In A Martyr’s Tale [2], IIAS fellow Ken Hammond tells the story of a Eurasians in India are the living proof of a blurry divide between colonizer and colonized. [3].

With his review of Moral Tales Nile Green provides a valuable insight in the rich universe of Indian storytelling [4],

Both Jemma Purdey and Bernard Adeney-Risakotta examine the Roald Maliangkay reviews the first English language book

Freek Colombijn and Peter Nas attend us to the intentions and planning beyond largely unchecked mega-

Nina Cichocki shows the connection between the work of Iran’s leading sculptor, Parviz Tanavoli and

Atul Dodiya, Dr. Patels’s Clinic-Lamington Road (fragment)

In this edition

Koen De Ceuster wonders whether Korean historians are shedding light on the nation’s recent history or are merely adding to the confusion [1].

strong willed Ming dynasty official and his rehabilitation in post-communist China.

connection between power and violence in Indonesia.

publications

on Korean film

Asian art & cultures

a tradition of worship and beauty. [P.1] Nina Colclough shows the connection between the work oftransfusing sculptor, Pravit Pinnari and

Museums of the World

To the small exhibition of Chola Bronzes [5] and places these statues in a tradition of worship and beauty.

traditional Persian writing. [6].

urbanization [7].

An Interview with Gananath Obeyesekere

Gananath Obeyesekere lives on a mountaintop in Kandy. From his eyrie he has a sweeping panorama of the eastern hills of Sri Lanka, and it is in those hills where the wild Veddas were once supposed to have lived, according to Sri Lankan histories and stories. Those Veddas are the focus of his present research.

The genealogy of Obeyesekerek’s research project can be traced back to a classic work, The Veddas, written by Charles and Brenda Seligmann in 1931. The Veddas were first recognized in anthropological terms as a classic hunting and gathering society. Edward Tylor, in his textbook on anthropology (1888), refers to them as ‘my wild men’, or primitives, living by hunting and gathering. The Seligmanns, however, pioneered with one of the first field studies of any group from the British side of our discipline. C.G. Seligmann and W.H.R. Rivers were the first systematic fieldworkers who, in turn, taught the two great anthropologists Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski, the founding fathers of British Social Anthropology.

‘What I found puzzling about the Seligmanns’ study is that the Veddas were confined by them to a small area in the northern and eastern part of the country called Bintanna, ‘the flat lands.’ Unfortunately, given that their work was still rooted in the nineteenth-century preoccupation with the primitive, the two Seligmanns were out to find the ‘pure’ Veddas; and of course they didn’t find any. This was a kind of futile quest, because ultimately only four families, who were living in utterly desperate economic and social conditions, were found to approximate their ideal. Looking from my balcony up on my hilltop, I know that the mountainous area north of the Seligmanns’ field site was known in ancient Sinhala texts of nearly three hundred years ago as ‘the Vedda country,’ or as ‘the great [nuva] Vedda country’. The Veddas were once supposed to have lived in this part of the country?

‘Then, as my fieldwork and thinking progressed, I asked myself: if the Veddas were in this vast region north of the area in which the Seligmanns did their fieldwork, let me figure out whether they existed in other parts of the country, too. So I probed the sixteenth-century classic literature and poetry written by Buddhist monks and other erudite scholars. And some of their texts refer to Veddas in other parts of the country, for example, roughly around Sri Pada – sometimes known as Adam’s Peak – where the sacred footprint of the Buddha is embedded. Other texts speak of Veddas in the very south of Sri Lanka which is now entirely – and passionately – Sinhala Buddhist. Another text refers to Veddas living about twenty miles south of the main city of Colombo which is unthinkably as a Vedda habitat nowadays, except symbolically, I suppose, if one were to designate capitalism as a form of hunting and gathering.’

Obeyesekere also re-examined some of the ritual texts which he had worked on some twenty or thirty years ago. These texts also referred to Veddas as living in different parts of the country. In one fascinating post-harvest ritual the priest (never the monk) recites an invocation known as ‘the roll-call of the Veddas’ in which he lists about ninety Vedda villages in a fairly large area north and south of Kandy, and some settlements in the heart of the city of Kandy itself. Further enquiries led Obeyesekere to believe that when the city of Kandy was founded in the fifteenth century it was a Vedda village named Katupulthe. The chief of that village being known as Katupulthe-Vedda. Very much later, Kandyan texts mention a group of police officers called katupulthe, the same term.


**Letter to the Editor**

I was interesting to read Shalini Sharma’s report regarding The Life of Hindus in Britain’ in the IAS Newsletter (IASN 27, p. 23). Apart from its higher philosophical perspectives, there is not much interest in the West for Hinduism (cf. Buddhism). The important part of the article was the fact that finally some kind of concern is raised for Britain’s Hindu minority community – in a country where many different ethnicities or religious groups live. Seeking to identify long under-represented peoples through research, building temples, and more such things are indeed positive steps. Interestingly though, Sharma does not mention the large numbers of Nepalese living in Britain. Her report gave the impression that she was emphasizing Hinduism more than the Hindu minority in Britain. If this is so, then I am afraid the title does not fit the context. I would like to ask whether a simple interview research on Hindus (or any other minority group for that matter) can bring positive input to people’s lives? Or is it just that studying minorities has become today an academic buzzword that has attracted research on Hindus? I believe for actual change there should be a grassroots awareness campaign that can influence the policy makers. Just building a gathering place or writing an academic report that no one reads, except those involved in the research, will not make a difference. Even though the existence of the class system is officially denied, it is clear that in practice British society is still divided into various social ladders. In this light, I find it highly remarkable that ‘Westerners’ view the ‘caste system’ in South Asia so negatively when class arrangements and discrimination often based on race are prevalent in their own society. I think the article would have been much more insightful if it had illustrated what the position of Hindus in British society is and showed whether the current research is aimed at finding a ‘social space’ for minorities rather than just a place for academic talk or community prayer.

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**Reply from the Author**

I welcome Mr Giri’s response to my research report on ‘The Life of Hindus in Britain’ (IASN 27, p. 23) for a dual reason. Firstly, the initial motive behind writing the report – to introduce the research to interested individuals and consequently encourage the participation of the ASEM. As a result, the ASEM is still in need of a long-term internally driven strategic vision, which can be translated into clear and concrete objectives, and relevant effective instruments – such as a professional secretariat – to reach those objectives. As ASEM threatens to be overwhelmed by its all too reactive responses to external circumstances even in its present set up, the enlargement of the ASEM seems to be pointless, if such a strategic vision is lacking.

**Professor Wim Stokhof**

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A just settlement?

