

Reviews

MARY BETH WILSON, *Impacts of Participatory Development in Afghanistan: A Call to Reframe Expectations. The National Solidarity Programme in the Community of Shah Raheem*. (Studien zum Modernen Orient 24). Berlin: Klaus-Schwarz-Verlag, 2013. 524 pages, €39.80. ISBN 978-3-87997-431-3

Poverty in Afghanistan remains persistent and security challenges are increasing. Afghanistan is ranked the second poorest country in the world, with 70 percent of the population living below the poverty line of 2 US dollars. The vast majority of the population (about 80 percent) live in rural areas, where the poverty rate is even higher, literacy rates are lower, and services are scarcer. Government institutions, as defined in the constitution, either do not yet exist below the provincial level or their capacities are very weak, making delivery of the most basic services all the more difficult. An estimated 1,800 illegal groups, in addition to the resurgent Taliban force, threaten security in many parts of the country, and a series of attacks in the past couple of years have illustrated that even the capital city of Kabul is not adequately protected against them.

The National Solidarity Programme (NSP) is the largest development programme in Afghanistan, and aims to build local governance and provide basic public infrastructure in rural Afghanistan. According to World Bank data, since its inauguration in 2003, NSP has established 32,000 Community Development Councils (CDCs) across 361 districts in all of Afghanistan's 34 provinces and has financed nearly 65,000 development projects at the total cost of 1.5 billion US dollars. About 17 million rural people are claimed to have benefited from improved access to basic services.

Mary Beth Wilson puts NSP under the microscope by investigating the programme's impact in the community of Shah Raheem at Balkh province in the north of Afghanistan. In her dissertation she starts by presenting an overview of development theories (Chapter One). It serves to show that "participatory development has re-emerged as a favoured development approach" (p. 415). Remarkably, she passes judgment without even considering the international debate about aid effectiveness. It is difficult to avoid the impression that Wilson often uses the terms "development" and "development aid" interchangeably.

The comprehensive literature review is followed by the presentation of her framework of analysis (Chapter Two), which investigates the programme's impact on four areas: personal, economic and social security and empowerment. This framework, however, is not congruent with the NSP objectives, which are more moderate and not mentioned by Wilson at all. In Chapter Three Wilson describes in detail her predominantly qualitative methodological approach,

which includes a household survey and interviews. It is noticeable that all instruments were applied after the NSP interventions were completed in Shah Raheem.

Next, Wilson approaches her research location in a number of concentric circles. First, she renarrates development aid (not development) in Afghanistan (Chapter Four) and introduces the NSP at the national level with the question: "Is a participatory development approach an answer to Afghanistan's development problems?" (p. 226). She does not provide a straightforward answer. However, she tends towards "yes" throughout the text. But does she really mean development or does she unintentionally mix development problems with problems of development aid? The demand for participatory development and empowerment derives from failures in development aid. With her call to reframe expectations she shares the trust in reforming the aid business with its "cartel of good intentions" (see William Easterly (2002): *The Cartel of Good Intentions. The Problem of Bureaucracy in Foreign Aid. Journal of Economic Policy Reform* 5(4), pp. 223-250). As a matter of fact, this issue is different from investigating developments in Afghanistan's rural communities.

In the next circle, the district of Khulm, where Shah Raheem is located, is explored (Chapter Five). After patiently reading 324 pages we arrive at Shah Raheem, and the implementation of NSP in the community is discussed (Chapter Six). The hard facts are: NSP has established a CDC in Shah Raheem and it has implemented three infrastructure projects: a deep well with generator, a shallow well with hand pump and a community centre at a total cost of 22,400 US dollars. The community contributed additional ten percent of the cost in cash or kind.

In the next chapter the analytical framework is applied to the impact of the NSP on the personal, economic and social security and empowerment in the community of Shah Raheem. Finally, the findings are reviewed with the focus on expected and observed changes in the community and "hidden realities" (p. 425). Let us look at a few of these. The research reports disillusioning findings about the huge discrepancies between the very high expectations of a national programme and the reality in a village. First, the community of Shah Raheem is artificial in the sense that three villages were brought together in order to qualify for NSP support. Wilson reports good news about the shallow well with hand pump, which is used, and repair and maintenance is paid for by community members with their own money. The deep well, however, is used only when the nearby river has run dry. Funds for operating and maintaining the generator are usually not available. Unfortunately, we are not informed about any effects on the state of health in the community. The basic structure of the community centre is of poor quality and rarely used. Despite presenting numerous facts and figures, the understanding of attitudes and behaviour of community members regarding the use or not of the NSP infrastructure remains limited. This seems to indicate the limitations of the methodology and the

empirical data, which were collected after the NSP interventions were completed. The findings rely exclusively on the perceptions of interviewees and their willingness to share them with an outsider. With empathy for the villagers Wilson, nevertheless, detects mistrust in the community and describes it as “sign of a tenuous social setting” (p. 388). This mistrust seems to have survived the NSP intervention and, therefore, deserves more attention.

The investigations by Wilson indicate confusion about the NSP projects themselves and the mandate of the CDC. The CDC and at least two projects are not sustainable without external assistance. The participation by women was poor and did not correspond to the high expectations. The impacts regarding personal, economic and social security and empowerment are summarized as small and incremental.

The recently released randomized impact evaluation of the NSP by the World Bank – though highly critical of the impact of the programme – provides a different reading altogether. Wilson’s micro-level perspective does not intend to be representative; nevertheless, it provides valuable insights and enforces the need for accompanying research in support of programme planning and implementation. I should like to add the need for strengthening research capacities in Afghanistan by cooperating with local research institutions and universities in interdisciplinary research projects.

Wilson’s dissertation is “a call for greater honesty in the development field” (p. 430). Perhaps even outspoken opponents of development aid can agree. After all, this brings us back to issues of development aid, far removed from developments in Shah Raheem.

Rüdiger Blumör

DANIEL NAUJOKS, *Migration, Citizenship, and Development. Diasporic Membership Policies and Overseas Indians in the United States*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013. 432 pages, £30.00. ISBN 978-0-19-808498-3

Many scholars in the field of migration have observed a recent shift in research interests and research demands. A new focus seems to be evolving around the simple question of how transnational migrants can contribute to the economic and social development of their countries of origin. The opportunities allegedly arising from the so-called “migration-development nexus” have motivated several countries to take a more active interest in their overseas population. Governments are now increasingly trying to “engage” diaspora communities, emphasizing the bond between the migrants and their country of origin. The question of identity, belonging and citizenship of emigrants, dealt with through specific “membership policies”, is assumed to have acquired an economic dimension. In a remarkable two-way mechanism, countries of origin are more

and more willing to grant certain citizenship rights in exchange for remittances, investment and other forms of development assistance. While there is much research on citizenship policies on the one hand and on development effects on the other hand, the conceptual link between the two fields is often missing. What implications do “membership policies” and forms of dual citizenship really have? This is the question Daniel Naujoks seeks to answer in his formidable book. He uses the case study of India and two specific variants of overseas citizenship to analyse “whether the extension of membership rights positively affects economic and social development in the country of origin”, thereby “tying together several loose ends in migration research” (p. 6).

A remarkable strength of the book is the elaborated theoretical framework at each step of its analysis. The connection between diaspora engagement and developmental effects, for instance, is not merely presented as a given precondition, but skilfully worked out in a thought-provoking interplay of theoretical considerations and practical applications. Here, the author offers the reader additional value that goes well beyond the immediate case study. Probably the best example of such additional benefit can be found in the chapter on the “Conceptual Framework of Migration and Development” (pp. 66–132). Naujoks lays out a plethora of theoretical deliberations about the role of diaspora communities in the development process of their countries of origin before applying this framework to the specific case of Indian emigrants. For example, he describes ways of direct influence, such as remittances, investment, knowledge transfer and philanthropy, while at the same time providing, among many other things, a very useful analytical tool for an assessment of the effects of remittances (p. 84).

