtschaft. Er erläutert, warum es eines Historikers und nicht eines Wirtschaftswissenschaftlers bedarf, um die Unwirtschaftlichkeit der indischen Eisenbahn zu erklären. Während der Kolonialzeit stand der Faktor Wirtschaftlichkeit nur bedingt im Vordergrund. Zwar mussten daheim in Vereinigten Königreich die Investoren mit einer Rendite von 5% bei Laune gehalten werden, aber in Indien standen für strategische Überlegungen die Briten im Vordergrund, die in erster Linie schnelle Truppenverlegungen ermöglichen sollten. Die gezielte infrastrukturelle Erschließung des Landes, wie beispielsweise die Verbindung der großen Häfen waren, so Rothermund, zweitrangig.

Des Weiteren behandelt Rothermund in seinem Buch die demographische Entwicklung, den Aufstieg der neuen Mittelklasse, das Kastenwesen, die indischen Medien und gewährt zudem Einblicke in die indische Diaspora.

Die Vielfalt an Themen, die Rothermund untersucht, ist enorm und erweist sich – notwendigerweise – als ein zweischneidiges Schwert. Der Wunsch nach umfassender Darstellung lässt sich nicht immer mit dem Anspruch analytischer Tiefe vereinbaren. Trotzdem ist dieses Buch auch für Indien-Kenner eine Bereicherung. Dass Indien einer der heterogensten Staaten der Erde ist, wird bisweilen viel zu oft übersehen. Diese Heterogenität in jedem Kapitel aufs Neue hervortreten zu lassen, ist vielleicht mit das größte Verdienst dieses Buches über ein Land, in dem ein Sechstel der Menschheit lebt. Viele charmante Nebeninformationen und vor allem die Wiedergabe von Gesprächen, die Rothermund in über vierzig Jahren geführt hat, führen dazu, dass sich das Indienbild des Lesers scheinbar unbemerkt komplettiert. Rothermunds Buch spiegelt die geradezu unendliche Vielfalt Indiens wider und bietet so einen Panoramablick über einen Subkontinent, der sich anschickt, auf der großen Bühne der Weltpolitik eine wichtige Rolle zu spielen.

Katja Schubert

AXEL MICHAELS, *Śiva in Trouble. Festivals and Rituals at the Paśupatinātha Temple of Deopatan*. (South Asia Research). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. xx, 285 pages, 54 figures, £ 57.00. ISBN 978-0-19-534302-1

The Pashupatinath temple in the Kathmandu Valley is one of the big trans-regional shrines in South Asia, and is even regarded as "the" national temple of Nepal. For at least fifteen centuries it was linked as tutelary deity to the ruling kings of the Valley (and country), and until the abolishment of the Shah monarchy in 2008 the king concluded his addresses to the people with "May

Lord Pashupatinath bless you!" But few of the many tourists and pilgrims visiting the place know about the intricate history and traditions of the shrine. Thanks to the Indologist Axel Michaels however we now have a detailed documentation and an in-depth study of the sacred topography, the history, and ethnography of priesthood and ritual practice of the temple complex. The major results of this project were published in German in a two volume monograph (*Die Reisen der Götter: Der nepalische Paśupatinātha-Tempel und sein rituelles Umfeld*. Bonn: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag. 1994). This was followed by the publication of a few articles, published in the 1990s, which complemented these studies. The present volume is a collection of relevant chapters from the book, for the first time translated into English, plus some of the articles, all dealing with the ethnography of the rituals and festivals associated with Pashupatinath. All the texts have been revised and an epilogue, written in 2006, was added to sum up the findings in the light of the changing political context. The outcome is a concise, scholarly and well written monograph of the Pashupatinath temple with a focus on its significance in popular religion.

Following an introduction to the Pashupatinath temple area, the "holy field" at Deopatan, and the issue of priesthood, most of the subsequent chapters focus on one particular ritual or festival. What may be striking to the outsider is that many ritual celebrations in fact concern not so much Pashupatinath, or Shiva, himself but rather the goddess, namely Vatsala or Vajreshvari, i.e. the wife of Pashupatinath. And this leads to the central theme of the book: Shiva, though the Master of the Universe, is challenged by female power, just as the Brahmanic authority of the South Indian Bhatta priests is contested by the non-orthodox culture of the Newar functionaries of Deopatan, which includes blood sacrifice and certain tantric elements. This underlying conflict, Shiva's trouble, which has a long history, comes out most clearly in the Vatsala Jatra. Once a year the goddess is taken out on a procession, and at a climax of the ritual journey through Pashupati's holy field, she (on her palanquin) pounds against the doors of her husband's residence, which are closed on that day. While high caste orthodoxy has to protect purity, this is never possible without acknowledging the "wild" forces from outside. Similarly, other chapters demonstrate the persistence of elements which are clearly linked with the prevalent concepts of (particularly Newar) folk cultures: Trishuljatra, Guhyeshvari, Lukmahadeo, Balachaturdasi, but also the transnational Shivaratri festival, and the practice of pilgrimage.

The book, which includes many valuable photographs, gives a vivid description of the living little traditions linked with a highly political and "central" deity of the great tradition. The tension between the two is taken up again in the final chapter ("Deopatan Revisited") where Axel Michaels includes contemporary debates about the changes introduced by the Pashupati Area Temple Trust and the ever-contested question: "To whom does Pashupati belong?" Readers might wonder that the cult inside the Pashupatinath temple is more or less ignored. This is due to the fact that fieldwork there was restricted, nor indeed

was it the main focus of this book. Scholars interested in a detailed history and topography of Pashupatinath and its temple will still have to consult the 1994 monograph, which includes a number of high-quality maps. But as a multi-faceted and first-hand account of religious practice at and around Nepal's eminent temple complex, this book is an excellent monograph and can be regarded as essential reading on Himalayan religion.