'Settling the past' is a belated answer to the expectation of justice voiced on various levels by various actors. Relatives of the victims of state terror, be it Kwangju citizens killed by the late 1980s: temple for a period of repentance and contemplation. Hwan, who in December 1988 was forced to publicly ask the question of remorse, public calls for legal justice continued until 1995, only to be followed by a grand gesture of national reconciliation by outgoing President Kim Young Sam and President-Elect Kim Dae Jung, who pardoned them in December 1997. By inviting both disgraced former presidents to his inauguration, Kim Dae Jung, himself a former victim of state violence, showed a remarkable personal commitment to political reconciliation in an attempt to wipe South Korea's political slate clean, and put the endless cycle of retribution to rest. With a token of political and legal justice achieved, and with a commitment to have the state make amends for individual cases of blatant injustice, Kim Dae Jung hoped for a new era of national reconciliation.

The magnanimity of the president may have succeeded in removing the past from the political agenda, it is beyond his power to impose on the smouldering feeling of injustice in some affected quarters of Korean society. The administration and acceptance of justice is too tightly interwoven with the politics of memory.

The question was addressed to the Korean Studies’ List, an email discussion list, was to question the feasibility of ‘settling the past’. There is no such thing as a ‘settled past’, since there are always the assets of re-interpretation. Questions arise, bringing new answers. To settle the past would be tantamount to interfering historical debate. However, missing from this academic debate, were the all too real social political demands for ‘settling the past’. Members of the late 1980s: ‘settling the past’ no ordinary academic venture. The question was addressed to the Korean Studies’ List, an email discussion list, was to question the feasibility of ‘settling the past’. There is no such thing as a ‘settled past’, since there are always the assets of re-interpretation. Now questions arise, bringing new answers. To settle the past would be tantamount to interfering historical debate. However, missing from this academic debate, were the all too real social political demands for ‘settling the past’. Members of the late 1980s: ‘settling the past’ no ordinary academic venture. The question was addressed to the Korean Studies’ List, an email discussion list, was to question the feasibility of ‘settling the past’. There is no such thing as a ‘settled past’, since there are always the assets of re-interpretation. Now questions arise, bringing new answers. To settle the past would be tantamount to interfering historical debate. However, missing from this academic debate, were the all too real social political demands for ‘settling the past’. Members of the late 1980s: ‘settling the past’ no ordinary academic venture. The question was addressed to the Korean Studies’ List, an email discussion list, was to question the feasibility of ‘settling the past’. There is no such thing as a ‘settled past’, since there are always the assets of re-interpretation. Now questions arise, bringing new answers. To settle the past would be tantamount to interfering historical debate. However, missing from this academic debate, were the all too real social political demands for ‘settling the past’. Members of the late 1980s: ‘settling the past’ no ordinary academic venture. The question was addressed to the Korean Studies’ List, an email discussion list, was to question the feasibility of ‘settling the past’. There is no such thing as a ‘settled past’, since there are always the assets of re-interpretation. Now questions arise, bringing new answers. To settle the past would be tantamount to interfering historical debate. However, missing from this academic debate, were the all too real social political demands for ‘settling the past’. Members of the late 1980s: ‘settling the past’ no ordinary academic venture.

By Koэн De CrostO

A part of the political struggle against the authoritarian regime has been to challenge the official narrative constructing an alternative national history. The genealogy of the post-liberation power elites was traced back to pro-Japanese collaboration, leading to the conclusion that the nation was run by a small group of corrupt elite. Accordingly, this alternative narrative credits the successful democratization movement with rendering the nation its history, and making Korean citizens, once again, its subject.

‘Settling the past’ (kwag ch'ilch'igans) is one aspect of this effort at rewriting the nation’s history, and an attempt at bringing some form of justice to the victims of the authoritari- 

ation state. A timely reminder of the complexity of the mat- 

ter was the autumn 2002 theme number of Korea Journal — a publication of the Korean National Commission for UNESCO, dedicated to ‘The Issue of Settling the Past in Modern Korean History’. Reactions to the journal’s demand for help on translating the term ‘kwag ch’ilch’igans’ bear proof of the fact that ‘settling the past’ no ordinary academic venture.

Familiar sights during the late 1980s: South Korea’s riot police in full combat gear, a fascist photo in defense of the authoritarian state.

Dr Koén De CrostO is assistant professor at the Centre for Korean Studies, Leiden University, Korea, and editor of the IAS Newsletter. On the same theme, see Myung-hwan Kang, ‘The Historiography of Collaboration in South Korea’ (in Korean Studies, Vol. 25, No. 2 (2007), pp. 207-42).

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- Korea Journal, Vol. 42 No. 4, Autumn 2002
Boundary books

‘Now what we have at this point, is a very intriguing proposition; Veddas were not just confined to Kandy and its outlying regions but they were also, at least three hundred years ago, living in every part of the nation. Though their numbers are indeterminate their physical presence is extremely significant. Thus I became very much excited in the possibilities of the project, both from an historical and also from an ethnographic point of view. I put several research assistants to tackle certain kinds of texts which were different from the ones that Sri Lankan historians normally look at, that is Buddhist and ‘canonical’ literary texts. In the University of Peradeniya there is a cupboard containing virtually unread palm leaf manuscripts; not monks’ writings, but that of ordinary people, some of them local elites, scribes, and village leaders. These texts provide a fabulous source of information on contemporary Kandyan social organization, including the position of the Veddas.’

One genre among these multiple texts is called ‘boundary books’. One particular type gives the boundaries for all of Sri Lanka, the main provinces demarcated by named rivers, well known landmarks, or, even, rocks and trees. Often, carved stone boundary markers are used.

‘One nice example of such a boundary book is the ‘Matale boundary book’ (Matale being a district north of Kandy). In this text the local king Vijayanapala summons a chief and asks: who are the respectable families in this vast region of Matale? The chief then recounts and says that there are such and such named aristocrats and then proceeds to say there are also such and such Vedda chiefs guarding such and such named villages. And there is another Vedda leader a little bit further, guarding such and such a village. And the king asks: beyond that territory who are the residents? And the chief names a list of about fifteen Vedda chiefs guarding various parts of the remover frontier. Interestingly, these chiefs have a multiplicity of names; some of them have Sinhala ones, while others possess aristocratic names and titles, indicating that they have been ‘knightsed’ by the Kandyan kings. And what is especially fascinating is the reference to five women chiefs also guarding the frontiers. Vedda women in the Seligmans’ accounts and other accounts by colonial authorities were sort of shy creatures, hiding from the foreign gaze and refusing to emerge when people came to visit their communities. By contrast a different type of Vedda female erupts from our texts.’