The author presents his specific case study of Indian immigrants in the United States of America with similar accuracy and detail, including a review of migration processes from India to the US within the larger framework of broad waves of emigration from post-independence India. The overview chapter on the ethnic Indian community in the US (pp. 22–65) contains an impressive, in-depth socioeconomic profile of the group, providing valuable statistical background information on demographics, income and organizations. Furthermore, the author also assesses this community relative to other communities of the global Indian diaspora, which confirms the claim that the US-based diaspora is one of the most important and influential groups and, thus, a worthwhile object of study. In this chapter, Naujoks also details his research focus on diaspora policies, first from a theoretical and general point of view, and then applied to India. He describes the history, setup and intentions of the two specific Indian “membership policies” scrutinized, i.e. the status of PIO (Person of Indian Origin) and in particular the OCI (Overseas Citizenship of India). The author specifies the intentions behind those measures as well as some technical issues of eligibility and the general development of issuances.

Analysing the consequences of citizenship policies, Naujoks identifies several important implications of the OCI and comparable measures. The author describes four “principal effects” that form the basis and precondition for “action effects” which foster diaspora activities regarding the development of India. The first principal effect is the “rights effect” (pp. 190–196), which has significant ramifications with respect to certain legal limitations. The entitlements and rights that are part of OCI (and, to a lesser extent, PIO) status enhance overseas Indians’ ability to act and thereby affect the process of decision-making. A second principal effect is the “identity effect” (pp. 197–253). Here, Naujoks finds that “migrants who naturalize and get overseas citizenship find it easier to continue considering themselves as Indians as well” (p. 251). This is important since a stronger sense of belonging may encourage a deeper commitment towards India and its socioeconomic development. Interestingly, the availability of OCI or other measures that come close to dual citizenship tends to result in higher naturalization rates in the country of residence, especially among newer migrant cohorts. This “naturalization effect” (pp. 254–296) is the third principal effect and further enhances action options for migrants by minimizing legal constraints, particularly in the realm of politics. A fourth and final principal effect is identified in what the author calls the “good-will effect” (pp. 297–303). Here, perceptions and emotions play a large role. Through schemes such as OCI, diaspora Indians “feel that they are officially seen as something special, and that their contributions to India are valued and appreciated” (p. 297). What is more, there may be a “stronger feeling of duty” and a “moral obligation” to “reciprocate the gift” of OCI, thus motivating overseas Indians to become more active with regard to India (p. 301).

According to Naujoks, the four principal effects directly and indirectly affect the development-related activities of the Indian diaspora and result in several “action effects” (pp. 304–365). First and foremost, OCI has the effect of increasing remittances among the vast majority of the Indian-American community, particularly through the interplay of the rights effect and the identity effect (pp. 309–320). The identity effect, together with the good-will effect, also strongly influences investment behaviour. For overseas Indians and other diaspora groups it is not all about financial returns. Social and emotional returns are also important. A closer attachment to India can thus lead to a certain degree of “homeland altruism” and positively affect investment decision-making (pp. 320–329). The identity effect may facilitate philanthropic activities and charitable contributions, while the rights effect eases the process and reduces transaction costs (pp. 329–333). Finally, the naturalization effect often leads to a more vocal political involvement in the country of residence, opening up opportunities for political advocacy on behalf of developmental issues in India (pp. 333–337). Of course, there are other action effects of OCI availability, for instance regarding the issue of return migration, which are also discussed in this chapter.

In sum, Daniel Naujoks' book provides an ingenious and valuable insight into a complex field at the confluence of migration and development research. Using a qualitative approach with in-depth interviews as the main data source, the work follows a clear and thorough research design. Methodological issues are further elaborated in a special appendix, including detailed information on the sample selection process. Naujoks' case study is theoretically substantive, methodologically compelling and well-written. The book is highly recommended reading for everyone interested in migration processes and diaspora policies.

Pierre Gottschlich

BARBARA RIEDEL, *Orient und Okzident in Calicut. Muslimische Studenten und Studentinnen in Kerala, Südindien, im Spannungsfeld zwischen lokaler Verwurzelung und globalen Verflechtungen*. Heidelberg: Draupadi-Verlag, 2014. 310 pages, €24.80. ISBN 978-3-937603-89-6

India, the country with the third largest Muslim population in the world (170 million), is seldom seen as a Muslim country because of its Hindu majority. Therefore, the German publication of an in-depth study of a specific Muslim group is very welcome.

Barbara Riedel's dissertation (in social anthropology at the University of Freiburg) on the Mappila Muslims of Kerala deals with a subgroup that is remarkable in many ways: 1) in Kerala conversions to Islam occurred quite early through peaceful trading contacts instead of later militant invasions (the same was true for conversions to Christianity – both Nestorian and Syrian); 2) trade across the Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea not only fostered cultural exchange, but also promoted a cosmopolitan orientation and life style; 3) even after conversion, Mappila Muslims retained the locally established custom of matriliney, in sharp contrast to Islamic patriarchy; and 4) after the Mappila Muslims lost power and influence to Hindu rulers and their economic basis had been destroyed by British colonialism, they led a violent rebellion in 1921 in association with the Khilafat movement, which subsequently sought to re-establish the Islamic Caliphate (that had ended with the Ottoman Empire). It took the Mappila Muslims decades to recover from defeat.

Because these events form the background of current developments, they are meticulously outlined by Barbara Riedel in the first four chapters of her book. The past entanglements with other regions, the cosmopolitan outlook resulting from the coexistence of three religions, and contact with other cultures and world views can be revived under new conditions in a globalised world.

Focus of the research is a group of Muslim students at a Christian college in Calicut/Kozhikode. The ethnographic material deals with the challenges the students are confronted with and aims to contextualise cosmopolitanism in

everyday life. To determine the students' outlook on life and to explain their openness to a cosmopolitan orientation, the concept of frames of reference is used. Those frames provide criteria of evaluation and orientation in many situations. They are mainly implicit, although they can be made explicit, and are often limited in their explanatory capacity or related to local circumstances, though some of them are more general, even almost global. Every person has her individual set of multiple frames. They are acquired and learned in their families, religious communities and school. A more reflexive use of these frames of reference might lead to a more cosmopolitan outlook.

Chapters Five to Seven analyse the three most important contexts for the establishment of the frames so as to single out the most challenging aspects of Muslim (student) life today. Concerning family life, the extended family is still viewed as an ideal, although the nuclear family is becoming more common. The most important topic is arranged marriage, which is widely accepted, though sometimes circumvented. Considering Islam, we find two diametrically opposed possibilities of either obedience to tradition and its upholders or autonomous interpretation of text and tradition. A good education is highly valued by most families, and the time spent at the institutions offers some, albeit limited, space for experimentation with relationships of friendship and love. The more open minded or cosmopolitan the students are in this respect, the more they urge their parents and relatives to be so, too.

A considerable number of young people/couples (now around two million) leave their home region to look for a brighter future elsewhere. That is the reason why up to 30 per cent of Kerala's GDP consists of remittances – mostly from the Gulf region. This fact shows that the historical experience of the Mappila Muslims and their relations with the Arab peninsula still works as an orienting frame and explains at least in part “cosmopolitanism at work”.

The book offers lots of interesting material that, nevertheless, remains mainly descriptive. The central concept of the frames of reference is certainly very useful for explaining how orientations come about and how they change. But this concept has to be explained in more detail: How exactly are these frames acquired and how flexible are they really? This highlights the need for detailed descriptions of socialisation processes or for theoretical concepts to explain them. Of course, Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus comes to mind here.

Nothing better can be said about a piece of research than that it answers some intriguing questions while at the same time raising new ones.

Gernot Saalman

HANNELORE LÖTZKE (Hg.), *Hindi-Großstadtgeschichten*. Hamburg: Buske Verlag, 2011. 106 Seiten, mp3-CD, € 19,90. ISBN 978-3-87548-611-7

Will man den Vorgang des Übersetzens mit dem „Nachbau“ einer Burg als Legomodell vergleichen, wird früher oder später ein Problem auftauchen: Wie umgehen mit Elementen der Originalburg, die fremd oder gar exotisch erscheinen?