Martin Gaenszle

FRANCOIS LAGIRARDE / PARITTA CHALERMPOW KOANANTAKOOL (eds.), *Buddhist Legacies in Mainland Southeast Asia. Mentalities, Interpretations and Practices*. (Études thematiques, 19). Paris / Bangkok: École Française d'Extrême-Orient / Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre, 2006. 292 pages, 140 ill., € 50.00. ISBN 2-85539-655-7

The volume assembles the papers presented at a conference in Bangkok in 2003, organized by the EFEO in honour of Princess Galyani Vadhana on the occasion of her 80th birthday. The conference brought together scholars mainly from France and Thailand to discuss the forms and perceptions of Buddhism in Southeast Asia.

The volume opens with a presentation by Princess Mahachakri Sirindhorn on the meaning of the ten virtues (*parami*) in Thailand, with special reference to the king's duties. In a very informative article, Aroonrut Wichienkeeo takes a different approach to tracing the evolution of the image of the Buddha in Thailand by looking at manuscripts and inscriptions rather than at sculptures. In this way, he is able to work out the ritual life of images – their consecration, mythologies and how they are named and used in ritual – much better than by a mere analysis of forms and styles. In an equally interesting article, Olivier de Bernon investigates the status of Pali in Cambodia from the earliest period to the present. Safe for the few Pali inscriptions that predate the Angkor period, Pali became more common only in the 14th and 15th centuries, apparently under the influence of the neighbouring Thai states of Sukhothai and Ayutthaya. Still, de Bernon argues, Pali remained an esoteric language, the critical study of which began only with the arrival of French scholars, as Cambodian monks preferred learning their texts by heart to analysing them philologically.

The Japanese scholar Yoneo Ishii takes a closer look at the meaning of the term *sasana* in Thailand's constitution of 1932. According to him, the king saw himself as a supporter of any religion (not just Buddhism), thus creating a secular state. Claude Jacques re-examines the portrayal of Buddhism in the inscriptions from Angkor, where a sect called Srighana appears several times. He fails however to tell anything more about this alleged sect than its mere name and a highly speculative connection to depictions of the five Buddhas of the present *kalpa*. Francois Lagirarde's contribution deals with the transmission of

the Mahakassapa story in Thai and Laotian literature. This disciple of the Buddha was given a special role in Theravada Buddhism as the person who takes care of Gautama Buddha's relics and who points out their location to the future Buddha just before the latter re-enters the world of humans again. It is thus Mahakassapa who keeps the memory of Buddhism alive in the 5000 year period between the *nibbana* of Gautama and the appearance of Metteyya. The Mahakassapa traditions in Pali literature are even more intriguing as he came to prominence in the northern Buddhist tradition which sees him as a kind of "Father of the Church". In addition to the literature mentioned and consulted by Lagirarde, there is an important article by Max Deeg on the subject („Das Ende des Dharma", *Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft* 7, 1999, p. 145−169).

Jacques Leider's study of the *pwe-kyaung* tradition in Burma, a peculiar "sect" engaging in physical exercises, alchemy and various forms of magic, makes an astonishing account, because of the Arakanese chronicle he is using. In this work, the *pwe-kyaung* sect is linked to the village dwelling (*gamavasin*) as opposed to the forest dwelling (or *arannavasin*) tradition. This distinction seems to have arisen ca. 500 AD in Sri Lanka, where it also became the most important way of determining a monk's affiliation in the mid-18th century. When or how the concept of the two monastic traditions came to Burma is not clear; but it existed during the Pagan period when "forest monasteries" (*taw-kyaung*) appear in several inscriptions. As in Anuradhapura, where the forest monasteries are nowadays identified with the group of solitary monasteries in the far west of the city, the *taw-kyaungs* at Pagan were seemingly built in accordance with the provisions of the Vinaya. According to this monastic law book, forest monasteries should be located at least 500 *dhanu* ("bow length", c. 1 km) away from the closest lay settlement. Forest monasteries are occasionally mentioned in post-Pagan records, but hardly ever play a prominent role until the late 18th century, when the *gamavasin-arannavasin* distinction was stronger emphasized, presumably following a model borrowed from the Sinhalese.

While the seclusion of a forest created an environment conducive to meditation and learning, the urban dwellers living near *gamavasin* expected them to preach or recite blessings (*parittas*), teach the children, and generally take part in other sorts of worldly activities. The early 18th century Burmese chronicler U Kala records an episode in connection with the forest monks in Pagan in which these monks are blamed for violating Vinaya rules, for instance by eating meat, drinking alcohol, cohabiting with women and studying black magic. Such allegations may be taken for true or not, but they seem to suit the principal constellation in which urban monks are much closer monitored by the local people, royal officials or Buddhist *mahatheras*, than the forest monks whose seclusion gives them the opportunity to do and study things which are not part of traditional Buddhist curricula. Leider's conclusion that by the 19th century this constellation had been reversed, is therefore truly surprising. Unfortunately, his article does not give a clue as to how or when this happened.

In his rather short contribution Michel Lorrillard addresses the history and spread of Buddhism in Laos, based on epigraphy, historical and religious texts. His aim is to show that Buddhism reached Laos from Lan Na rather than from Cambodia. Thai monasteries often hold a collection of religious objects of indeterminate age and value, which are nowadays displayed in museums forming part of the monastic complex. These monastery museums are the subject of P. C. Koanatakool's study. Monasteries have always served as storehouses for a variety of objects, sacred or mundane, which had been donated by pious Buddhists, but the emergence of proper museums is a relatively recent phenomenon. This produces a certain ambiguity, as the artefacts are transformed from works of merit into showpieces, and the museums transform monasteries from purely sacred sites into places where visitors go out of curiosity.