The confrontation with such texts spurred Obeyesekere to want to understand the historical complexity of these people, the so-called primitives. Now it becomes clear that they were not only scattered everywhere in the country, but there were also different kinds of Veddas.

‘There are aristocratic Veddas who were given the prefix bandara which is how kings were designated. One was called kadukara, meaning ‘swordman’, a military role. One was called raja (petty king) and his descendants intermarried with Buddhist rajas. It is therefore not surprising that they were employed by the Kandyan kings to guard the frontiers, leading from Kandy into Matale, thence into Bintanna (or Mahiyanganaya as it is now popularly called), and from there, I suspect, to the east coast ports in Trincomalee and Batticaloa. We are beginning to understand that Veddas were as internally differentiated as the Sinhalas, though without their loose and un-Indian caste system. And far from being made or wearing leaves, branches, and so forth, which is the colonial view of the Veddas, some of these people were well-dressed bodyguards of the king.’

A Buddhist nation?

Independent European sources can also enhance our understanding of the Veddas. A Dutch account of 1602 by Han ten Brummelhuis, and data from the shrines beliefs, using the wonderful accounts of Vedda ancestor worship provided by the Seligmans, and from the shrines which are permeated with Vedda ideas.

In 1835, the British captured the Kandyan kingdom and the Kandyan chiefs made a treaty with the British, the so-called Kandyan Convention. But in 1848 the first rebellion against the British commenced. When, in 1818, a claimant to the throne came forward and declared himself a relation of the last king of Kandy, and his entourage went to the great shrine of the Murugan, (who is a Hindu god, a Buddhist god, and a Vedda god) at Kataragama, in the south of Sri Lanka. The priest of the shrine gave the claimant a sword and another paraphernalia of the god. There he was met by one of the aristocratic Bandara Veddas, whose name was Kishuleggere Mohottala, the latter term indicating a distinguished Kandyan chief. He, with two hundred other Veddas, led the resistance. And the claimant to the throne hid in the Vedda country and was guarded by Veddas. When the claimant was formally crowned as king, it was, again, the Veddas who participated in the rituals of kingship along with some Buddhist Kandyan chiefs. This event is pretty much forgotten in ‘normal’ history except by one important historian, Paul E. Piers, who, in 1950, wrote a fine account of the resistance in his Sinhale and the Patriots. Of course both Veddas and Sinhalas were totally crushed in an extremely brutal reaction on the part of the British. I think the dispersal of populations during this period resulted in large parts of the ‘Vedda country’ being converted into tea plantations. Whatever happened to the Veddas who lived there is anyone’s guess.’

Wild man

‘The first part of the book Obeyesekere has in mind would deal with the colonial representation of the Veddas. This has some similarity to the argument in his Captain Cook book about European myth-making regarding Hawaii.

‘There is no question that the first step towards this form of colonial representation was taken by the famous British prisoner held in the kingdom of Kandy, Robert Knox, who wrote his book The Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon in 1681. Knox, and others in his ship, were captured and taken to Kandy with several other European prisoners. They married, they produced children, they traded, hunted, did all sorts of things, except that Knox, a good Scottish Calvinist, resisted most of that. He stayed for about twenty years, went back to England and wrote this wonderful book, one of the most interesting early ethnographies ever written. Like everything else he sees Sri Lanka through the prism of his Calvinist persona. Knox was one of the first Europeans to mention the Veddas and in his book he has a section describing what he calls the ‘wild men’ and making the conventional Euro-American distinction between nature and culture. He said that just as you have wild and tame animals, so you have wild and tame people, some of them local elites, scribes, and village lead- ers. These texts provide a fabulous source of information on contemporary Kandyan social organization, including the position of the Veddas.’

new zealand journal of asian studies

The NZJAS welcomes submissions from any discipline on Asia-related topics. All manuscripts are refereed and should be double-spaced, and in digital and paper format (Macintosh Word is preferred).

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The lecture by Jomo was organized by the IIA S at the International Institute for Social History (IISH) and chaired by Patricia Spyer, newly appointed Professor in the Anthropology of Indonesia at Leiden University. Two commentators, the financial journalist Tjabel Daling and economic historian Professor Jomo Kwame Sundaram from the University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur at the recent IIA S public lecture ‘Asian-European relations after September 11’.

By J. Thomas Lindblad

Professor Jomo Kwame Sundaram was born in Penang in 1952 and educated as a political scientist at Yale and Harvard. He received his PhD from Harvard University in 1978 and joined the staff of economists at the Universiti Kebangsaan in Kuala Lumpur. In 1982 he moved to the University of Malaya where he was appointed full professor twice, in 1986 in Human Development and in 1992 in the Faculty of Economics and Administration. He worked interminantly as an expert consultant for numerous international organizations, including the ILO and the World Bank. His list of publications embraces numerous monographs, including several Malay-language textbooks in economics, scores of edited works, and many journal articles. A major monograph, first published in 1986, is entitled A Question of Class: Capital, the State and Uneven Development in Malaysia, which encapsulates the juxtaposition of social history, economic growth and state policies that is characteristic of his academic work. The monograph Growth and Structural Change in the Malaysian Economy, dating from 1990, serves as the standard assessment of the New Economic Policy in Malaysia. A more recent monograph, Malaysia’s Political Economy: Politics, Patronage and Profits (1997) offers a critical examination of the nexus between politics and economic policies in Mahathir’s fast-growing Malaysia. In cooperation with colleagues in adjacent countries, Jomo has also contributed to strengthening a regional perspective on the economic development in Southeast Asia. The co-authored Southeast Asia’s Misunderstood Miracle: Industrial Policy and Economic Development in Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia (1997) is an especially important work in this vein. Another important edited volume is Tigers in Trouble: Financial Governance, Liberalisation and Crises in East Asia, which already appeared within one year after the erosion of the Asian crisis. Jomo’s introduction to the volume anticipated much of the subsequent literature on the causes of the Asian crisis. Jomoks@yahoo.com

Asia and Europe Should Cooperate Anew

There is an urgent need and a real opportunity for closer Asian-European cooperation in international affairs in the light of the Bush administration’s aggressive unilateralist since the 11 September attacks. Yet, in practice, the argument must not be based on one-time warnings or on its rejection. That was the timely and important message given by professor Jomo Kwame Sundaram from the University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur at the recent IIA S public lecture ‘Asian-European relations after September 11’.