Die Herausgeberin Hannelore Lötze verfolgt in dem zweisprachigen Band *Hindi-Großstadtgeschichten* das ambitionierte Ziel, „Treue zum Original“ praktisch umzusetzen. Das Buch ist aus einem Seminar an der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin hervorgegangen und richtet sich an Studierende der modernen Südasienswissenschaften. Alle Geschichten wurden von Seminarteilnehmern ins Deutsche übertragen. Die schmale, aber repräsentative Auswahl eröffnet ein Panorama auf das urbane Leben in den Metropolen Mumbai, Delhi und Kolkata zwischen 1970 und 1990.

Im Mittelpunkt der Betrachtung stehen intime Begegnungen in einer von Anonymität geprägten Umwelt. Im Telefonshop von Priyadarshans „Ajnabīpan“ (Anonyme Großstadt) tauchen die Arbeitsmigranten von Delhi für wenige Minuten in die Welt ihrer Familien ein. „Lauṭī Lahar“ (Wie eine zurückrollende Welle) von Kamlesh Bakhshi kontrastiert die Entfremdung zwischen zwei Ehepartnern mit der beklemmenden Enge im städtischen Linienbus. Mridula Gargs „Rukāvāṭ“ (Hindernisse) handelt von einem Seitensprung als Ausdruck eines individualistischen Lebensgefühls, das nicht frei von inneren Widersprüchen ist.

Der Aufbau des Buches ist sehr studienfreundlich gestaltet. Jeder Geschichte ist ein umfangreiches Glossar angefügt, mit dem sich bereits Anfänger den Ausgangstext erschließen können. Sowohl die von Muttersprachlern gesprochenen Originaltexte als auch die deutschen Übersetzungen auf der beigelegten CD überzeugen durch angemessenes Tempo und lebhaften Ausdruck. Der Anhang bietet Informationen zu den übersetzten Autoren sowie Primär- und Sekundärliteratur. Es ist lobenswert, dass der Band die aktuellen Debatten um südasiatische Megastädte um eine regionalsprachliche Perspektive bereichert.

Wie die Einleitung deutlich macht, versteht die Herausgeberin unter „philologisch genaue[m] Übersetzen“ die Fähigkeit, „Sprachstrukturen zu überschauen, zu erläutern und zu entschlüsseln“ (S. 10). Erklärtes Ziel ist es, eine literarische Übersetzung zu schaffen, die den Blick auf das Original nicht gänzlich verstellt. Hannelore Lötze führt zur Orientierung einige Übersetzungspraktiken an und legt besonderes Augenmerk darauf, wie „Treue zum Original“ jeweils definiert wird. Dabei zitiert sie u. a. Judith Macheiner, die feststellt, dass sich Treue zum Original nicht auf die Übernahme sprachlicher Strukturen bezieht und folglich die Regeln der Zielsprache entscheiden (vgl. Judith Macheiner: *Übersetzen. Ein Vademecum*. München: Piper, 2004: 15). In der Praxis zeigt sich, mit welchen Herausforderungen eine Übersetzung verbunden ist, die einen Mittelweg zwischen „philologisch genauem“ und „literarischem“ Übersetzen anstrebt. Im Folgenden stelle ich einem Textabschnitt aus den *Hindi-Großstadtgeschichten* eine alternative Übertragung gegenüber, die das Potential einer

konsequent literarischen Übersetzung hervorheben soll. Die Stelle ist der Geschichte „Hindernisse“ von Mridula Garg entnommen (S. 69, Z. 1–7).

Hindi-Großstadtgeschichten:	Alternative Übersetzung:
„Mit wie vielen anderen Frauen hast du schon eine Liebesbeziehung gehabt?“, fragte Rītā mit schläfriger Stimme und lehnte dabei ihren Kopf noch bequemer an seine Schulter.	„Mit wie vielen Frauen vor mir hattest du schon was?“, fragte Rītā schläfrig und kuschelte ihren Kopf noch bequemer an seine Schulter.
„Warum willst du das wissen?“, fragte Madan, öffnete dabei kurz die Augen und schloss sie gleich wieder.	„Wozu willst du das wissen?“, Madan schlug kurz die Augen auf und schloss sie wieder.
„Nur so.“	„Nur so.“
„Ich überlege gerade, was soll ich denn sagen?“ (...)	„Mal überlegen, was willst du denn hören?“ (...)

Wie bereits der erste Blick zeigt, besteht bei den Übersetzungen im vorliegenden Band die Tendenz, Sätze in die Länge zu ziehen, was folgende Gründe haben kann: Erstens fehlt es an umgangssprachlicher Kürze; der letzte Satz etwa zählt in der Übersetzung fast doppelt so viele Silben wie das Original. Zweitens werden im Hindi konventionelle Modalbestimmungen („mit schläfriger Stimme fragen“) im Deutschen überflüssig, da Verb und Adverb den Sprechakt hinreichend bestimmen. Drittens muss abgewogen werden, ob auf Verben mit „Gänsefüßchencharakter“ – die also das Ende der direkten Rede markieren – im Deutschen nicht verzichtet werden kann, wenn diesen ein Tätigkeits- oder Zustandsverb folgt. Trotz vieler schöner Lösungen hinken die Zieldtexte dem Original auch hinsichtlich ihrer idiomatischen und stilistischen Vielfalt hinterher. Die Nuancen könnten oft schon bewahrt werden, indem das Bedeutungsspektrum einzelner Wörter wie *acchā*, das von „gut“ bis „Ach was?“ reichen kann, voll ausgeschöpft würde.

Kleinere Fehler ergeben sich aus dem Mangel an kulturellem Hintergrundwissen. An der Geschichte „Wie eine zurückrollende Welle“ zeigt sich beispielsweise, dass das Bemühen um eine „wörtliche“ Übersetzung zu groben Fehlern führen kann. Der Leser wird hier plötzlich mit einer Oper konfrontiert, obwohl das Ehepaar ins Kino ausgehen will: „Sind wir jetzt an der Oper?“ (S. 25, Z. 8). Das Bombayer „Royal Opera House“ wurde zwar als Opern- und Theaterhaus erbaut, erlangte ab den 1930er Jahren aber insbesondere als Lichtspielhaus legendären Status. In solchen Fällen empfiehlt es sich, den englischen Eigennamen zu verwenden.

Der Versuch, Nachbau und Neuschaffung in einer Übersetzung unterzubringen, ist also problematisch. Klappriges, unidiomatisches Deutsch hinterlässt beim Leser im schlimmsten Fall den Eindruck, der Originaltext sei von minderer

literarischer Qualität. Ein Hindi-Muttersprachler würde sich vermutlich wundern, wie sich manch schneidiger Satz oder knackiger Ausdruck in der Übersetzung zieht und zerrt wie ein alter Kaugummi. Eine konsequent „literarische Übersetzung“ hingegen würde die von Judith Macheiner beschriebene „grammatisch-lexikalische [...] Wohlgeformtheit und [...] Verständlichkeit“ (Macheiner 2004: 17) anstreben. Die Kompetenz, den Ausgangstext sowohl grammatikalisch als auch in seinem kulturellen Rahmen und seiner stilistischen Färbung zu verstehen, würde dabei selbstverständlich die Basis für eine gelungene Übertragung bilden. Darüber hinaus müsste der Übersetzer den Text aber in seiner Muttersprache neu erschaffen. Um den Bogen zur eingangs erwähnten Legoburg zu spannen: Entscheidend sind die Funktionen der einzelnen Elemente der Burg und ihr Bezug zueinander. Bevor es ans Abmessen der Mauerdicke geht, sollte ein Bauelement (z. B. Wort oder Satz) zunächst in seinem größeren Umfeld betrachtet werden. Dann wird sich zeigen, ob es trägt, stützt oder schmückt. Anhand dieser Erkenntnis kann die Burg nachgebaut werden. Das Gebilde darf anders aussehen, muss aber Funktion oder Charakter der Originalburg in sich tragen. Mit „Treue zum Original“ im Sinne Judith Macheiners ist nichts anderes gemeint.