Another challenging article has been contributed by M. L. Pattaratorn Chirapravati, who reconsiders the Jataka panels of Vat Si Chum at Sukhothai which have attracted scholars ever since their discovery in the early 20th century. Looking at the depictions and inscriptions that accompany them, Chirapravati argues that they were neither imported from Vat Mahathat (Sukhothai) nor from Anuradhapura, but directly from the Mahaceti at Dhanyakataka, i.e. Amaravati in South India. This suggestion is based mainly on the rereading of the temple's inscriptions which refer to a *stupa* in Sri Dhanyakataka which was destroyed by the Turks. Chirapravati takes it for granted that this place must be Amaravati in India, even though this Buddhist site had flourished more than a millennium earlier, and may hardly have been more than a set of ruins by the mid-14th century when Vat Si Chum was built. It seems at least questionable whether Jataka panels would still have been visible on the base of the Indian *stupa* by the time a monk from Thailand allegedly visited it. On the other hand, no other Buddhist site in India or Southeast Asia seems to have been known under the name of Sri Dhanyakataka, so here the epigraphic evidence appears to be unmistakable.

Hans Penth introduces a specific type of miniature Buddha images from northern Thailand, known as Phra Bua Khem ("Buddha with lotus and needles"). Supposed to come from Burma originally, these small images are believed to bring prosperity and comfort, and prevent danger and diseases. It should be noted however, that king Alaungsithu (c. 1113 – c. 1168) is not identical with the other "Sithu" of Pagan, king Narapati who ruled between 1174 and 1211 (p. 182).

This article is followed by Pierre Pichard's analysis of monastic halls (*wihan, ubosot*) in Thailand, which shows that several examples from Sukhothai are indebted to the monastic architecture of Pagan. Peter Skilling tries to outline a model for the study of Thai cloth painting, another neglected subject in the field of Thai Buddhism. Spanning a wide period from early India to Tibetan *thangkas* and finally to Southeast Asia, Skilling places the Thai cloth paintings in their historical tradition, without however being able to say much about them. The volume concludes with Donald Swearer's reflections on how

devotees dealt with the well-known dilemma of how to make the Buddha present again, even though he had left the world. One way was of course the production of images of the Buddha, both as sculptures and in paintings, depicting the major episodes of his life. Images are moreover revitalized by an elaborate ritual (*buddhabhiseka*). Another way of keeping the Buddha "alive" was by designating a place as a *buddhadesa*, which is normally constituted by an (alleged) visit of the Buddha. In this *buddhadesa*, the powers of the Buddha live on, and so does the Buddha himself.

On the whole, the essays assembled in this volume offer many fresh and stimulating insights into the Buddhist traditions and legacies in Southeast Asia, although this means only Thailand for the larger part of the work. Furthermore, some of the contributions would have benefitted from proper proof reading, notably the elimination of several passages in obscure forms of English. Sentences like "although, due to the archaeological looting of which still hits Cambodia, it is impossible to know how it has been brought at Ban Sab Bak" (p. 72) or "… knowledge of the history of Lao Buddhism is currently limited to the singular repetition, often incomplete and always totally lacking in any critical analysis, of the historiographic tradition from Luang Prabang on the introduction of the religion" (p. 139), occasionally irritate rather than enlighten the reader.

Tilman Frasch

PETER BOOMGAARD / DAVID HENLEY / MANON OSSEWEIJER (eds.), *Muddied Waters: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Management of Forests and Fisheries in Island Southeast Asia*. Leiden: KITVL Press, 2005. viii, 418 pages, b/w photographs, tables, figures, € 35.00 (pb.). ISBN 90-6718-243-5

Muddied Waters is the outcome of a workshop on "Sustainability and depletion in Island Southeast Asia; forests and fisheries, past and present", held in June 2002 in Leiden. Forests and fisheries were chosen in the expectation that due to linkages and alleged similarities between these two natural resource use domains, they might throw light on each other. The title "muddied waters" is meant to provide the metaphor for such a link, i.e. how depletion in one domain – deforestation and soil loss – affects the other. However, as David Henley and Manon Osseweijer point out in the introduction: "In retrospect, the attempt to draw parallels between fishing and forest exploitation was perhaps far-fetched" (p. 16). Far-fetched, perhaps, but nevertheless effective as differences are often more instructive than parallels. An important difference between forests and fisheries which is the subject of many contributions pertains to access and management: forests in Island Southeast Asia, for instance, are increasingly managed as commons, while open access management still prevails in the ocean

fisheries. The unifying theme of all contributions is the adoption of a historical perspective to better understand the causes of depletion and the prospects for sustainable management.

The historical perspective reveals above all what a rapid and recent phenomenon the large-scale depletion of forest and fishery resources in Island Southeast Asia actually is. Most of it has happened "In a single generation", so the title of a contribution by James J. Fox, who uses the overexploitation of trepang and sandalwood as cases in point. Resource depletion is especially dramatic in the case of forests. Peter Boomgaard mentions a 15–25% drop of the forest cover of Indonesia over the past 15 years, the highest rate in a long history of deforestation – hence the chapter title "The long goodbye" – which is not a linear process but can be divided into periods of varying intensity and variable composition of its main driving forces. Close-up views of the deforestation process are provided by Gerhard Persoon and Eric Wakker for Sumatra, where deforestation has been more dramatic than anywhere else in Indonesia, and by Leslie Potter for Kalimantan. It is small consolation that the deforestation figures calculated by Peter Boomgaard for the 20th century are lower than those published by post-independence governments of Indonesia, which he rates as notoriously unreliable. The issue of unreliable forest statistics is explored at the root of the forest inventory process itself in David Kummer's paper on deforestation in the Philippines. One important but often underrated reason for lack of accuracy is language: "…forest is no longer the straightforward word it was a couple of decades ago…" (p. 316), especially in the tropics where forest and agriculture cannot be so neatly separated as in the temperate zone, and where many land uses lie in between these two categories. Peninsular Malaysia is treated in a study of land cover change from 1850 to 2000 by S. Robert Aiken, who reports a reduction of forest cover from 95% in 1850 to 50% today, which is nearly as dramatic as in Indonesia and which has been driven by a variety of factors, most notably the rubber boom of 1900 to 1930, by land development for poverty alleviation from 1950 to 1990, and by logging throughout the whole period. Non-timber forest product (NTFP) exploitation in Sumatra is the topic of a chapter by Freek Colombijn, entitled "Dried-up dragon's blood and swarms of bees' nest collectors". While the chapter provides some interesting case studies of overexploitation of NTFPs, the reader is never told what dragon's blood actually is, and why the supply of this particular product has dried up.