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Psychiatry in Asia

Academic interest in the history of psychiatry and a general fascination with how ‘madness’ fared during the modern period were particularly prominent in Western countries during the 1970s and 1980s in the wake of Foucault’s ground-breaking work on Madness and Civilization and the high-profile campaigns of the anti-psychiatry movement. More recently, problems arising from the de-institutionalization of the mentally ill and the search for safe and financially and socially viable community care options and preventative mental health care measures have rekindled this earlier interest.

By Waltraud Ernst

Research on the development of psychiatry and mental illness in non-Western countries has, with only a few exceptions, been less prodigious. After all, any engagement with psychiatry in Asia poses wide-ranging methodological and conceptual challenges. Not only should such research concern itself with the complex array of interactions and exchanges between Western science-based psychological medicine and Asian medical systems and community (‘folk’) care practices, it also requires an adequate understanding of the economics and cultural politics of colonialism and globalization.

The articles presented here fill the existing gap. Importantly, their authors are cognizant of the specific political and cultural context of Western psychiatry as well as being attuned to the wider colonial and post-colonial political settings of specific indigenous modes of healing.

They have also steered clear of the legacy of high-profile yet unduly limiting and simplistic notions, such as Fannin’s assumption of a ‘colonial condition’ and the hackneyed Foucauldian suggestion of an all-pervasive and subjugating Western psychiatric ‘gaze’. Writing in the tradition of the latter tended to focus on Western hegemonic discourse and assumed that colonial subjects were at best able to ‘respond to’ and ‘resist’ Western discourses of colonial or medical power. Those treading in Fannin’s footsteps emphasized that the colonized and their post-colonial brethren had so internalized their colonizers’ derogatory perspective that they fell into a state of quasi-pathological, lethargic passivity. Both approaches led to all too sweeping generalizations and re-tained largely teleological in orientation, implicitly tak- ing Western colonial and post-colonial discourses as their major point of reference.

The articles presented here put emphasis on interactions and exchanges. They challenge preconceived notions, such as the Westernization of mental health services in the East need always be the first step towards cultural hegemo- ny and is necessarily bad news for the mentally ill and their families. National political reform and ongoing market changes that have opened China to the West have recently led to accounts examining the abuse of psychiatric practice as a means of social control, torture, and punishment in the style familiar from Nazi-Germany and the Soviet Gulag peri- od. As Chen argues in her article on China, in regard to health care provision for the general public, patients and their families have benefited from the wider availability of services.

In addition, although Western biomedically-focused approaches have been introduced, they are subject to changes, some of which lead to further refinement and even more profound insights. As Hartnack shows in her article on the fate of psychoanalysis within the context of British India, judgement on the alleged validity of some Freudian models depended very much on which side of the colonial divide its practitioners were placed. For example, in the 1940s the renowned colonial psychiatrist Berkeley-Hill proclaimed, in the well-docu- mented tradition of Western colonial arrogance, that Indians lacked a psychological disposition to leadership, implying that British rule was therefore justified. The eminent Indian psychiatrist Bose, in turn, not only criticized Freud for his autocratic way of leading the International Psychoanalytical Movement, but also suggested that mental health was achieved when the father authority was challenged, fought, and overcome, not by submitting to it.

In relation to the chequered career of psychoanalysis in China, Zhang too shows that national politics exerted an important influence. Prior to the Revolution Freud’s ideas were received by the intelligentsia as a new liberating influ- ence on traditional society, whilst afterwards they came to be exposed as a manifestation of bourgeois consciousness and decadence. Since the 1980s psychoanalysis has been incor- porated into psychiatric practice as one alongside other meth- ods in mainland China: if the trends emerging in Taiwan and Hong Kong give an indication of things to come in mainland China, here, too, culture-specific modifications like the ones that occurred earlier in Japan are likely to become more prominent.

The article by Speziale draws attention away from East- West and East-East interactions, emphasizing the pluralist nature of health care on the Indian Subcontinent. Although British colonial rule constituted a rupture and turning point in the modern history of India, setting the stage for westernization and globalization, it was not the first such rupture during the course of the last millennium, nor did it lead to the disappearance of the wide variety of traditional healing approaches that existed in South Asia. Contemporary Indian mental health care embraces a variety of provisions that are accessible to patients in different localities: Ayurveda (Hindu traditional medicine), Unani (Islamic medicine), Siddha (South Indian medicine), and a variety of ‘folk’ and local traditions alongside biomedical Western psychiatry. As Speziale shows in regard to Islamic psychiatry, it is impor- tant to keep in mind that traditions don’t remain static, but are subject to changes, some of which may lead to further endog- enous (in the case of Unani pharmaco-therapy) whilst others suffer from commercialization (as in the case of medic- oreligious tourism).

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Buddhism, Psychology, and Geopolitics

Asian traditions have too often been distorted by being caught up in Western debates over the supposedly necessary opposition of religion and science. Those who find the Western scientific worldview uncongenial treat Eastern philosophies with exaggerated reverence. Scientists with a distaste for New Age superfluities dismiss them as pseudo-scientific. Neither position is helpful. A more informed engagement between Buddhism and Western psychology has emerged over recent decades. It indicates a more productive way forward, helped by recent changes in psychology.

Deconstruction, the postmodern insight into the discursive production of knowledge, demonstrates that what we know is more context-bound than the rhetoric of modernity had led us to believe. It has produced the ‘skepticism towards meta-narratives’ identified by Lyotard as the essence of the postmodern condition. It means the end of scientific, religious, or political claims to predominance. This is not to retreat into relativism but to move towards pluralism and a more even-handed treatment of what different ways of encountering the world might have to offer, both alone and in combination. This is the postmodern condition. It is the geopolitical context in which interaction between Buddhism and Western psychology now proceeds.

Here we look briefly at the history of interaction, review some changes in Western psychology, and conclude with a short comparison of Buddhist and Western attitudes to suffering. New meaning is synthesized from cultural forms that would previously have been considered too distant in time and space. Thus, the postmodern geopolitical context promotes a more productive and even-handed interaction between Buddhism and psychology.

Changes in psychology

From the late 1950s until the early 1990s psychology’s pre-dominant paradigm was cognitivism, whose metaphor for mental life was information processing or, more formally, computation. Although richer than the behaviorism it displaced, it was just as scientific in its denial of subjectivity. Feelings, intentions, and experience, ‘what it’s like to be’ a mental subject, were effectively excluded from the discipline. It was assumed that sufficient data had been gathered, these would prove to be reducible to information processing, computation or even to physics.

This was a distant legacy of the Enlightenment: the belief that the mind might be reduced to physical laws could be discovered beneath all of experience, from the movements of the planets to the operations of the human mind. This belief influenced the nineteenth-century union of philosophy and experimental science that is modern psychology. Then the scientific revolution seemed to be reaching some sort of culmination, it seemed possible that nature, including mental life and consciousness, might be completely reducible to physical laws. This enthusiasm touched the founders of modern psychology, who were confident that as the science of mental life progressed, pre-scientific traditions such as religions would be discarded as oppressive superstitions.