Das Urteil zum Buch muss insgesamt ambivalent ausfallen. Einerseits dürfte der Band Studierenden mit Basiswissen eine sehr nützliche Einführung in die Übersetzungspraxis bieten. Die Übersetzungen orientieren sich stets nachvollziehbar am Ausgangstext und sind außerdem mit zahlreichen nützlichen Hilfsmitteln ausgestattet. Für den Seminaregebrauch kann das Werk uneingeschränkt empfohlen werden, da es eine geeignete Grundlage bietet, um die Herausforderungen des Übersetzens aus dem Hindi zu diskutieren. Andererseits liegen bei den Übertragungen selbst noch zu viele Fehler vor, um in ihnen Beispiele für eine gänzlich gelungene Übersetzungspraxis zu sehen. Die Ursachen für diese Defizite mögen in dem Missverständnis begründet liegen, „literarisches“ und „philologisch genaues“ Übersetzen seien grundsätzlich zwei miteinander konkurrierende Ansätze.

Johanna Hahn

MONIKA HORSTMANN, *Der Zusammenhalt der Welt. Religiöse Herrschaftslegitimation und Religionspolitik Mahārājā Savāī Jaisinghs (1700–1743)*. (Khoj – A Series of Modern South Asian Studies, 8). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz-Verlag, 2009. 432 Seiten, 9 Abbildungen, 4 Karten, 4 Tabellen, € 74,00. ISBN 978-3-447-05840-7

Mahārājā Savāī Jaisingh (Jaisingh II) aus der Dynastie der Kacchvāhās regierte von 1700–1743 in dem Rajputen-Königreich Āmer/Jaipur im Osten Rajasthans. Bekannt ist er heute durch die von ihm errichteten Observatorien und vor allem durch die Gründung Jaipurs, die 1727 durch den Mogul Muḥammad Sāh be-

stättigt wurde. Jaisingh, der als Elfjähriger zum König über ein Gebiet von überschaubarem Umfang eingesetzt wurde, konnte das unter seinem Einfluss stehende Territorium im Laufe seiner 43 Jahre währenden Herrschaft beträchtlich erweitern. Rajputen-Könige unterstanden der Oberherrschaft der Mogul-Kaiser, von denen sie das gewohnheitsrechtlich vererbte Klanland formal als Lehen erhielten. Weitere Privilegien, Titel oder Pfründe konnten verliehen, aber, wenn die betreffenden Rajputen-Könige am Kaiserhof in Ungnade gefallen waren, auch wieder entzogen werden. Jaisingh selbst sah sich in seiner frühen Regierungszeit ebenfalls mit dieser Problematik konfrontiert. Während der Nachfolgekämpfe nach dem Tod Aurangzibs ergriff er zeitweise Partei gegen den am Ende siegreichen Thronanwärter Bahādur Sāh, doch gelang es Jaisingh, sich unter Bahādur Sāhs Nachfolgern vollständig zu rehabilitieren.

Jaisings Regierungszeit fällt in die Phase des Niedergangs der Mogul-Herrschaft, der sich schon in der letzten Phase von Aurangzibs Regierungszeit abzeichnete. Verschiedene regionale Machthaber begannen sich unabhängig zu machen. Nach außen hielt Jaisingh stets an der formalen Anerkennung der Mogul-Herrscher fest, in seinem nach innen gerichteten Herrschaftsprogramm jedoch distanzierte er sich zunehmend von ihnen und inszenierte sich als unabhängiger Hindu-König. Schon zur Zeit Aurangzibs waren die Rajputen-Königreiche antihinduistischen Tendenzen ausgesetzt und von den Königen patronisierte religiöse Zentren und Tempel, vor allem in der Region Braj, sahen sich mit Akten der Desakralisierung konfrontiert. Die betroffenen Gottheiten, mit ihnen ihre Priesterschaften bzw. mit den Tempeln verbundene Wirtschaftsgemeinschaften, wurden daher durch die Rajputen-Könige in die eigenen Herrschaftsbereiche in Sicherheit gebracht, so z. B. die Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇava-Gottheit Govindadeva, die unter Jaisingh in den Rang einer Staatsgottheit aufstieg.

Diese Vorgänge, für die vorliegende Untersuchung von zentraler Bedeutung, führten zu einer neuen Gemengelage unter den herrschaftsrelevanten religiösen Führern, Religionsgemeinschaften, Interessenvertretern der Gottheiten und den Priesterschaften, die um die königliche Patronage konkurrierten.

Vor diesem historisch-politischen Hintergrund (siehe insbesondere S. 1–20) sind die in Monika Horstmanns Buch untersuchten „Legitimierungsprozesse“, die mit der Entwicklung eines religions- und machtpolitischen Programms einhergehen, zu sehen. Die Untersuchung beruht hauptsächlich auf Texten unterschiedlicher literarischer Gattungen – panegyrischer Kāvya-Dichtung, Abhandlungen zur Vaiṣṇava-Theologie und zum Dharmaśāstra –, alle von Hofbrahmanen verfasst. Einige dieser Texte sind in dem vorliegenden Band erstmals veröffentlicht und übersetzt. Weitere Quellen der Studie bilden schwer zugängliche Materialien aus Archiven des ehemaligen Königshauses von Jaipur (Bibliothek des City Palace, Kapar Dvārā) sowie viṣṇuitischer Tempel. Aber auch Zeugnisse der bildenden Kunst und Architektur werden einbezogen.

In fünf ausführlichen Kapiteln und einem kurzen Schlusskapitel wird, den politisch-historischen Ereignissen folgend, chronologisch vorgegangen:

In Kapitel 1 wird die Entwicklung der religiösen Legitimation der Kacchvāhās im Zusammenhang mit den wechselnden politischen Umständen von ihren Anfängen bis zur Zeit Jaisinghs II untersucht. Vor allem wird die Verbindung des Herrscherhauses zu spezifischen Gottheiten, deren Tempeln und Priesterschaften beschrieben. Dabei kann man seit dem Mittelalter etablierte, für Hindu-Königreiche typische Strukturen und Strategien beobachten.

Kapitel 2 behandelt das erste Jahrzehnt der Regierung Jaisinghs. Gegen dessen Ende wird die Legitimationsprogrammatik in Text und ritueller Performanz greifbar – literarisch und intellektuell umgesetzt durch zwei viṣṇuitisch orientierte Smārta-Hofbrahmanen.

Kapitel 3 befasst sich mit „Religionsdebatten“ zwischen verschiedenen Linien innerhalb der Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇavas. Seit die Gauḍīya-Gottheit Govindadeva von Jaisingh schrittweise in den Rang einer Staatsgottheit erhoben worden war, kämpften diese gegen die erwähnten, etablierten Hofbrahmanen um Einfluss am Kacchvāhā-Hof. In der Person Kṛṣṇadevabhāṭṭācāryas konnte sich eine Linie der Gauḍīyas, die dem orthodoxen Viṣṇuismus nahestand, mit Jaisingh verbünden. Anliegen des Königs war die Entwicklung eines Vaiṣṇava-Systems, das unterschiedliche Strömungen möglichst widerspruchsfrei integrieren sollte: Neben den viṣṇuitischen Smārtas sollten die zwei Linien der Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇavas, die tantrisch-ritualistische Orientierung einerseits sowie die mehr oder weniger extremen Formen von Kṛṣṇa-Bhakti, gepaart mit Ritualkritik, andererseits, zusammengeführt werden.

In Kapitel 4 untersucht Monika Horstmann den Kodex sozio-kultureller Normen, den Jaisingh für alle Vaiṣṇavas festlegen wollte und durch Disziplinierungsmaßnahmen durchzusetzen versuchte. Durch seinen obersten Richter Harekṛṣṇa Mīśra ließ er diesen in einem Text, dem *Vaidikavaiṣṇavasādācāra*, der im Zentrum des Kapitels steht, formulieren.

Kapitel 5 thematisiert den Endpunkt der religiösen Herrschaftslegitimation, den die „Apotheose“ (S. 180) Jaisinghs als Kalkī, den endzeitlichen Avatāra Viṣṇus, darstellt. Die Vergöttlichung wird durch eine vedisch-viṣṇuitische Ritualsynthese inszeniert – nämlich mit der Durchführung des vedischen Aśvamedha-Opfers und Ritualhandlungen des Viṣṇu-Kultes im neu errichteten Kalkī-Tempel.

