

Although the connection between Prabhupada's charisma and descriptions of the altar worship of the deity of Krishna is unclear—without an affirmation that Prabhupada derived some of his charisma from the worship of a charismatic god—the force of Ketola's explanations of cognitive frame violations in ISKCON, fortunately, transcends some of the details of his argument. The potential of this research for understanding not only charisma but also the transmission of culture in a new religious movement is far reaching. And, this is a must read for students of ritual, because Ketola has revealed some of the ordinary processes that come into play when an extraordinary teaching is exemplified by a prophet who managed to simultaneously establish a Geertzian 'aura of factuality' about 'a doctrinal religion that has managed to avert tedium' in its everyday rituals (p. 82). Obviously, then, Kimmo has good news for ISKCON. But I read *The Founder of the Hare Krishnas* as a cogent demonstration of the construction of religious charisma. Whether or not the charismatic individual is extraordinary, the processes by which he or she becomes to be understood as such are entirely ordinary.

This is a solidly researched and fascinating book. Minor reservations aside, this reviewer eagerly awaits further refinements by Kimmo Ketola to his philosophy of religious charisma, as well as to the cognitive science of religion.

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*The Hare Krishna Movement: Forty Years of Chant and Change.* Edited by Graham Dwyer and Richard J. Cole. London: I.B. Taurus, 2007. pp. x, 296. £37.00.

Popularly known in the West as the Hare Krishna Movement, the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) is now engaged in a 'search for self-identity,' argues Thomas J. Hopkins in his essay in *The Hare Krishna Movement: Forty Years of Chant and Change*. In this search for self-identity, 'at stake are ISKCON's fundamental values and basic commitments, the core identity or self-identity that must be understood and accepted by all of its members before the central mission can be properly carried out' (p. 186).

*Forty Years of Chant and Change* attempts to help ISKCON settle its identity. Some of the contributors to this book write as progressive ISKCON

insiders, who would like to see ISKCON become a respectable part of mainstream western society. The other contributors write as academic observers, who would also like to welcome ISKCON into the western multicultural fold. As per these section titles, the book itself covers four topics: (1) 'Origins, Development, and Organizational Patterns'; (2) 'Dreams and Devotion'; (3) 'Tradition and Modernity'; and (4) 'Identity and Perception'.

Essays contributed by ISKCON insiders appear in the book's first and third sections, which deal with the particulars of ISKCON's internal development as well as its struggles, successes, and failures in its dealings with the modern world. These essays tend to be pragmatic in their approach—they often frame failures and successes as 'lessons learned' and use these lessons as a basis for planning and predicting ISKCON's future development. Most of these contributors are also ISKCON managers at various levels or have been ISKCON managers at some time.

Essays contributed by professional academics appear in the book's second section, which deals with the influence of the dreams of ISKCON's devotees, and in the book's fourth section, which focuses on ISKCON's emerging identity. An essay on the practices of ISKCON in Great Britain, contributed by Anna S. King, also appears in the third section. From the perspectives of their respective academic disciplines, these essays describe and explain how ISKCON's social and institutional patterns are changing. They also describe and explain how shared beliefs among ISKCON members are changing. Some of these essays propose new ways of thinking about tradition and sources of authority in order to help ISKCON make progress.

The book's first section is an insider's account of ISKCON's progress over the last 40 years and its expected future development. These essays share a common theme—ISKCON has a glorious past, however unsettled it may have been at times, and will have an even more glorious future. They also express a common objective: making ISKCON a respectable part of mainstream society. Ross Andrew describes how ISKCON in Britain out of necessity has had to tailor its own educational initiatives to a congregation that has to live in mainstream society, and Richard Cole sees 'every sign [that] ISKCON will increasingly become both socially acceptable and attractive as well as prosper in the foreseeable future.' (p. 53) This linking of social acceptability to future progress suggests that ISKCON's former countercultural identity—which emphasized opposition to certain mainstream values—has been shifting to a mainstream identity, which instead emphasizes other values that ISKCON shares with mainstream society.

This shift is further seen in some of the markers of success that these essays emphasize. Steven Rosen, who compares the year 1965 to 2005 in relation to ISKCON, and Cole, who describes ISKCON's institutional development over the same period of time, highlight hunger relief projects and the establishment of ISKCON hospitals as signs of progress. Acquisition of a modern university education has also become respectable within ISKCON, though in earlier days it was discouraged. In this regard, Rosen's description of the success of ISKCON's Chowpatty ashram in Mumbai, India, is striking:

He [a senior ISKCON swami] has attracted thousands of the [Mumbai] city elite to his congregation [...]. Their ashram is also constantly expanding with qualified and dedicated monks, although they refuse candidates unless they finish their university studies and work at least one year in their respective careers. So many medical graduates and established doctors have come forward that their congregation has opened the International Occupancy Standard (IOS) Bhaktivedanta Hospital, with over three hundred resident doctors, half of them initiated ISKCON members. (p. 25)

Although counter-cultural markers of success are also mentioned, such as the sale and distribution of the books of ISKCON's founder, A.C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada, these markers are no longer ISKCON's primary, internal benchmarks. Now they are just a few among many others that ISKCON did not always emphasize and in earlier days sometimes criticized.