The twentieth century has brought such confidence to an end. Although science and technology have become more powerful than even the enthusiasts of the late nineteenth century could have imagined, the belief that the mind might be reducible to physics has vanished. Ironically, this is due to scientific discoveries showing that given the right conditions, the material world self-organizes into complex systems that have emergent properties not pre-figured in any particular part of the system. Hence reductionism fails: no inventory of parts taken at a particular instant can predict how a system will behave as a whole.

Postmodernism is in part a response to discovering such limitations of the Enlightenment legacy. It has created a more eclectic cultural condition in which the science that has limited psychology is being overcome. The mechanistic worldview of nineteenth-century science is being replaced by an organic view of the mind’s place in nature. Psychologists are re-discovering William James’ insight that mental life cannot be reduced to physical laws or formal rules. Feeling, rather than information processing, is now taken as the primordial character of mental life. After decades of neglect, consciousness has regained its position as the most important topic in psychology. Experience is no longer approached as something to be explained away, but as something intrinsic to living systems.

In short, Western psychology is regaining consciousness. As it does so, it comes face to face with the facts of subjectivity and selfhood. But since science achieved its predominance by treating the world in strictly objective terms, this produces a creative tension. It exposes the need to broaden scientific methods.

Postmodernism helps; in its constructive form by promoting the synthesis of diverse traditions, in its deconstructive form by showing that scientific discoveries and methods are more historically contingent than had been supposed. Rather than dogmatically claiming that science cuts out what is ‘really real’, it now takes its place among many modes of discourse through which people make a worldview.

To paraphrase the contemporary philosopher Richard Rorty: “Truth is not the suppression of error, but the recognition of error.”

In psychology this means a return to including lived experience as primary data, as William James, Henri Bergson, and Edmund Husserl proposed. This opens the way to a deeper interaction with Buddhism, which from its inception, had done just that. Over two and a half thousand years of critical refinement and assimilation has made it one of the most enduring efforts to understand the human condition and its difficulties. With the vigorous growth of Western psychology and with the more informed interactions with Buddhism of recent times, the path towards the two traditions is well underway. The consequences are unpredictable, but they are likely to be useful and timely.

Suffering

Part of the Enlightenment legacy was the belief and expectation that life would be made better. Science and technology would replace religious dogma and lead society to rational justice and plenty. In many respects this has proved to be true. In westernized cultures, disease, pain, and want are controllable as never before. The life span is increasing and there is an abundance of goods and pleasures.

Yet dissatisfaction and suffering are as much a part of life as ever they were. In some ways they are made worse by the media and advertising technology, perhaps the most significant technology of recent times, which manufactures desire by manipulating moods. It spreads images of rich lifestyles over the globe, increasing the desire to consume and to possess. But these lifestylles are unsustainable for the majority of the world’s population and in any case they are unsustainably produced. The environment is already producing violence and further suffering. A sense of unease is growing, but this gets little attention in most psychology. Computational models of consumer choice are more likely to be true than examination of the consequences of consumerism.

The psychology of mental illness is perhaps an exception here. Over the past couple of decades a few psychiatrists and psychotherapists, advocates of what is called eco psychology, have suggested that individual disorder may reflect a wider sense of a disordered world. Part of the suffering felt by the mentally ill may be an awareness that technology is running out of control and doing violent damage.

Ecopsychology aims at: ‘Healing the mind, restoring the earth’. Its advocates know that this requires a deeper, inter- nalized, appreciation of the interdependence of human mental life and the life of other beings. Here, there is a signific- ant contrast between East and West. The modern Western image of the human condition is that it stands apart from a world, which thus becomes the object of manipulation. A contrasting Eastern image is that of India’s net, the avataamsaka net. It symbolizes a world of organic interconnectedness in which the life of every part, including that of human beings, reflects the life of every other.

Healers informed by these different images may approach suffering differently. Western medicine has had great suc- cess in identifying physical illness with single causes. Accord- ingly, suffering will tend to be treated as if it meant the pres- sure of something alien. Buddhism, by contrast, takes suffering to be part of normal existence. Hence its treatment will tend to be sought in better adjustment to the conditions of life.

Cyber-colonization dominates contemporary geopolitics. In the short term, this may commodify Asian traditions into more spiritual fashion accessories. But in the longer term, their depth and resilience will maintain their authenticity. The postmodern turn promotes a richer interaction, beyond the opposition of religion and science, in which no one way of encountering the world predominates. In this pluralistic framework, new meaning is synthesized in constructive, informed discourse between traditions. Hence Buddhism and psychology can recognize each other as two of many approaches to the universal condition of exercising human consciousness within a world not of our making.

Bibliography

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Psychoanalysis in the Chinese Context

Psychoanalysis is no stranger in contemporary China, though discussion and practice were suppressed during the first decades of the People’s Republic. Today it is once again established, both as a therapeutic speciality and as an approach to human nature and culture. Although ‘psychoanalysis’ is often listed under ‘abnormal psychology’ in the Chinese library system, the concepts of the unconscious, infantile sexuality, libido, and ego have gradually become part of the interpretive vocabulary of the public.

By Jingsong Zhang

The rise and fall and rise of psychoanalysis in China have been closely tied to political events. Freudians (Felsia 2004) attracted attention in China at about the same time that it was becoming popular in Europe, hard on the heels of Darwinism and Marxism, as part of a general explosion of Western culture in China at the end of the Qing and the beginning of the new Republic in the first decades of the twentieth century. Chinese intellectuals wrote many introductory books and essays on psychoanalysis and translated half a dozen of Freud’s main works, even one into ele-

classical Chinese.

Before the 1949 revolution, Chinese writers and thinkers puzzling over the weaknesses of traditional society and struggled to formulate a new cultural, moral, and political vision of China in the idea of Freud’s work. But Freud’s most widespread and conspicuous influence was in literary criticism and in literature itself, and especially the literature of individualism and romance. Prominent critics such as Shen Congwen and Zhu Shenghong have all discussed psychoanalytic concepts in their works. Appli-

cation of Freud’s ideas even extended even to the critical exami-
nation of ancient Chinese texts, for example in Wen Yiduo’s defense of symbolism in the Shijing (Book of Songs). But as the concept of psychoanalysis was matur-
ing, the attention of the nation was drawn more immediately pressing issues: the Japanese invasion and the civil war. After the founding of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, psychoanalysis was criticized as an element of bourgeois ideology. It understood problems on an individual scale; it seemed to indulge petty weaknesses. The Soviet-approved ‘adventures’ of Pavlovian experimental psychology, which fitted the self-contained and emotive tone of official social doctrine, and became the lead-

ing model for the discipline of psychology in China. Only with the intellectual re-opening in the 1980s did psychoanalysis re-emerge in China. In the 1990s, it is an anxiety to understand alternative to Marxist sociology, though its focus on sex made psychoanalysis an easy target for the occasional campaigns against Western ‘spiritual pollution’. Psychoanalytic therapists in China have attempted to resist severe control over culture and thought.