Depletion of fisheries appears to be somewhat less dramatic, but – as in the case of forests – is accelerating. Paul Butcher, in a demographic history of marine animals of Southeast Asia, states that while there was little impact on marine populations until 1850, and only selective impact on some species from 1850 to 1940, a mainly technology-driven "great fish race" set in after the Second World War, though it has, however, hitherto affected mainly the Gulf of Thailand. Indonesia's marine resources, on the other hand, especially its fisheries, are still underexploited, according to Manon Osseweijer in her paper

"The future lies in the sea". She discusses various reasons why the potential of marine resources has not yet been fully realized, and places hope in the recent decentralization of natural resources management, stating on p. 179 that "…the regional autonomy which became effective in 2001 will have an enormous effect on coastal communities", without, however, specifying what kind of effect this will be. Another paper that sounds a hopeful note on recent policy changes is Julia Arnscheidt's study of where and how communication between stakeholders in the field of marine conservation fails. Readers who are themselves involved in conservation or development may sigh with recognition and approval when reading the author's presentation of travels, meetings, and reporting as largely ritualistic exercises in fake participatoriness in order to fulfil formal requirements, while ultimately serving other purposes such as making money or advancing careers. Whether, as anticipated by Julia Arnscheidt, the end of Soeharto's New Order will have created a lasting momentum for change, and encourage a growing number of people to criticize such practices, remains to be seen.

The role of the state and the increasing involvement of local communities in natural resources management is an important theme in many contributions. Decentralization and involvement of local communities, especially in the form of Community Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM), is now a widely promoted approach to natural resources management, especially in developing countries. The legislative basis for devolution of responsibility for natural resources from higher to lower administrative levels was laid in Indonesia in 2000, and some contributions expressing a sanguine view of this development have been mentioned above. A dissenting view is put forward by David Henley in his paper "Of sago and kings" which cautions the reader against a simplistic dichotomy between bad centralized and good decentralized resource management, citing as an example the royal monopoly in pre-colonial Sulawesi over sago − an important supplementary food during lean periods and on long sea voyages. The rationale behind delegating the management of a common property resource to a powerful authority was, according to David Henley, to avoid the higher costs and greater difficulties in achieving consensus under communal management. An even more critical view of decentralized resource management is voiced by Isabel Autunes in her paper "The price to pay for political sustainability", in which she examines elite capture of *sasi* − a highly acclaimed form of common property management in Maluku, which basically consists in issuing a temporary ban on collecting a certain type of shells – as one of the many ways in which CBNRM can go wrong. Another way this can happen is shown by Gerhard Persoon and Eric Wakker in their study on forests of Sumatra from the island of Siberut where local people, empowered by decentralization, have turned their back on conservation and now promote logging and conversion of forests to plantations. Suseno Budidarsono and Paul Burgers dispel the myth that resource management by local communities is inherently environment-friendly by providing examples from Java which show that in

times of crisis or change of regulation, conversion of forests into arable land by agricultural communities can actually accelerate. After several years of experience with this policy change, many more authors share equally critical assessments. One of the most recent book publications in this field (Chusak Wittayapak and Peter Vanderbiest (eds.): *The Politics of Decentralization: Natural Resource Management in Asia*. Chiang Mai: Mekong Press, 2010) is explicitly dedicated to the question why decentralization of natural resource management in Asia has not lived up to expectations in so many cases.

The volume is well endowed with illustrations (many of them reproductions of paintings and period photographs) and tables, but there is not a single map to help the reader find his bearings in the plethora of place names. One could also have wished for a more precise use of the regional terms "Island Southeast Asia" or "Insular Southeast Asia". "Southeast Asia", which is also used, includes Mainland Southeast Asia that differs from Insular Southeast Asia in so many ways as, for instance, in the case of fisheries, by the much greater importance of freshwater inland fisheries.

Muddied Waters is a valuable and scholarly contribution to the history and present state of natural resources management in Island Southeast Asia. Most contributors are established authorities in their respective fields and provide state-of-the-art analyses. The value of this book lies not only in providing an abundance of facts on the management of fisheries and forests but also in showing that natural resources management is a field in which ambivalent views prevail. The state versus local control debate is just one example.

Dietrich Schmidt-Vogt

ALEX MCKAY (ed.), *The History of Tibet*. (Asian Thought and Culture, 55). London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003. 3 vols., 2150 pages, £ 660.00. ISBN: 0-7007-1508-8.

Vol. 1: *The Early Period: to c. AD 850. The Yarlung Dynasty*. xxix, 624 pages. ISBN 0-415-30842-9

Vol. 2: *The Medieval Period: c. 850–1895. The Development of Buddhist Paramountcy*. xiii, 789 pages. ISBN 0-415-30843-7

Vol. 3: *The Modern Period: 1895–1959. The Encounter with Modernity*. xiv, 737 pages. ISBN 0-415-30844-5

To present the history of Tibet in three volumes is a promising and yet challenging undertaking. It is promising in that many new aspects of the complex history of the Snowland were unveiled during the last decades, the growing expertise in the fields of social, political and anthropological sciences have opened further insights into the fabric of human development on the Tibetan plateau, and thus it may help to unfold a more comprehensive understanding of

that historic complexity. It is challenging, however, since the "ever-increasing body of knowledge which constitutes modern Tibetan studies has meant that Tibetologists have increasingly tended to specialize by subject, region or period" (vol. 1: 1). A selection of articles reflecting the various aspects, regions and interpretations of Tibetan cultural and political history is therefore not easily made, if not near impossible.