Im abschließenden, kurzen Kapitel 6 wird auf das programmatische Prinzip des *lokasaṃgraha* (Zusammenhalt der Welt; aus einem Vers der Bhagavadgītā) als oberster Handlungsmaxime des Königs verwiesen. Dieser wird zum idealen Herrscher und Heilsbringer stilisiert, der den Hindu-Dharma gegen die *mleccha* (Muslime bzw. Yavanas) verteidigt, womit das alte Konzept des Hindu-Königtums, das bereits auf viṣṇuitischem Gedankengut basiert, der aktuellen Situation angepasst wird.

In Jaisinghs Herrschaftsprogramm verbinden sich Legitimierung, Religionspolitik, aber auch persönliche religiöse Anliegen. So stellt die Festlegung von für alle Vaiṣṇavas gültigen soziokulturellen Normen, die Widersprüche ausgleichen, nicht nur einen Versuch dar, unterschiedliche religiöse Ambitionen persönlicher Art unter einen Hut zu bringen. Sie dienen auch dem machtpolitisch notwendigen Ausgleich zwischen verschiedenen Parteien, mächtigen Tempeln und Kultgemeinschaften, die mit dem Königshaus in Verbindung stehen. Die zentrale Rolle wird dabei der Person des Herrschers zugeschrieben.

Etwa 40 Prozent der Textseiten des Buches bilden die sogenannten „Textanhänge“ (ab S. 213), in denen neben drei zum Teil erstmals veröffentlichten Briefquellen auch zwei Sanskrit-Handschriften diplomatisch ediert, übersetzt und in zahlreichen Anmerkungen und einer Einleitung kommentiert werden. Der erste Text ist die *Karmavivṛtti* des Kṛṣṇadevabhāṭṭācārya, dessen Person und Wirken im dritten Kapitel behandelt wird. Das zentrale Anliegen des Verfassers der Abhandlung ist es, gegen radikal ritualekritische Ansichten mancher Bhakti-Kreise zu argumentieren und zu betonen, dass Bhakti auf dem *varṇāśramadharmā* gründen solle (S. 214–215). Beim zweiten Text handelt es sich um das *Vaidikavaiṣṇavasādācara* des Harekṛṣṇa Mīśra, das im Zentrum von Kapitel 4 steht.

Abgeschlossen wird der Band durch Glossar, Literaturverzeichnis und Index. Die Studie ist in erster Linie für historisch und religionsgeschichtlich orientierte Indologen, für Südasien-Historiker und Religionswissenschaftler von Interesse. Sie bereichert zum einen die lange währende und immer wieder aktualisierte Debatte um den „sakralen“ Charakter des hinduistischen Königtums bzw., damit zusammenhängend, die Frage religiöser Herrschaftslegitimation und Religionspolitik im hinduistischen Kulturraum, zum anderen aber auch die Geschichte der verschiedenen viṣṇuitischen Strömungen und ihrer Ideen.

Karin Steiner

THOMAS KOLNBERGER, *Zwischen Planung und spontaner Ordnung – Stadtentwicklung von Phnom Penh 1860 bis 2010*. (Abhandlungen zur Geographie und Regionalforschung, 17). Wien: Institut für Geografie und Regionalforschung der Universität Wien, 2014. 544 Seiten, € 48,00. ISBN 978-3-900830-83-0

Eine Gesamtdarstellung der Stadtgeschichte und -geografie Phnom Penhs zu schreiben und dabei noch die Politikwissenschaft, Soziologie und Architektur mit einzubeziehen, ist, gelinde gesagt, ein gewagtes Unterfangen. Es läuft Gefahr, so sehr auszufernen, dass es eine geradezu ungenießbare Lektüre wird. Statt den Leser jedoch mit zahllosen bekannten sowie bisher weitestgehend unbekanntem Quellen zu überfordern und sich im Detail zu verlieren, bleibt Thomas Kol-

bergers eigene Faszination für die ungewöhnliche Stadtentwicklung Phnom Penhs immer spürbar. Das mag nicht das erste Ziel einer wissenschaftlichen Abhandlung sein, ist jedoch von großer Bedeutung, wenn es sich um 544 Seiten Stadtentwicklung handelt. Auf diese Weise gelingt es Kolnberger, eine in weiten Teilen höchst informative und leserliche Gesamtdarstellung anzubieten, und zugleich den Leser eng an seine leitende Fragestellung heranzuführen.

Der Autor beschränkt sich nicht allein auf einen Gang durch die kambodschanische Sozialgeschichte und ihre Interaktion mit dem Stadtraum Phnom Penhs. Vielmehr nimmt er die ungewöhnliche Stadtentwicklung selbst als Ausgangspunkt für seine Analysen. Denn Phnom Penh ist insofern einzigartig, als die Roten Khmer im Jahr 1975 die komplette Stadtbevölkerung auf das Land in Arbeitskooperativen zwangsumsiedelten. Nach der knapp vierjährigen Herrschaft der Roten Khmer, während der viele ehemalige Stadtbewohner ihr Leben verloren, kehrten Teile der Bevölkerung zurück und eigneten sich den nahezu völlig entleerten Stadtraum neu an. Hieran anschließend untersucht Kolnberger die Stadt hinsichtlich ihrer geplanten und spontanen Ordnungseigenschaften in der kolonialen Vergangenheit und der vom Genozid überschatteten Gegenwart. Kolnbergers Leitfragen beziehen sich dabei auf die zwei zentralen „Startpunkte“ in der Stadtentwicklung Phnom Penhs: Erstens, welche Planungsordnungen wurden während der Kolonialzeit umgesetzt und welche Friktionen traten hier auf? Und zweitens, welche spontanen Siedlungsordnungen erfolgten im Zuge der Neubesiedlung nach den Roten Khmer?

Ziel des Autors ist es letztlich, den seiner Ansicht nach falschen Dualismus von „geplant“ und „ungeplant“ aufzulösen und die „spezifische ‚Eigenlogik‘ der Stadtentwicklung von Phnom Penh darzulegen“ (S. 153). Denn Widerstände und Kontroversen bezüglich des Plans bewegen sich selbst schon in den Regeln des Plans, inkorporieren seine Logik und stützen seine Umsetzung: „[I]n Form von Selbstorganisation können ‚Widerstände im System‘ durchaus systemstabilisierend wirken, und zwar dann, wenn sich diese innerhalb des neuen Referenzrahmens zu bewegen beginnen.“ (S. 153).

So eignete sich beispielsweise das kambodschanische Königshaus die Planungslogik der Kolonialverwaltung sowie das Medium der Kartografie an, um seine an die Regeln angepasste, aber eigene Raumpolitik um- und durchzusetzen. Einerseits wurde der Stadtraum dadurch zunehmend im Referenzrahmen und in der Logik der Kolonialverwaltung geordnet. Andererseits war die Raumordnung jedoch niemals – auch in späteren Jahren nicht – eine bloße Planumsetzung dominanter Mächte (der Kolonialverwaltung, des Königs, der Regierungspartei), sondern wurde auch „von unten“ durch die spontane Aneignung von Freiflächen durch die Bevölkerung, durch einflussreiche *Oknhas* oder durch andere gesellschaftliche Machtsegmente betrieben. Präzise zeichnet Kolnberger die Raumpolitiken der letzten 150 Jahre auf verschiedenen gesellschaftlichen und politischen Ebenen nach. Dabei wirft er nicht nur ein Licht auf die Konsolidierung kolonialer Herrschaft, sondern auch auf aktuellere Themen wie das Herrschafts-

system Hun Sens und die Logik hinter der Vertreibung informeller Siedlungen im Phnom Penher Stadtraum.