Interest in psychoanalysis had revived by the mid-1980s, and many more works have now been translated, represent-
ing Freudian and other schools. Compared to the Republi-
can period, there is today a greater focus on therapeutic prac-
tice, partly due to the growing general interest in psy-
chotherapy in a rapidly changing society that puts increasing strain on individuals, and to the new regular exchanges between Chinese and Western psychologists. Conferences, training workshops, and treatment clinics have flourished. Medical schools regularly offer training classes and work-
shops on psychotherapy and psychiatry run by Wester-
ners. All major universities now offer therapeutic services for stu-
dents, and there are telephone helplines such as the ‘Women’s Hotline’, with varying reliance on psychoanalytic approaches.

In China, as elsewhere in today’s intercultural world, it is hard to find ‘strict’ Freudian clinical practice: a patient lying on a couch and free-associating for a largely silent doctor. Psychoanalysis in China is often practiced in a way that seems to appeal to many schools and becoming less dogmatic. The ‘talking cure’ is indeed emphasized, but in the form of conversations in which psychological theories tend to suggest ideas rather than prescribe a method. Psychoanalytic therapists in Taipei, says that he usually tells his patients a little more than what they are ready to accept, but not so much as they do not return.

The psychoanalytic scene in Taiwan is even more vibrant...
As a psychoanalytically oriented critic in the field of Japanese literature, I find that my work often meets with resistance from other Asianists who view psychoanalysis as a fundamentally Western theory that cannot be transcended. Many Japanese scholars are averse to the idea of psychoanalysis and have a historical reason for their skepticism, which is essentially rooted in their own cultural and historical contexts.


Research > Japan

Psychoanalysis in Japan

By Andrea Alvis

In my own experience, it is these innovative models that attract the most interest from non-Japanese. Therefore, following a brief introduction to the history of psychoanalysis in Japan, the core of my article is devoted to three of the most interesting theories from Japanese analysts: Kosawa Heisaku’s Ajase complex, Doi Takeo’s ideas on amae, and Kitayama Osamu’s study of the ‘Don’t Look’ taboo.

The mainstream Kosawa School and its members aside, there are many other psychoanalytically oriented psychologists – owing to their lack of a medical degree and/or classical Freudian orientation – have been excluded from the core of the IPA and moved its head-office to Sendai. This interest deepened in the 1920s, during the course of several years of study with Adolf Meyer at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland. In 1933, as the head of a group of psychoanalytically oriented psychiatrists, Marui received approval from Freud to establish the first Japanese branch of the International Psychoanalytic Association (IPA) in Sendai.

‘The Kosawa School’, centered on students trained by Kosawa Heisaku, became the core of psychoanalytic activity after World War II. A student of Marui, Kosawa left to study at the Vienna Psychoanalytic Institute from 1932–35, and established a psychoanalytic practice in Tokyo upon returning to Japan. In 1939, after Marui’s death, Kosawa became head of the Japanese branch of the IPA and moved its headquarters to Tokyo. Students trained by Kosawa form the core of the present Japanese branch of the IPA, known familiarly as the ‘Japanese Psychoanalytical Association’. These psychoanalytically oriented psychiatrists, while recognizing the theories, I will discuss below, Doi Takeo and Okonogi Keigo. As members of the Japanese Psychoanalytical Association, these students (and those of their own trainees) form the mainstream of psychoanalysis in Japan.

Psychoanalytic theories from Japan

Three members of the Japanese Psychoanalytical Association present original theories to the international psychoanalytic community: Kosawa Heisaku, Doi Takeo, and Kitayama Osamu. Doi Takeo, (trained by Okonogi Keigo). Doi Takeo’s ideas on amae, developed from his studies with Kosawa, who formulated his model of a mother-centred Ajase complex in the 1930s, all three paradigms focus on the mother (rather than the Oedipal father) as the centre of psychic life. In the interest of thematic unity, I will discuss the three theories out of chronological order, beginning with Doi’s validation of positive mother-child interaction and proceeding to Kosawa’s and Kitayama’s discussions of more ambivalent mother-child bonds.

Amae

The most well-known theory of the Kosawa School is that of amae, formulated by Doi Takeo. Doi defines the concept of amae as ‘the feelings that all normal infants at the breast harbour towards the mother… the desire to be passively loved, the unwillingness to be separated from the warm mother-child circle and cast into a world of objective “reality.”’ (1973:7). While recognizing similarities between the concept of amae and Michael Balint’s idea of ‘passive object love’, Doi’s early work links the idea of amae to a number of other words/concepts in Japanese culture, such as enryo (restraint), and gru:ninji (social obligation vs. human feeling).

Beginning in the 1970s, Kosawa’s school of psychoanalytic practice in Tokyo upon returning to Japan, and Michael Balint’s ideas on the prototype for amae in the nursing infant’s relationship with the mother and her breast. In this sense, amae could be viewed as an attempt to deny the fact of separation that is such an inescapable part of human existence and to obliterate the pain of separation. However, as Doi Takeo points out, amaee plays an indispensable role in a healthy spiritual life. If it is unrealistic to close one’s eyes completely to the fact of separation, it is equally unrealistic to be overwhemed by it and isolate oneself in despair over the possibility of human relationships (1973:73). Thus, amaee involves a constellation of feelings that emphasize a positive sense of connection to the mother over a supposedly painful separation from her.

The Ajase complex

By contrast, Kosawa’s Ajase model, based on Buddhist legend, delineates more ambivalent mother-child bonds.

Kosawa derived his theory from two Buddhist sources: the Daishō Nihonron (The History of the Establishment of Buddhism in Japan) by Kannonshō Jikkyō (Sutta of the Contemplation of Infinite Life). Both stories describe how the Prince Ajatasatru (‘Ajase’ in Japanese) was sent by the Buddha for murderous impulses to his parents: not only has he imprisoned his father Binbasharha in order to keep him away from the palace, he has also drawn his sword on his mother, Idake, when he discovered her secret-feeding Binbasharha with food. However, in both stories, the Buddha’s words shaped very different aspects of the legend. While the Nihonshō’ version centres on father-son hostility, the Kannonshō focuses on conflict in the mother-son bond.