Nonetheless, this three-volume compilation of approx. 130 articles may be seen as a an ample resource base for the academic study of Tibetan social, political, and religious history during the past 14 centuries. In a general introduction the editor Alex McKay critically discusses the development of (Anglophone) Tibetan studies and sketches the ideas and constraints that shaped the compilation of the articles, which treat such topics as "the origin and development of the Tibetan religio-political and cultural systems (...); human agency in the form of leading and archetypal personalities; the development of ideas and belief systems; (...) and the understandings of landscape and political relationships which have affected the historical process" (vol. 1: 2). In separate introductions to each volume the editor defines key issues of the era under consideration. He further unfolds the major shortcomings that still exist in the academic representations of Tibetan history, but in highlighting the articles he leaves no room for compensating such gaps.

The bulk of the 2150 page collection consists of book extracts and articles already published elsewhere, though often disseminated in journals not easily accessed. Aspects of Tibetan prehistory are first covered, followed by a wide variety of perspectives on the early, middle and modern periods of Tibetan history. The three stages may roughly be characterized by the period of the imperial Yarlung dynasty (pre 10th c.), the development and consolidation of the Buddhist state and its governance (11th to 19th c.), and the 'encounter with modernity' (1895–1959). They are supplemented by a number of key documents and treaties – the system behind their selection not being revealed – and glittering representations of 'fictitious Tibet' created in Western minds.

The Tibetan empire, focus of the first volume, unfortunately has to depend on limited sources; nonetheless it presents outstanding research on the, notably religious, history of 7th to 9th century Tibet. The emergence of imperial statehood and the expansion of the state are embedded in a delineation of ancient Tibetan beliefs and sacred landscapes, the early dissemination of Buddhism as well as the latter's social and political implications. Also included are an example of regional archaeology and prehistoric aspects like megalith culture and the ancient Bon religion – although the outline of the pre-Buddhist society remains vague.

A genuine lack is the absence of a portrayal of the inner structure and spatial extension of the old Tibetan state in the light of its imperial nature. The terminological change in the ruler's designation needs to be contextually discussed: why did *btsan po* (emperors) become *rgyal po* (kings), why is an imperial realm called kingdom in later chronicles? This is a fundamental prerequi-

site for assessing the imperialistic and multiethnic nature of the early Tibetan state and the interpretation of conflict between the secular and religious spheres in ancient Tibet. Unfortunately Chris Beckwith's important work (*The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia*, Princeton 1987) is not integrated here – obviously for copyright reasons. Thus, the study of the early empire's secular nature is somehow clouded by the optimally highlighted religio-cultural issues. As the indigenous view of Tibetan history is severely biased by its Buddhist interpretation, a paper critically discussing Tibetan sources and their early interpretations remains a desideratum. The 'amalgam with Buddhist studies', derived from Tibetan written sources, led to a long uncritical Buddhist perception of Tibetan history as a whole. The resulting 'serious historical imbalance' (vol. 1: 24) is still not genuinely negotiated here. Relevant research on non-religious dimensions of the early Tibetan realm is neglected.

The second volume follows the cardinal interest of Tibetologists: centring on the development of Tibet as a Buddhist realm, from the 'Second Buddhist Propagation', the establishment of various sects and monasticism to the unfolding of the system of 'rule by incarnation' until the latter culminated in the pre-eminence of the Dalai Lama and the Gelugpa order. This also broaches the issue of how new sacred spaces and pilgrimage routes were formed to strengthen new religio-political centres. Their gradual incorporation into the Mongol-Chinese Empire is a further topic: the Mongol rule, the contacts between Tibetan high lamas and the Ming emperors, and the Manchu overlordship.

Although sufficiently documented, social or administrative concerns of that period were not selected as central themes. The editor turns his attention to accounts of developments on the periphery of the Tibetan sphere, like the 18th century Jinchuan wars in Gyarong, tribal matters in lower Amdo or conquest in Ladakh. Unfortunately no entry focuses on the important topics of regionalism and loyalties, although the understanding of Tibetan regionalism and lama loyalty may explain why the compilation largely excludes works on Tibetan peoples from "politically autonomous or independent areas of ethnic and cultural Tibet such as Ladakh …, while including the Kham and Amdo regions" (vol. 1: 3).

The frame of the third volume is set by the enthronisation of the 13th Dalai Lama as ruler in 1895 and the flight of his successor to Indian exile in 1959. With the policies of foreign powers towards Tibet and the Lhasa government's new orientation towards the outside world, religion becomes a minor concern. But while Tibetan relations with Russia, China, Britain and Mongolia are well covered, Tibetan internal political developments receive only scant treatment. Those, however, may be considered as essential preconditions for understanding how things developed after the Chinese Communist takeover. On the other hand, the Simla Convention, border issues with India and contacts between British and Tibetans in the 1920s are well worn as if to prove that this relationship was the most significant in the development of modern Tibetan history. Under such circumstances it is quite incomprehensible that no separate

entry treats the Younghusband "Mission" (in contrast to the Russian part of the 'Great Game') and its baleful consequences. The British invasion not only had consequences for Tibet's attitude towards the outside world but also entailed, if not provoked, a significant change in the Chinese imperial court's policies towards the Tibetan region within the Chinese polity: viz. the military intervention of "Zhao the Butcher", Chinese agro-colonization in Kham and tightening control by the imperial throne. For an adequate assessment of that military mission's consequences, a chapter discussing these issues, at least in a preliminary form, would have been indispensable. True, McKay notes in his introduction that, to date, the accounts of the Younghusband 'mission' are either of no scientific value or too biased, "concerned with Western achievements and personalities, and the Tibetans appear as actors only in stereotypical form" (vol. 3: 6). The topic, however, seems too important to be left out in a work as comprehensive as this.