Der Fokus im anschließenden Teil des Buches liegt auf den Brüchen und Persistenzen im Anschluss an die Herrschaft der Roten Khmer und die Wiederbesiedlung der Stadt. Zentral ist dabei immer wieder die Veranschaulichung einer räumlichen Ordnungsbildung, die zwar wiederkehrende Muster aufweist, aber nicht notwendig einer gezielten Planung dominanter gesellschaftlicher Kräfte entspringt. Insbesondere das letzte Kapitel des Buches betreibt einen hohen empirischen Aufwand, um die Verteilung von Gewerbestandorten im Stadtraum nachzuvollziehen. Kolnberger stützt sich hierbei auf zahlreiche semi-strukturierte Leitfadeninterviews, eine eigene Kartierung der Gewerbestandorte sowie Archivarbeiten.

Die Ansiedlung von Gewerbebranchen vollzog sich nicht im Rahmen gezielter Pläne. Doch entstand als „Epiphänomen“ durch „den kumulierten Vollzug vergleichbarer konkreter Handlungen [eine] Ordnung auf ‚höherer Ebene‘ – als Nebeneffekt sozusagen –, die Vorteile mit sich brachte“ (S. 411). Ordnungsstiftendes Prinzip bei der Standortwahl von Gewerben ist dem Autor zufolge vor allem die Strategie kambodschanischer Geschäftsleute, sich in Sichtweite der Konkurrenz anzusiedeln oder Geschäftsideen in ihrer Nachbarschaft zu kopieren. Auf diese Weise bildeten sich in verschiedenen Gebieten Gewerbeclustern, die sich auch im Bewusstsein der Bevölkerung festsetzten. Einzelne Straßenzüge sind nunmehr bekannt für ihr spezialisiertes Angebot, wodurch unter anderem das Fehlen eines Branchenverzeichnisses abgefangen wird und sich die Geschäftsleute wirtschaftliche Sicherheiten erhoffen.

Allein der letzte Teil dieser Gesamtdarstellung verdeutlicht allerdings schon die kaum zu bändigende Bandbreite an behandelten Themen. Einerseits ist das Buch ein Muss für jeden, der sich für Stadtentwicklung im Allgemeinen und Speziellen, für Kambodschas Geschichte und Politik, für koloniale Herrschaftssysteme, für das politische System Hun Sens, für Landvertreibungen, für Theorien der politischen Geografie oder städtische Ökonomien interessiert. Andererseits wünscht man sich als Leser gelegentlich dann doch eine längere Verweildauer oder eine klarer theoriegeleitete Verbindung zwischen den Themenblöcken. Zuletzt verwundert auch ein wenig, wie intensiv Thomas Kolnberger zwar auf die Entstehung französischer Stadtraumkonzepte eingeht, um deren Transfer in die Kolonien zu erläutern, dabei jedoch nirgends Michel Foucaults Ausführungen zu eben jenem Thema berücksichtigt. So zeigen sich wohl doch mancherorts einige Schwachstellen aufgrund des ungeheuren Ausmaßes von Kolnbergers Unterfangen, welches jedoch nichtsdestotrotz in allen Bereichen einen unverzichtbaren Beitrag leistet und den Leser unterwegs nur selten verliert.

Daniel Bultmann

PERRY LINK, *An Anatomy of Chinese. Rhythm, Metaphor, Politics*. Cambridge, Mass. / London: Harvard University Press, 2013. 376 pages, €36.00. ISBN 978-0-674-06602-1

The omnipresence of rhythm and metaphor in Chinese politics is a phenomenon of modern Chinese language that has fascinated Perry Link for more than three decades. Citing the Chinese linguist Y. R. Chao that “unfamiliar (technical) terms [...] though safe from being misunderstood, are often also safe from being understood” (p. 2), the book opens with the promise to minimize academic jargon, a reassuring announcement given the book’s interdisciplinary potential.

In the Introduction (pp. 1–20) the author quotes phrases picked up on the streets of Beijing and in public spaces (e.g. toilets) and slogans from the Cultural Revolution, to outline the topics of the first (Rhythm), second (Metaphor), third (Politics) parts of the book. In each part the reader will find plenty of opportunity to compare Chinese and (American) English linguistic strategies. Each sentence is presented in Pinyin and Chinese characters, translated and thoroughly explained, so that readers who do not know Chinese may profit from this individual and original study. In addition, through many colorful and vivid examples and his irony between the lines the author arouses in his readers a fascination equal to his own.

The title of Part One (pp. 21–112), “Rhythm”, shorthand for “conventional rhythmic patterns” in language, encompasses stress, pause and pitch, what linguists call prosody. Chinese rhythmic patterns, more precisely five-character (*wuyan* 五言), seven-character (*qiyán* 七言) and four-character patterns, have always been common in traditional poetry, folksongs and popular sayings. They are unusually common in Modern Chinese as well. “Even McDonalds was using *qiyán* on CCTV: *shí kè chāng xiǎng mǎi dāng láo* 时刻畅想麦当劳 – always keep McDonald’s on your mind” (p. 36).

After searching for the specific roots of rhythm in Chinese, a variety of features of rhythm patterns are outlined: such as 1) “external” rhythm, which is beyond grammar and meaning; 2) readers’ and listeners’ awareness of its use; 3) function of rhythm, such as coordinating collective human activity, supporting personal and cultural memory, providing authority, and, last but not least, 4) the meaning of rhythm. Defining meaning “in the broad sense [...] of making at least some kind of difference in a received message” (p. 94), one can easily support the idea that rhythm, being meaningful in itself, definitely has an effect beyond the cognitive grasping of the message – thus asserting that far from being just “some kind of difference in a received message”, rhythm is a message in its own right which might emphasize or even run counter to semantics.

Besides rhythm, other formal features contribute to meaning in the above-mentioned sense: tones, vowels and consonants. In addition, here we find pitch that in combination with loudness and duration constitutes “stress”, and parallelism. Aware of the respective effects, such as authority, naturalness or “fit”,

the author touches upon a phenomenon already explicated in the 1920s by gestalt psychologists (p. 97) and taken up today by old and new phenomenologists.

The second part (pp. 113–233), “Metaphor”, opens with the relation between metaphor and thought, which the author uses to recapitulate the state of the art. There is no doubt that metaphors are based on bodily experience. Again, here the focus is on expressions in daily life – on “metaphors we live by” (George Lakoff / Mark Johnson: *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1980). By illustrating time as a space metaphor, the difference between Chinese and English “lies not in their conceptualization but in the relative frequency of their use” (p. 137). Metaphorical use of colours in Chinese and English shows both similarities (red or blue in the face because of anger; green as metaphor for young) and differences as specific “cultural creations” (p. 153). The same is true of interrelated space metaphors, such as “up” and “down” or “North” and “South”. In the following passages, modern metaphor theory is applied to the Chinese conception of consciousness, of the Self, and of paired categories (dyads) in Chinese thought. How metaphors influence “ways to conceive the world” (p. 183), and vice versa, is the topic of two sections comparing metaphors that the two languages largely share and metaphors in Chinese that significantly diverge from English. Thus, descriptions of e.g. affection, smelling or difficulties may use quite similar metaphors in both languages, descriptions of eating, the identification of family and society or acting, for example, do not.

Conceptual differences rooted in metaphors (p. 209) raise the question of whether conceptual metaphors reflect philosophical differences (p. 215). Topic par excellence in this context is the prevalence of nouns in English and of verbs in Chinese.

At the end of Part Two the author emphasizes his astonishment at the many similarities between Chinese and English, which he explains with the structure of the human brain and the commonality of human experience – a blow, as it were, against extreme cultural relativism.