The book's second section is about the dreams of ISKCON's members—their effect on the devotion of individual ISKCON members as well as their effect on the relationship ISKCON's members have with the institution. Graham Dwyer, an anthropologist and long-time ISKCON observer, contributes both of the essays that comprise this section. In his first essay, Dwyer explores the significance of the dreams ISKCON's devotees have of ISKCON's founder, Srila Prabhupada. In his second essay, Dwyer explores the suitability of a 'phenomenologically oriented approach anchored in the work of Sartre' for assessing dreams.

The book's third section, the section on tradition and modernity, offers some discussion on the role of tradition in ISKCON but focuses more on ISKCON's current developments. For this reason, the third section is more of a continuation of the first section, which focuses on ISKCON's development

and organizational patterns. Kenneth Anderson, an ISKCON insider, reviews ISKCON's social welfare programs and explains how ISKCON's core teachings guide these programs. William Deadwyler, who is one of ISKCON's senior-most leaders, focuses on tradition in his essay. In particular, he discusses Srila Prabhupada's conception of tradition in opposition to modernity as a strategy of 'cultural conquest'.

By contrast, Anna S. King in her analysis of ISKCON's practices presents evidence that ISKCON has been gradually transitioning away from tradition in the direction of modernity. As per King, this transformation is being driven by 'a theological and philosophical engagement with modernity' as well as a number of other influences, which include 'the pastoral needs of diasporic Hindus, the value and structures of the wider British community, [and a] deepening commitment to inter-faith dialogue.' (p. 166–167) King also discusses two related developments she calls the 'ISKCONisation of Hinduism' in Britain and the 'Indianisation of ISKCON.'

But the very possibility of 'Indianisation' raises an important question: Will ISKCON still be ISKCON in the sense of maintaining fidelity to its original purposes if ISKCON abandons its original, countercultural values and distances itself from its former missionary orientation? ISKCON's mission is inextricably joined to its identity. If one changes, the other necessarily changes.

And this brings us to the heart of the matter, which the book's last section explores. Thomas J. Hopkins's essay about ISKCON's identity draws on Christianity's own historical experience in settling its own problems of authority, which in many ways were similar to ISKCON's present-day problems. According to Hopkins, how ISKCON settles questions of authority, interpretation, tradition, practice, and other related questions will define ISKCON's identity.

Although Hopkins avoids offering suggestions about what ISKCON's identity should finally look like, King in her second essay recommends that ISKCON adopt a 'feminist re-reading of Radha' (a 'thealogy' of Radha) for the sake of establishing social and sexual justice within ISKCON. More specifically, she recommends that women who are also ISKCON insiders take up the task of revisioning and challenging the Caitanya tradition. 'The critical task then for feminists would be to confront the Chaitanya tradition wherever the historical perpetuation of unjust, exclusionary practices that have legitimated male superiority are found.' (p. 225) And it appears that King is aware that such a radical revisioning of ISKCON's theology and tradition will likely undermine ISKCON's ethics of sexual abstinence.

Self-restraint is the dominant virtue in sexual ethics, together with a body-rejecting model of sexuality. ISKCON spirituality therefore presupposes a cultural system that denies, displaces and sublimates sexualities. Behind the veil of *rasa* puritan (and misogynist) values are hidden. While these may appear to offer points of reference in a postmodern world, they also imply that gender inequality is divinely revealed. (p. 224)

Without another essay that substantially defends the Caitanya tradition, the presence of this essay augments the book's already socially progressive character. Deadwyler's essay, however, does seek to reaffirm the Caitanya tradition. Yet as compared with King's essay, Deadwyler's is dispassionate and sometimes abstract. His essay explains that ISKCON's past successes were a result of following tradition, yet it is scant of details after the passing of ISKCON's founder in 1977 and avoids explaining how ISKCON's past failures were a consequence of straying from that same tradition. King, however, more directly suggests that ISKCON's darker days were, to some extent, a consequence of the tradition itself, whose apparent bias against women could explain the past abuse of ISKCON's women and children. Although Deadwyler's essay is the most conservative essay in the book, it is not particularly so, and it does little to balance the otherwise progressive character of the book's other essays.

*The Hare Krishna Movement: Forty Years of Chant and Change* is a socially progressive analysis of ISKCON's development over the past 40 years. Like its predecessor, Edwin Bryant and Maria Ekstrand's *The Hare Krishna Movement: The Postcharismatic Fate of a Religious Transplant* (Columbia University Press, 2004), *Forty Years of Chant and Change* offers valuable information about ISKCON's past and present state of development as well as trends that provide some insight as to ISKCON's future. However, unlike *Postcharismatic Fate of a Religious Transplant*, *Forty Years of Chant and Change* features no dissenting voices from ISKCON insiders—not even dissenting voices from liberal ISKCON insiders. For that reason, the views of ISKCON's status quo are probably overrepresented in this book, and issues that are of more concern to ISKCON's rank-and-file insiders are probably underrepresented. Nevertheless, the academic contributors did address some of the more controversial issues that ISKCON insiders were reluctant to address. Overall, this book is a valuable resource for those who are interested in ISKCON's development.