The Tibetan government's unsuccessful attempts to secure sovereignty are granted detailed description, though neither inner conflicts within the Lhasa-centred politics nor those based on the centre-periphery antagonisms are deemed worthy of separate entries. Here the editor should at least have drawn on the expertise of Peng Wenbin who located early 20th century Kham in a broader political history and explored how its inhabitants responded to Tibetan and Chinese national projects. With "Old Age Tibet in New Age America" – indeed a late 20th century topic – as the final article, it is a dark mystery why the title of the 3rd volume suggests its conclusion with the events of 1959. Possibly because it is not really part of the *History of Tibet*, but of its Western perception. Since McKay argues in the general introduction (vol. 1: 3) that some aspects (like Western Tibetan travelogues) are not necessarily significant for an understanding of historical processes within Tibet, this seems even more so for the Western images dealt with in the last chapters of vol. 3. They definitely had a strong influence on Tibetan exile politics since 1959, but this is an era not covered in the oeuvre. Furthermore, the topic is better represented in *Imagining Tibet: Perceptions, Projections and Fantasies* (ed. by Thierry Dodin & Heinz Räther, Wisdom Publications 2001), a work that should have been mentioned in the bibliography of suggested further reading.

The usefulness of this eight page bibliography in the three-volume work may be doubted. Like the articles, it concentrates on Anglophone literature: besides one title in French, works in other European languages seem virtually non-existent, let alone in Tibetan and Chinese. The depiction of Tibetological research thus appears rather biased, particularly since contemporary Tibetan scholarship is hardly represented, and there is no reference to Chinese expertise at all. The editor argues that their historical scholarship fails to meet Western academic standards (vol. 1: 8). Since the West deals little with Tibetology in China, notably in the Chinese language, McKay's generalisation seems to verge on prejudice, representing a feeling of Western supremacy in this field of study. The failure to even represent the modern, Chinese perspective on Tibetan

history seems more than inappropriate – after all, China controls the region and Chinese scholars thus have direct access to local and regional sources. To ignore their accounts means deliberately excluding them from constructive criticism and, consequently, from progressive improvement of standards.

The bibliography would have been the place to make up for the lack of entries from non-Anglophone Tibetan studies. Strangely, it is attached to the first volume, though clearly it would have been a much better proposition to provide a joint bibliography of the entire set together with a general index.

Finally, a non-textual issue needs to be addressed: maps. Not all social scientists necessarily have a profound knowledge of geography. It should go without saying that a three-volume oeuvre covering almost two millennia of cultural and political history needs maps to offer orientation in the area discussed, especially where the expansion and contraction of an empire, its break-up and border disputes are relevant topics. Yet, those met with in the first volume are too sketchy to show more than a minute fraction of the places mentioned in the text. Furthermore, maps can carry as much information as a text, but are more prone to biased interpretation. So, how can a map like Map 1 in vol. 1 be left without comment? Thus, its evidence seems indisputable although it circumscribes the maximum exile claim to a Greater Tibet – reaching right to the peripheries of Chinese megacities such as Lanzhou in the north, Chengdu in the east, to major cities in the south like Xichang and Panzhihua as well as far into areas inhabited by minority ethnic groups like the Naxi, Bai and Yi in Yunnan and Sichuan. Maps can be historical documents as well as political statements, therefore the historical context in which they were drawn or which they represent should have been considered and their objectives discussed. Thus, even "wrong" maps can be fruitful contributions, but only if critically discussed, otherwise they may serve as propaganda.

The other two introductory maps are but rough sketches with place names even severely dislocated – like the duplicate entry of Jyekundo and Yushu in Map 2, Kantze near the wrong riverside (Xianshui He instead of the Nya Chu, which even branches off from the Yangtse before it flows back into the latter hundreds of kilometres further on). In Map 3 Yarlung, the eponymous major topic of this volume – is marked west of the Yamdrok Lake while actually located east of it (as indicated on another Map 1 on p. 347). In a few cases relevant maps are found in the articles themselves, but not referred to systematically. A list of figures and maps would have prevented confusion – several maps being numbered as 1 and 2 even in the same volume. Editor and publisher refrained from this, thus revealing the limits of re-editions.

All in all, key writings of approximately 70 – mainly Western Anglophone – scholars, many of whom are renowned experts on Tibetan studies make McKay's *The History of Tibet* a treasure trove from which both academics and amateurs interested in Asian studies can often benefit greatly, especially from the most recent research. Whether the handiness of the collection in three volumes

really justifies such high cost, however, will be decided by the heterogeneous audience addressed. The work offers enough for Tibetologists, specialists and students as well as for Tibet enthusiasts generally.

Andreas Gruschke

YU KEPING, *Democracy is a Good Thing: Essays on Politics, Society, and Culture in Contemporary China*. Washington, DC: Brookings, 2009. xxxi, 219 pages, $ 34.95. ISBN 978-0-8157-9694-7

Public debate about democracy has been promoted by scholars and the media in China in recent years. The English translation of articles by Yu Keping is meant to make this debate on democracy more accessible to a Western public. Yet the challenge of translation remains, as Yu Keping's discussion is directed at a Chinese audience. Western readers might initially be taken aback by the author's focus on retaining government control over all reforms; yet we might as well take the cue and consider how these questions are addressed in our system, albeit less openly. Beyond providing insights into the Chinese debate, the book is a challenge to Western readers and positively thought-provoking.

Democracy was intensely discussed in China in the early 20th century, when the country confronted decline due to internal strife and exploitation by foreign powers. Chinese who had been abroad and experienced the positive aspects of democracy took these experiences home to enrich the Chinese system-in-transition. The present debate reflects that spirit of curiosity about how China can learn from foreign sources, in the context of the evolution of democracy in various parts of the world, which has in turn drawn attention to the need for cultural adaptation, a necessity also underlined by Professor Yu.