At first sight, the heading of Part Three (pp. 234–348), “Politics”, is somewhat misleading since its topic is in fact the bifurcation of Chinese into official political language and everyday language since imperial times. Hand in hand with this bifurcation two “truths” coexist in the Chinese world. In order to identify the official language of the late Mao and post-Mao years (1960s to the early 21st century) Perry Link refers to features, such as lexicon and metaphor, grammar and rhythm, moral weight, goal orientation, and “fit (politically)” as a form of truth. The remaining passages are dedicated to the “language game that citizens of the People’s Republic of China became obliged to engage with” (p. 278): how the game was played by the rulers (linguistic engineering as power engineering) and how the ruled responded (adaptation, avoidance, resistance, double meanings, satire, authorial anonymity and informal codes). The socio-psychological consequences of this language game should not be

underestimated: suspicion, hypocrisy and opportunism, a combination of behavioural features that F. Billeter calls “pathology of virtue” (p. 343) and D. Moser refers to as “schizophrenia” in the sense of a “split perception” (p. 343). Such diagnosis, which, given the above-mentioned resistance and changes in situational register, should, in this reviewer’s opinion, not be generalized, refers to the Maoist era. In the post-Maoist era official language has lost its dominant power. Yet, Chinese citizens still seem to play the language game, avoiding the discussion of specific topics, such as Taiwan, Tibet and Xinjiang: “People go through daily life – making money, enjoying fashions, playing sports, traveling, finding romantic partners, and doing things that people could not easily do during the Mao era – while simply avoiding the areas in the world of ideas that could cause ‘trouble’.” (p. 348).

While this avoidance strategy of the continuing language game reflects an omnipresent danger, inherent in it is another danger that arises from heightened nationalism and chauvinism.

In the Epilogue (pp. 349–355) the author reflects on the common characteristics of the three topics rhythm, metaphor, and politics: inadvertency (going unnoticed) and meaningfulness. Overcoming inadvertency, in other words becoming aware, “leaves us more free to think for ourselves” (p. 352). Furthermore, studying inadvertencies of language may help both to understand the workings of the human mind and, in a transcultural perspective, to avoid cultural misunderstandings. Last but not least, “there is also something fun” (p. 355).

All in all, Perry Link has written a fascinating book with a wealth of linguistic material, vast theoretical, political, and socio-psychological implications and insightful questioning of history and English language strategies.

Gudula Link

DAVID J. LORENZO, *Conceptions of Chinese Democracy. Reading Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek, and Chiang Ching-kuo*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2013. 257 pages, €20.84. ISBN 1-4214-0917-8

David J. Lorenzo deals with an important and current issue. The latest developments around the so-called “Sunflower-Movement” and the student-led protests and occupation of the Legislative Yuan in the Republic of China (ROC, Taiwan) were an impressive demonstration that there are still huge differences in the interpretation of Chinese models of democracy. This book is a helpful contribution to understanding and following the ongoing debate. By analysing the thoughts, theories and concerns of ROC’s former presidents towards democracy, David J. Lorenzo offers helpful input for a deeper understanding of Chinese ideas of democracy.

Lorenzo divides the book into five chapters. The first offers a well-structured introduction to the topic. Lorenzo starts by summarizing the current situation on Taiwan and raises questions about how the Chinese concepts of democracy of its former leaders may have influenced its current democratic system. Furthermore, he explains which definitions and types of democracy constitute the framework for his analysis. At the end of this chapter, Lorenzo summarizes how Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Kai-kuo and their conceptions have previously been described in the ongoing debate. The chapter closes with a description and overview of the available sources and the methodology the author uses for his analysis.

The second chapter of the book focuses on the democracy concept and related ideas of Sun Yat-sen. In contrast to the Chiangs, Sun developed his understanding of democracy as part of a larger attempt to solve the problem of China's weakness and the disappointing developments after the foundation of the republic in 1911. Adhering strictly to the analytical methods introduced in the first chapter, the author compares the key elements in Sun's concept and how they differ from classic Western theories of democracy. In the end he claims that Sun Yat-sen neither portrayed himself as a "Westernizer" nor someone who created a model of democracy uniquely for China. Instead he understands himself as a democratic theorist whose model is more advanced, generic and also democratic and, therefore, the best for China.

The next chapter deals with Chiang Kai-shek's understanding and justification of democracy and his contribution to Chinese democracy. By delimiting his justification of democracy, which is rooted in human nature rather than a contextual variation of government, to Sun's thoughts, the author argues that Chiang's rhetorical contribution was significantly greater than his governmental practice. He concludes that Chiang Kai-shek presented himself as someone who supports a Chinese variant of democracy and did not see democracy as a Western concept only.

Chapter Four highlights the contribution of Chiang Ching-kuo. In contrast to his father and Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Ching-kuo is described by the author as a leader with an ambivalent view of a desirable type of democracy. In general, in his discussion of democracy the younger Chiang focused less on unity and general will and more on the reality and legitimacy of pluralism. Lorenzo claims that Chiang Ching-kuo integrated more and more aspects of the liberal democratic model and acclaimed it shortly before his death. On the other hand, Chiang Ching-kuo also expanded on his father's ideas of democracy rooted in Chinese tradition and culture.

Finally, the author turns his attention to the current understanding of democracy in Taiwan and on the Chinese mainland. In the case of Taiwan, David J. Lorenzo describes the concepts of democracy within the two major parties (KMT, DDP) and the extent to which the current views of the Taiwanese elites are influenced by the unitary models of Sun Yat-sen and the two Chiangs.

Furthermore, he points out the extent to which these models are used to justify changes in the electoral law in Taiwan. Afterwards, in a comparison of their methods, the author analyses the influence of the concepts of the Taiwan's former leaders on the discussion in mainland China and the role of appeals to the Chinese unitary and liberal democratic models. He closes the book with some final thoughts that summarize the main results of his study.

All in all, Lorenzo's clear style and frequent references to his methodical framework are valuable aspects of this very useful, well-substantiated account of the different ideas of "Chinese democracy". His contribution should not be underestimated, especially in the light of the language barrier and the relatively few of sources and analyses available in English. It would be desirable to have more literature on this issue in the future, as the development of ROC's democracy is still an issue in cross-strait relations and might again play an important role in terms of stability in East Asia. It will be interesting to see which theoretical fundament the People's Republic of China will choose for its future.

Florian Siekmann

JÖRN KECK / DIMITRI VANOVERBEKE / FRANZ WALDENBERGER (eds),
*EU-Japan Relations, 1970–2012. From Confrontation to Global
Partnership*. (Routledge Contemporary Japan Series, 46). Abingdon:
Routledge, 2013. XX, 356 pages, \$170.00. ISBN 978-0-415-65872-0

First-hand accounts by current and former EU officials who were engaged in EU-Japan relations make up the core of the book under review. Due to the nature of these relations in the post-war era, economic issues like trade and investment are emphasized, but the emerging role of political relations and wider public diplomacy topics, such as cooperation in science and technology, are also covered in some depth, particularly for more recent years. The editors, two of whom are academics, have sought to provide the "first comprehensive account of the EU's ... relationship with Japan" (p. xv); they have succeeded.

In an introductory chapter, major contextual factors of the evolving relationship are outlined, with the focus on the process of European integration, Japan's economic development and changing global economic development. Part I of the book, covering some 200 pages, deals in considerable detail with various phases of the emerging relations, namely the periods 1970 (and earlier) to 1982, 1983–1987, 1987–1990, 1990–1995, 1996–2000, and 2000 to 2010. Another chapter revisits those years by distinguishing different trade (deficit) and exchange rate concerns. In some 75 pages, Part II offers careful case studies of individual issues, that is Japan's liquor taxation as a form of discrimination against European high-quality spirits, passenger car trade, which discusses mainly Japanese access to the European market, pork-meat trade, harbour

management and the Japanese construction market, the EU's and Japan's role in the WTO Uruguay Round, cooperation in science and technology, and parliamentary exchanges. Finally, Part III, some 50 pages, looks ahead. One paper stresses the growing importance of political and wider relations alongside economic issues as reflected in the respective wider regional and cross-regional frameworks of Japan in Asia and the EU in Europe. The final chapter summarizes the contributions and shows ways to realize "untapped potentials" better than before.

Within this short review, it is impossible to do justice to the depth of information presented in the various chapters. The authors dive deeply into the sometimes bewildering multitude of treaties, communications, working papers, hand-outs, and the famously termed non-papers. The contributors' status as experts and insiders is both a strength and a limitation of the book. Strength, because the papers flesh out many of the major and minor controversies of the evolving relationship. They recount the struggle over restricted access for Japanese cars in various EU countries, the notorious Poitiers system of curtailing imports of Japanese VTRs and Japanese attempts to keep its agricultural markets closed. Limitation, because the perspective is limited to the point of view of medium-level officials who were actively involved in the negotiations on one side of the table. Japanese views are missing, as are statements by politicians or political appointees, including (former) commissioners (with the one exception of a former MEP). Also lacking in most of the papers is a theory-based interpretation, for instance an evaluation of the organizational structure of EU authorities. One author actually states that he tries to give a detailed record and "subjective account" on which "others can draw", and will not present an "academic analysis".

