

sowie die Diskussionen um die Begriffe Tatsache/Objektivität/Wahrheit, Erklären/Verstehen, Historismus/Relativismus und Sprache/Narrativität in einer kulturwissenschaftlichen Monographie zu berücksichtigen. Von all dem ist in dem Werk Annermarie Schimmels nichts zu finden. Darüber hinaus vermißt man schmerzlich eine konkrete Fragestellung oder zumindest eine historische Problemorientierung. So bleibt ein kaleidoskopartiger Blick auf das Mogulreich auf sehr hohem Niveau, der vor allem Laien als Einstieg dienen mag oder sich als erste Lektüre für Studenten der Mogulzeit eignet. Wer sich allerdings für eine Einführung in die geschichts- und kulturwissenschaftlichen Probleme dieser Epoche auf dem Subkontinent interessiert, der muß zu der hervorragenden, von Muzaffar Alam und Sanjay Subrahmanyam herausgegebenen Aufsatzsammlung *The Mughal State, 1526-1750* (Delhi et al. 1998) greifen.

Stephan Conermann

MARGRIT PERNAU, *The Passing of Patrimonialism: Politics and Political Culture in Hyderabad 1911-1948*. New Delhi: Manohar, 2000. X, 395 pages, Rs. 700,-. ISBN 81-7304-362-0

The book under review is an English translation of the German *Verfassung und politische Kultur im Wandel* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1992) – a worthwhile undertaking so as to reach a wider international audience.

In this very compact work Margrit Pernau addresses the difficult task of analysing cultural change in an indigenous culture, caused by contact with an alien one that, at the same time, is politically and economically dominant. The author does so by analysing the social and political elites of the princely state of Hyderabad/Dekkan during the rule of the last Nizam. In her introduction Pernau develops her theoretical framework by drawing from an impressive, although somewhat overloaded, array of theoretical approaches, ranging from theories on modernisation to development theories, system theories, and subaltern studies. Out of this theoretical eclecticism an approach emerges appropriate to discussing the phenomenon of 'political culture'.

Chapter I examines the situation in Hyderabad prior to World War I. It first questions the legal status of contractual interaction between the Nizam, a legacy from the Mughal administration, and the British, who, up to 1858, only manifested themselves as an armed trading company. After Queen Victoria's enthronement as Empress of India these contracts, which should have secured the maintenance of governance by the Nizam, became subject to international law. But, tolerated by the Nizam, the British started to extend their sphere of political influence over the ruler and the territory of Hyderabad in what became known as 'indirect rule'. The analysis of the use of symbolic elements in court protocols is proof of the subordination of the sovereign of Hyderabad to the Crown; thus 'indirect rule' was *de facto* 'direct rule'. To maintain 'indirect rule' it became necessary to keep traditional forms and symbols of governance which the author has subsumed under the Weberian ideal type of 'patrimonial rule', a term often applied to the political structure of the Mughal state and now used with reference to the princely state of Hyderabad. This patrimonialism, exercised by the sovereign, gradually became undermined by the power play of

the British, as the ensuing chapters reveal. Rulers found themselves faced with the dilemma of introducing modern administrative techniques while trying to maintain traditional structures of governance based mainly on the model of the Mughal state. Meanwhile, the British used the struggle for power and influence among the state nobility, a dominant feature of patrimonialism, to promote their own interests. There was, meanwhile, a specific internal perception of these changes. This started from the assumption that the Dekkan area had always been a melting pot of different cultural and value systems, and this led to the conclusion that the absorption of, or at least coexistence with, European culture was only a logical consequence.

The interference of the British, hidden behind the political stage of the principality, led to the ambivalent practice of introducing political and social reform while maintaining power on the basis of 'patrimonial rule'. The populist attempt to seek support of the emergent Indian national movement turned out to be a step the consequences of which could not be foreseen by the Nizam. By 1926 the British began to show openly that they were not willing to accept his opportunism and pushed forward reform of the administration, thereby triggering the transitional process from 'patrimonial' to 'bureaucratic rule'.

In the following years the impact of all-Indian and inner-British affairs in the principality grew and the Nizam realized the threat to his power from nationalist movements, especially the Congress and the Muslim League. In view of the latter, his government now became an advocate of a federation of virtually autonomous states under British paramountcy in order to conciliate the diverging interests of the Raj. Adjustment within the government in the early 1930s created new power constellations: *de facto* rule was exercised by ministers and the newly established Executive Council, while the authority of the sovereign declined more and more to the point where it was merely symbolic.