In the article of 2006 that gave the book its title, Yu states that publicly accountable officials are good for everyone in China. He quotes President Hu Jintao: "There is no modernization without democracy." Weighing the pros and cons of democracy, Yu concludes that democracy is "the best political system for humankind." It guarantees basic human rights and equal opportunity to all, although it can also delay important decisions and cause political instability. While democracy requires preconditions, Yu sees it as inevitable for all countries to move towards a democratic political system.

Three chapters focus on the development of civil society in China. The theoretical question of definition is a subtle excursion into Chinese history, yet Yu confines himself to remarks more easily understood by his Chinese audience than by foreigners not familiar with that history. In reading Yu's theoretical reflections on China, one has to admit that the Western term "civil society" is often narrowed to "non-governmental organizations"; and the Chinese discussion of the present-day evolution of society confronts the West with the question what constitutes 'active citizenry' as opposed to a 'silent majority' or if, indeed,

this juxtaposition is apposite. When Yu criticizes the leadership of CSOs (civil society organizations) for not being sufficiently independent of the government, again a detailed comparison with Western examples would be highly instructive. The political dependency of civil society organizations is not unique to China.

Globalization used to be a politically sensitive term avoided by Chinese scholars, as it was synonymous with capitalist development. Jiang Zemin changed that with a speech in 1998 when he declared it an objective trend of world economic development. Yu writes about an increasingly internationally minded group of leading officials. He points out the government's emphasis on national sovereignty and cultural values, and that China has joined international cooperation arrangements even though they necessitated wide-ranging changes in national laws and regulations.

The chapter on federalism in modern China combines theoretical reflections and sobering historical experiences. Chinese who returned from abroad introduced the concept in the late stages of the last dynasty in the 19th century. Establishing federalism was seen as a way for China to catch up more quickly with the powerful Western countries. Yet rather than promoting decentralization and local development (given the weak communication links in 1920 China), federalism was used by the provincial warlords to strengthen their grip on power, thus fuelling continuing chaos and civil war.

China's idea of global governance in a harmonious world is outlined in a theoretical chapter that evokes ideas of a different international environment. Certain elements of foreign policy as pursued by Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai are still valid, such as the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Yet Deng Xiaoping replaced Mao's main themes of revolution and war with peace and development, and Yu sees Hu Jintao's four points on how nations should construct a harmonious world in that tradition. This interesting chapter trains readers in the art of reading between the lines and entices them to probe more deeply into Chinese foreign policy and competing international models.

Sabine Grund

MARIA HEIMER / STIG THØGERSEN (eds.), *Doing Fieldwork in China*. (NIAS Reference Library, 1). Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2006. 334 pages, € 16.99 (pb.). ISBN 987-87-91114-97-7

Doing Fieldwork in China edited by Maria Heimer and Stig Thøgerson is essential reading for anyone conducting research on contemporary China. The authors should be commended for inviting both renowned China scholars such as Kevin J. O'Brien, Dorothy J. Solinger, and He Baogang as well as aspiring new China researchers to contribute to this volume. Maria Heimer and Stig Thøgerson are motivated by the desire to raise academic standards of openness,

to promote constructive discussion about devising strategies for shared problems and advise graduate students embarking on fieldwork about how to overcome difficulties. Their aim is to "provide a frame of reference for students and scholars who are new to China, and to provoke a public discussion among scholars in the China field" (p. 2). Reflecting on the development of field studies in China up until the 1990s and beyond the two authors identify three challenges to scholars conducting fieldwork in China: 1) the presence of the party-state, 2) the issue of access, and 3) the difficulties associated with collaborative research. Maria Heimer and Stig Thøgerson go beyond sterile debates about ideal methodology in social science research by including the political dimension of contemporary China research. They state that "political sensitivity (...) becomes a question of timing as well as of the audience and the use of the information" (p. 13). Linked to the issue of censorship and self-censorship is the related question of access, where researchers often rely on official channels to gain a research visa and access field sites. Maria Heimer and Stig Thøgerson also point out that collaborative research is even more difficult in the field of quantitative than qualitative research, the latter being considered less scientific in the eyes of powerholders in China.

This excellent volume has one failing: the lack of courage by contributors to address the fundamental question of academic autonomy. Having worked as a social development practitioner for German, Chinese and American government organisations as well as non-governmental organisations in China during the past seven years I see many parallels in the discussion about the respective role of researchers and development practitioners in China. While the former have a tendency to emphasize the academic nature of their research the latter often point to the technical aspects of their work. Yet in the words of the Slovenian philosopher Slavoj Zizek "there is nothing which is not political" (Slavoj Zizek 2008, *In Defense of Last Causes*, 506). By depoliticizing their China engagement academics try to neutralise the presence of the party-state, solve the issue of access, and overcome the difficulties associated with collaboration. This pragmatic strategy, however understandable from the vantage point of an individual researcher engaging with China, comes at a high cost to the field of contemporary Chinese studies as a whole: it ultimately leads to a tacit acceptance of the official party-state discourse, a strong alignment with party-state controlled research organisations and a collaboration with some of the most conservative academics in the field. As I have argued before, "my understanding of science in general and social and political science in particular is that it should help inform and enlighten people and be a critical voice in reform processes. (...) We should use our research to strengthen those individuals and organisations in Chinese reform processes which deserve to be given a greater voice" (Andreas Fulda 2010, Conducting Research on Contemporary China. Reflections of an Academic Practitioner. http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/documents/commentary-reports/afulda-research-report-11-02-2010.pdf). Such a stance signifies a shift

from China watching to China practising − a paradigmatic change that deserves to be discussed more publicly.