Kosawa’s theory of the Ajase complex was inspired by the Kan-nan-yorikyū’s materially focused story line.

Kosawa’s writings on the Ajase complex stress conflict deriving from a subject’s primary endeavour to work through intrapsychic processes in the context of the mother-child bond. Firstly, he underscores the non-genital nature of mother-child relationships – specifically, that their prototype (Kosawa, similar to Melanie Klein, apparently interprets Ajase’s sword as a tooth rather than a penis). Secondly, he places strong emphasis on the conflict of the relationship with the mother, composed of both loving and hostile impulses. In the legend, it should be noted, Ajatasatru attempts to murder his mother, but is dissuaded by a minister. Thirdly, Kosawa views the (re)establishing of a positive mother-child dyad as essential to psychic health.

Beginning in the 1970s, Kosawa’s student Okonogi Keigo revised and developed the Ajase theory. Okonogi’s writings on the Ajase complex also emphasize the subject’s endeavour to work through ambivalent impulses in the mother-child bond; however, he locates the origin of mother-child conflict in maternal sexuality. For Okonogi, Ajase’s matricidal rage stems from the discovery of Idake’s exclusive, and excluding relationship with Binbashara, Hinana. Okonogi terms this anger at the child’s discovery of his or her origin in the parent’s sexual relationship with his/her maternal grandparent. In his most recent work, Okonogi discusses the Ajase complex as an interpysical model for understanding not only children’s ambivalence towards their mothers but also women’s ambivalence of maternity.

The ‘pre-Oedipal’ taboo

Kitayama’s theory of the ‘pre-Oedipal’ taboo, like the Ajase complex, focuses on a pre-natal unconscious towards the mother. In this model, however, guilt concerns fears that reproductive functions such as birth and nursing have irreparable damage developmental bonds.

Kitayama draws on several Japanese folktales that portray relations between a human husband and non-human wife. The husband begins with animal transforming itself into a wife and marrying a human male. The animal/wife proves to be a productive homemaker and loving spouse; however, ever, she forbids her husband to watch her as she performs a specific task, such as nursing, giving birth or weav-
Freud on Garuda’s Wings
Psychoanalysis in Colonial India

The Inland Psychoanalytical Society was founded in 1921 by Girindrasekhara Bose, a Bengali Hindu physician. Bose and the other twelve Indian founding members of the Society belonged to the urbanized Western educated Bengali elite, the Bhadralok. These men had access to the latest intellectual trends in Europe, but could at the same time draw on a rich fund of indigenous knowledge. The members of the Indian Psychoanalytical Society concurred with Freud’s notion of the unconscious. Like him, they were convinced of the importance of dreams and of traumatic events. They did, however, question several of Freud’s core concepts and methods. This contribution presents some of the culture-specific elements of psychoanalysis that did not travel from Vienna to India, and those that were altered or were specific to conditions of colonialism.

Freud experienced life in two cultures: the one that he came from as a Moravian Jew, and the one into which he assimilated as an urban Viennese intellectual. Through his formulation of transculturally valid laws and universal-applicable truths, Freud could, at least ideally, overcome the feeling of belonging to a minority. The Bhadralok also lived under conditions of cultural hybridity. They functioned in a British colonial world during the world war, and were Bengali the rest of the time. Unlike Freud, they belonged to a majority. Bose never gave up wearing traditional Bengalí cloth and following Hindu Bengali customs and proudly wrote in Bengali asserting that his British colleagues should learn Bengali if they were interested in these texts. In addition, he openly criticized Freud for running the International Psychoanalytical Movement ‘like a church’, and emphasized that his Bengali patients differed from Europeans.

Bose replaced Freud’s emblematic couch with a deck chair. I assume that he did this because an upholstered chaise-longue would not have stood the humidity in Bengal. There is a certain irony in this choice though. By choosing a colonial piece of furniture, Bose ‘went West’. By covering his couch with an oriental rug, Freud, on the other hand, ‘went East’.

Shaped by the intellectual currents of the late nineteenth century, Freud – like Karl Marx and Charles Darwin – adhered to chronological-, causal-, and progress-oriented concepts. Freud emphasized the importance of individual history, and compared his psychoanalytic work with that of an archaeologist who uncovers hidden layers.

Bose, on the other hand, identified himself with an engineer who fixes circuits. His ‘theory of opposite wishes’ and the application of a ‘reverse mechanism’ reveal that his theoretical and practical work was based on the assumption of an essential bipolarity. However, in opposition to the subject-object dichotomies that play an important role in European cultures, his philosophical understanding was that of principal unity.

Both men realized that their philosophical views and psychoanalytic methods differed considerably, as is evident in their correspondence, which spans the period from 1921 to 1937. In a letter dated 1 January 1933, Freud, for example, expressed his view on one of Bose’s revisions: ‘the theory of opposite wishes strikes me as something less dynamic than morphological.’ (Sinha 1966:431)

‘The man Moses’ facing Hindu gods and goddesses

Freud took an androcentric monotheism for granted. He was more than puzzled by the Hindu pantheon, and expressed openly how bored he was by Indian visitors, such as the author Rabindranath Tagore, the philosopher Suren- dranath Dasgupta, and the linguist Suniti Kumar Chatterji. In a letter to Romain Rolland, written in 1930, Freud commented on this writer’s enchantment with Indian culture: ‘I shall now try with your guidance to penetrate into the Indian jungle from which until now an uncertain blending of Hellenic love of proportion, Jewish sobriety, and philistine timidity have kept me away.’ (Hartnack 2001:138)

In his correspondence with Freud, Bose explicitly pointed to the importance of the maternal duites in his culture. Other Indian psychoanalysts even criticized classical Freudian psychoanalysis for being a product of a ‘father religion or Sin religion’. This is especially ironic, since Freud had deconstructed the role of religion, and was – unlike his Indian colleagues – rather secular.

Freud derived his insights primarily from his therapies with highly educated upper-middle-class Viennese women patients who lived in patriarchially structured nuclear families. These women often envied their brothers and other men for being able to make use of their education and for enjoying social freedoms. Freud’s notion of penis envy thus also reflects the social situation of his women patients in early twentieth century Vienna.