The next dynamics highlighted by the author is the political mass mobilisation of the 1930s and early 1940s. Two important and interrelated features are analysed: firstly, the growing communalism of movements like the Congress, the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, and the Ittehad ul-muslimin, that ended what had so far been perceived as 'communal harmony' in Hyderabad, and, secondly, the introduction of political parties and movements as new platforms for the articulation of public opinion. World War II pushed what Habermas called the 'representative public sphere' increasingly into the background. This is analogous to Habermas' description of the French court in his *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. The end of the war and India's release into independence in 1947 brought the final collapse of the Nizam's rule in the principality of Hyderabad, which culminated in the marching in of the Indian army on 13th September 1948 and, concomitantly, its forced incorporation into the Indian Union. Britain's relinquishment of its crown colony left Hyderabad vulnerable and thus paved the way for different groups to promote their own specific interests. The peasants' revolt in Telengana between 1946 and 1951 under the aegis of the Communist Party of India, for instance, proved that the 'passing of patrimonialism' in Hyderabad, to pick up the title of the book again, took place only on the surface, while modern state structures have never been fully established. The Muslim-communist Ittehad ul-muslimin recognised the political weakness of the Nizam as a sign of religious deviation. In

the hastily announced elections of 1946 they gained a majority and were thus responsible for the destiny of Hyderabad until its absorption into the Indian Union and its subsequent dissolution in 1956.

One minor criticism of a nonetheless highly recommendable book: a glossary of technical terms and a list of abbreviations used in the bibliography would have helped the uninitiated to struggle through the complex content of the book and the elaborate language in which it is presented.

Jan-Peter Hartung

Stimmen der Adivasis. In unseren Träumen sehen wir unser Land. Herausgegeben von sarini. Bonn: Verlag Bonner Siva Series, 2001. 142 Seiten, € 12,-. ISBN 3-926548-98-3

Nur wenigen hierzulande ist bekannt, daß Indien eines der Länder mit einem recht hohen Anteil von 8 Prozent an Ureinwohnern (Adivasi) ist. Entsprechend spärlich ist die (deutschsprachige) Literatur zu diesem Thema. Immerhin gibt es eine einführende Darstellung (Reiner Hörig, *Selbst die Götter haben sie uns geraubt. Indiens Adivasi kämpfen ums Überleben*, 1990) und ein Buch, das den Zugang zur Kultur eines bestimmten Ureinwohner-Volkes vermittelt (Stefan Fuchs, *Das Leben ist ein Tanz. Lieder der indischen Ureinwohner*, 1990 – leider ist diese Publikation vergriffen). Die *Stimmen der Adivasis* stellen eine Novität dar: Erstmals kommen hier Adivasis selbst zu Wort. Dies ist auch Ausdruck einer Hoffnung machenden Entwicklung. Über lange Zeit zählten die Ureinwohner zu den Bevölkerungsgruppen, die kaum zu Gehör kamen. Die in dem Buch dokumentierten Zeugnisse stammen alle aus neuerer Zeit. Sie zeigen, daß die Not der Ureinwohner größer geworden ist. Aufgrund von Großprojekten und allgemeinem Bevölkerungswachstum sind sie mehr denn je in der Defensive, ihre Lebensgrundlagen ernsthaft bedroht. Das Buch bietet einen Einblick in die Art und Weise, wie die Betroffenen gegen diese Entwicklung Widerstand leisten. Die ausgewählten Texte sind von großer Eindringlichkeit und hoher sprachlicher Qualität. Beim Lesen des Buches entsteht nie das Gefühl, langatmige Resolutionen vor sich zu haben. Damit auch der Laie sich zurechtfindet, gibt es zu jedem der fünf Abschnitte eine Einführung sowie Erläuterungen zu den Texten. Das Buch verdient eine weite Verbreitung.

Hans Escher

HEINRICH GEIGER (Hrsg.), *Südostasien: Religion – Kultur – Bildung. Der Beitrag des KAAD zur Bildungszusammenarbeit mit den Festlandstaaten Südostasiens*. Bonn: Katholischer Akademischer Ausländer-Dienst, 2001. 172 Seiten, € 6,65. ISBN 3-926288-20-5. (Zu beziehen über KAAD, Hausdorffstraße 151, 53129 Bonn.)

Im Vorwort zu dieser Broschüre schreibt der Herausgeber, sie solle die geistig-kulturellen und religiösen Perspektiven der Festlandstaaten Südostasiens erhellen. Da diese Länder bisher von Verlagen im deutschsprachigen Raum vernachlässigt