If one accepts this framework, the book offers a remarkable depth of information. One recurrent theme is the complex relationship with the US: often enough the US and EU share similar concerns of market access, but at other times one finds a considerable struggle for the better deal, in which the US often enjoys more leverage. Another issue often mentioned is the complex relationship with the various Japanese ministries, with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs trying to present itself as a *primus inter pares* among Japanese authorities, while the more relevant negotiations were often held, to some extent behind the scenes, with ministries such as the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI, now METI).

Today, quite a few of the regulatory bottlenecks inhibiting the trade and investment relationship still remain unresolved. While the relationship has become more cooperative since the 1990s and political issues have become important as well, there is still a lot of "untapped potential", as Dimitri Vanoverbeke writes in his summary chapter. It appears that the book manuscript was completed in 2012, on the eve of the opening negotiations on a comprehensive Free Trade Agreement and a binding agreement covering other topics of

cooperation. Several authors are moderately optimistic that a new level of engagement can be achieved, although Michael Reiterer stresses that the meaning of “strategic partnership” should be defined much more clearly. He argues that instruments based on sharing experiences – people-to-people exchanges, employing instruments of public diplomacy, taking care of common security and common foreign policy interests such as global public health or human security, and engagement in the wider context of inter- and cross-regional engagement in Asia and Europe – could lay the groundwork for suitable actions.

The book has been carefully edited. Due to the nature of the topics, some of the chapters are quite dry, but some passages, like Albrecht Rothacher’s narration of the so-called Nagoya Connection, i.e. covert channels to bring cheap Taiwanese pork imports into Japan, and of how the EU delegation tried to support Danish pork producers, make fascinating reading. In a number of papers, some graphs or an explanation of the different layers of organizations involved would have been handy, and sometimes the reader misses an appendix containing the most important texts discussed, but these are minor desiderata.

“EU-Japan Relations, 1970–2012” is a very helpful sourcebook for those interested in the bilateral relationship, and indeed also for those interested in the more general development of the EU’s foreign relations. It is destined to become the standard work on the subject. Future, more theory-focussed analyses can build on this solid basis.

Werner Pascha

VICTORIA GLENDINNING, *Raffles and the Golden Opportunity, 1781–1826*. London: Profile Books, 2013. XVIII, 350 pages, £9.99 (pb). ISBN 978-1-84668-604-7 (originally published in hardback in 2012)

This book offers a contemporary re-assessment of the life of Sir Stamford Raffles, a British statesman who spent his entire thirty-year career in the service of the East India Company. The author, Victoria Glendinning is an established literary figure, both as a biographer and novelist. Indeed, as in the case of Sir Steven Runciman half a century ago, the profile of South-East Asian studies itself is raised when a personality of such standing turns his or her attention to the field. To some extent Glendinning herself stands on the shoulders of giants, and generously acknowledges her debt to her predecessors. Among other things, her book emphasises the authority of Professor John Bastin in modern scholarship on Raffles.

Born off the coast of Jamaica in 1781, the son of an impecunious master of a West Indiaman, Raffles enjoyed no social advantages – he was ‘neither born nor bred a gentleman’, according to one hostile source (p. 101) – and had almost no formal education. After ten years as an ‘Extra Clerk’ at India House in

London (1795-1805), he served as Assistant Secretary for Penang from 1805 until 1811. On 14 March 1805, just before setting off for the East, he married his first wife, Olivia Mariamne Fancourt, née Devenish, a widow ten years his senior, who died in Java in late 1814. There were no children of this marriage, although both parties had children by their other spouses.

The 'golden opportunity' of the title was the chance offered Raffles in 1818-1819 by Lord Hastings, Governor-General of India, to found a settlement at Singapore (p. 210). Raffles immediately threw himself into town planning, issuing proclamations, laws, orders and even 'positive commands' (p. 265). Also highlighted here is the foundation of the Singapore Institution on 1 April 1823. Trade flourished: as early as 1822 no fewer than 139 square-rigged ships and 1,434 indigenous vessels used the port, which already had a population of ten thousand (p. 245). Singapore – 'my almost only child' (pp. 245, 265) – transformed the economic and political geography of the entire region. The rebirth of the ancient stronghold of Malay civilisation as a centre of British influence 'meant much to him' (p. 219); but he accurately anticipated that the Chinese would 'always form by far the largest portion of the community' (p. 247).

Glendinning seems actually to be rather less interested in Singapore than in Raffles' term as Lieutenant-Governor of Java between 1811 and 1816. Her judgement is that 'the whole tragedy of the British administration of Java is that Raffles was trying, against a ticking clock, to make a first-class country out of a bankrupt one, with neither support nor investment from the Company' (p. 144).

Back in England in 1816-17, after having met Napoleon on St Helena on the way home, Raffles was lionised, rather as Sir James Brooke (Raja of Sarawak) would be in 1847. Raffles was knighted and elected to the Fellowship of the Royal Society, mixed in the upper echelons of society, met and married his second wife, had his portrait painted and a bust sculpted and published his *History of Java*, a *succès d'estime* that was rather more wide-ranging in content than the title suggests. He was also – again rather like Brooke in the early 1850s in Sarawak – completely exonerated (by the East India Company) of charges brought against his administration of Java. He even made a grand tour of Europe.

Raffles was Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen in Sumatra from 1817 until 1824, the title in this case being personal to himself, and from 1819 his remit in this capacity included responsibility for Singapore. Raffles was often berated by headquarters for acting *ultra vires*, but his integrity, zeal and ability were also recognised.

Whilst in Bencoolen – 'the most wretched place I ever beheld' (p. 197) – Raffles lost three of his four infant children in the space of six months, a tragedy which calls to mind similar losses experienced by Raja Charles and Rane Margaret Brooke in the Red Sea in 1873. Another daughter (Flora) was born to Raffles later; but she too died within weeks (pp. 269-70). When leaving Bencoolen on 2 February 1824 he was shipwrecked and lost his priceless natural history collection, along with his drawings, maps and papers. In a work

of fiction, Glendinning suggests, Raffles' story 'would strain credulity. His good fortune and his ill-fortune were both of an extreme kind' (p. xii).

In his last two years (1824-6) Raffles was made LL.D. by the University of Edinburgh and helped to found London Zoo. He purchased Highwood, an estate of 112 acres, suffered a succession of financial misfortunes, and found himself landed with a bill from the East India Company for £22,272. He died of a brain haemorrhage (cerebral arteriovenous malformation, according to modern diagnosis) on 5 July 1826, the day before his forty-fifth birthday (p. 296). His one surviving child (Ella) died at the age of nineteen in 1840 (p. 309).

In 1830 Raffles' widow, Sophia, published a *Memoir of the Life and Public Services of Sir Stamford Raffles*; a second edition followed in 1835. Indeed, Raffles' fame was initially entirely due to her: 'She was not only the keeper of the flame but the one who ignited it; and the curator, not only of his collections, but of his memory and reputation' (p. 298). A statue was erected in Westminster Abbey in 1833. His standing was never greater than on the publication of Demetrius Boulger's biography in 1897 at the height of the British Empire. Lady Raffles died in 1858, the same year in which the East India Company was nationalised by the British government: 'Nothing is too big to fail', comments Glendinning rather sententiously (p. 312).

This book suffers from the occasional misprint, including 'principle' and 'principal' (pp. 207, 314), and colloquialism ('a tad', p. 41; 'morphed', p. 158). But these are mere quibbles. Overall, *Raffles and the Golden Opportunity* is a work of fine scholarship, beautifully written and well balanced. Furthermore, Glendinning makes telling use of sources such as the *Hikayat Abdullah*, and her expertise in mainstream English literature enables her to make references which would probably have escaped the notice of a specialist South-East Asianist.

Anthony V.M. Horton