Given the rapid development of grassroots NGOs in China a good alternative to the prevalent party-state-led, top-down approach in Chinese studies is for a researcher to align him or herself with a grassroots NGO and enter the field with its help. As He Baogang points out, "Chinese NGOs are more independent, friendly and cooperative, free from bureaucratic procedures, and willing to do things as requested by donors, and some of them may be able to maintain autonomy and create truly alternatives types of political reform." (p. 172). Having worked in partnership with the China Association for NGO Cooperation (CANGO) as well as with its more independent member organisation Shining Stone Community Action (SSCA) during the past seven years, my own experience is that I could maintain my autonomy as a China researcher while contributing to social and political development at the same time. It is noteworthy that increasing numbers of Chinese scholars researching community self-government and civil society issues increasingly align themselves with grassroots NGOs. Professor Yang Tuan from the China Academy for Social Sciences for example not only does research on NGOs but also acts as an advisor to many of them. Equally, Professor Gu Jun, Shanghai University, works closely with SSCA in his field research. As a third example, Associate Professor Zhu Jiangang, Sun Yat-sen University, has not only researched voluntary associations in China but his Institute for Civil Society (ICS) also acts as an incubator for civil society organisations in southern China. I recommend updating *Doing Fieldwork in China* by addressing this shift from China watching to China practising in a second edition.

Andreas Fulda

GERHARD KREBS, *Das moderne Japan 1868−1952. Von der Meiji-Restauration bis zum Friedensvertrag von San Francisco*. (Oldenbourg Grundriss der Geschichte, 36). München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2009. xi, 249 pages, 1 map, € 44,80 (hb.), € 29.80 (pb.). ISBN 978-3-486-55893-7 (hb.), ISBN 978-3-486-55894-4 (pb.)

Research publications on modern Japanese history are very profuse in German, Japanese and English, but how to keep track? Gerhard Krebs' overview, with his extensive compendium of Japanese sources, is a welcome tool. The layout is in line with the features of the Oldenbourg series of history: I. Summary of the events of the period; II. Detailed report about the present status of research and related problems; III. Selected bibliography arranged in thematic order.

In section I Gerhard Krebs provides a concise summary of circumstances and events. He questions the term "Meiji-Restoration". The only restoration was that of placing the Emperor back into a position of power he had not held for

centuries, everything else was transformation. Japan's internal problems towards the end of the Tokugawa Period (1603–1867) were overwhelming. The crippling effect of the isolation policy, the local lords and the warrior class as a heavy burden, extreme poverty and the backlog in education led to a crisis. Russia, the US and England exerted pressure to open the country to their ships and trade. All this called for a radical political change, culminating in the transfer of power from the Shogun to the Emperor in 1868, thus ending the Tokugawa Period.

The loyalty to the Shogun and the local lord had to be shifted to a new, undisputed authority, the Emperor. He was vested with unlimited power and a quasi-religious status. The military reported to him, not to the government. A modernization in accordance with Western standards was launched. Britain, France, Germany and the US were the models. Foreign experts and scientists were hired and Japanese sent abroad for study.

In stark contrast to the former isolation policy, Japan began to reach out to the neighboring territories by seizing Okinawa and Taiwan, showing a keen interest in Sakhalin, the Kuriles and Manchuria. The victory in the Chinese-Japanese War, 1894–1895, followed by that in the war with Russia, 1904–1905, and the annexation of Korea in 1910, were strong signals to the outside world of a new, powerful Japan.

In WW I Japan sided with the Allies, took the German territories in the Pacific and the leasehold around Shandong-Tsingtao. China, weakened by the revolution of 1911, was coerced into concessions. A treaty of mutual support was concluded with Russia in 1916. The idea of placing Asia under the rule of the Emperor was broached. In order to keep Japan on their side, Great Britain, France, Italy and also the US were lenient with Japanese claims. The Versailles Peace Conference of 1919 did not fulfil all of Japan's expectations, besides, it was deeply offended by racist discrimination. Nationalist emotions soared and frictions with the US increased. In the Taisho Era, 1912–1925, Japan was constantly grappling with both internal and external political, economic and military disputes.

The economic crisis and the London Naval Treaty of 1930 heated up the political climate. Manchuria, over which Japan had gained more and more control since the victory of 1905, offered prospects for development, hence it was made the immediate target for expansion, subsequently engulfing China and South East Asia and culminating in the attack on Pearl Harbour. The stance towards the Soviet Union was one of neutrality, nevertheless serious border clashes took place. The war against the US, fought over a vast area, overextended Japan's power. In the Potsdam declaration of August 1945 the Allies laid down the future of defeated Japan. The joint occupation, similar to that of Germany, was thwarted by President Truman, scared of repeating the German experiment.

Postwar Japan was confronted with enormous social, economic and political problems. Reforms included e.g. a new role for the Emperor, admission of trade

unions and political parties, landowning, constitution, abolition of the armed forces, education system, civil and penal law.

Westerners were the pioneers of Japanese historiography, amongst them Engelbert Kämpfer, Philipp Franz von Siebold, James Murdoch, Basil Hall Chamberlain. Gerhard Krebs provides an impressive review of a large number of publications in section II of his book. These reflect how access to evidence – either barred, delayed or only partial – nationalist views both in Japan and abroad, the influence of ideologies and the lack of or the sometimes inadequate quality of translation markedly influence the way conclusions are arrived at and presented. A classic example is the controversy about the dropping of the atomic bombs: A necessity to quickly terminate the war, or rather a signal to Stalin?

The bibliography given in section III comprises more than 900 titles. Japanese titles are not listed, unless translated into English or German. The book comes with a handy list of contents, side-notes, index, chronological table and a Japanese glossary with Japanese characters.

The condensed presentation of the major events between 1868−1952 makes this book a welcome, user-friendly reference work. I wish it had been available 20 years ago.

Richard Dähler