Bose, on the other hand, treated mainly upper-middle-class westernized Bengali Hindu men. Among them he had discovered ‘a wish to be female’. He wrote to Freud in 1929: ‘The desire to be a female is more easily unearthed in Indian male patients than in European.’ (Sinha 1966:430) In aesthetic analysis, Freud’s women patients in Vienna, these Bengali men were also hindered in their development – in their case by the realities of colonialism. It is likely that they envied Bengali women who were only indirectly affected by British domination. Moreover, femininity was represented by powerful goddesses and therefore associated with desirable traits.

In Bengali joint families in the early part of the twentieth century, the biological father was only one of several patriarchal figures, and the biological mother just one of several maternal authorities, resulting in multiple sources of affectations and emotional bonds as well as ‘hydra-like’ (Kakar 1982:420) confrontations with authorities. The direction of aggression, too, differed in European and Indian texts and folkloric traditions. As A.K. Ramanujan (1983, p.252) pointed out, in Indian literature the aggressor is often the father and not the son, as in the classical Oedipus tale, because the father is jealous of his wife’s devotion to her son.

It is therefore not surprising that Bose rejected Freud’s view of the transcultural universality of the Oedipus complex. In 1929, he sent him thirteen of his psychoanalytical articles, noting: ‘I would draw your particular attention to my paper on the Oedipus wish where I have ventured to doff from you in some respects.’ Bose claimed, for example, that its resolutions ‘are quite girt with philosophic surety, the father’s authority, and not by a submission to it: ‘I do not agree with Freud when he says that the Oedipus wish usually succumbs to the authority of the super-ego. Quite the reverse is the case’. And he changed the phrase:

‘The Oedipus [conflict] is resolved not by the threat of castration, but by the ability to castrate.’ (Hartnack 2001:148)

The politics of psychoanalysis: imperial versus colonial conditions

Until 1947, India was a British colony. This implied that the Indian Psychoanalytical Society had not only Indian, but also British members. For example, Lieutenant Owen Berkeley-Hill, a psychiatrist in the British army, used psychoanalysis to help British patients in the European Men- tal Hospital in Ranchi to adjust – or re-adjust – to life in a colonial piece of furniture. Bose ‘went West’. By covering his couch with an oriental rug, Freud, on the other hand, ‘went East’. With Bose ‘went West’. By covering his couch with an oriental rug, Freud, on the other hand, ‘went East’.

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Tradition & Modernization of Islamic Psychiatric Care in the Subcontinent

By Fabrizio Speziale

Islamic medicine and psychiatric care were introduced to the Indian subcontinent in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, during the Muslim invasion of the region. Today Muslim medicine offers a psychiatric care system alternative to that of biomedicine and is used by Muslims and non-Muslims alike. The inclusion of a secular branch of Islamic medicine (see below) in the state public health systems of the region has led to increased modernization of the traditional and, consequently, to important changes in its scientific identity and to the decline of particular treatments.

Unani medicine and psychiatry

In unani theory the interpretation of psychiatric disorders is based on the doctrines of Galen (d. 200 ca.) and Avicenna (Ibn Sina, d. 1037), and the physiology of the four humors (blood, phlegm, yellow, and black bile) that circle the body. Humors are a combination of the four universal elements (fire, air, water, earth) and have four basic qualities (hot, cold, dry, and moist). Individual health is a state of relative equilibrium of the humors, characterized by the dominance of one humor, which determines mizaj, the individual temperament (for example, the dominance of phlegm makes phlegmatic or melancholic characters respectively). Alteration and excess of humors produces diseases, in particular black bile (cold and dry), which induces depressive disorders. Excess of yellow bile (hot and dry) leads to hysteria and maniacal disorders.

The aim of the physician is to restore the normal mizaj of the person, by different means. Pharmacotherapy is today the most common. University pharmaceutical laboratories (such as Hamdard in Delhi and the Tihraa College of Aligarh) offer traditional drug compounds and new chemical drugs such as mania, hysteria, epilepsy, melancholia, and sleep and sexual disorders. In the past, treatments such as phlebotomy, cupping, Turkish baths, aroma-therapy, poetry reading, and music-therapy, were used, and clinical cases of Muslim physicians using suggestion and cognitive therapies are well documented in literature. Due to the impact of modernization, however, these are rarely practised today.

Religious medicine

In religious medicine the interpretation of human suffering is part of a wider spiritual and ethical framework. According to Islamic psychology, human personality has two fundamental components, the nafs (pl. nafs) or individual ego, and the nafs (pl. arwah), or soul, conceived as aggregates of different nafs and arwah. On account of its relation to desires, sin, and fruition of desire’s of Satan, the lower nafs is the origin of psychological suffering. Thus, the nafs are hierarchically ordered - from the lower nafs (“prone to evil”), to the “perfect” or “satisfied” nafs. Psychiatric disorders are commonly interpreted as possession by the nafs, and even the shaitan (devil) and jinn (spirits, spirits mentioned in the Quran as created from fire, who inhabit a subtle world in which mankind is immersed, as into a liquid).

Masters of the sufis orders are traditional religious healers who treat instances of possession and other ailments by recitations of the Quran, talismans, and prescription of behaviors, rituals, and religious instructions. A cardinal element of these healing rituals is the pilgrimage to shrines and tombs of sufis, where healers usually reside and where incubation of healing dreams is a common practice.

Muslim medical institutions

A main contribution to Muslim medicine in India was the introduction of the Arab model of the hospital, where patients of all backgrounds (regardless of caste and religion) were treated free of charge. It facilitated the diffusion of Islamic medicine among non-Muslims. Hospitals were often provided with wards for the insane, where drugs, as well as music-therapy and Turkish baths, amongst other things, were applied. The first known psychiatric wards of Muslim India were founded in Delhi and Mandu, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the post-colonial epoch, surviving unani hospitals were incorporated into the state health system and new ones were created. The role of traditional asylum institutions, however, was taken over by modern psychiatric hospitals.

Since medieval times some sufis shrines have specialized in the treatment of psychiatric disorders. These institutions, called dargahs, are architectural compounds which can include tombs, a mausoleum, houses, a mosque, and even rooms for patients. Traditionally, both unani hospitals and dargahs were endowed with donations and properties (houses) by Muslim kings. Muslim saints could provide protection, quite specifically against illness and possession by devils, but also more in general, during critical phases of life. Even today, sufis shrines working as psychiatric hospitals and shrines are common in many urban and rural areas, and are visited by patients from all social classes and religious backgrounds.

Some dargahs provide tens of rooms, which are rented to patients and their relatives. Those possessed by dangerous evils are put in chains and some of them might reside in a dargah for months or years. Not uncommonly, most of the patients in dargahs in the cities have previously been treated unsuccessfully with drugs in a public psychiatric facility. With the help of donations from wealthy pilgrims, many dargahs also offer meals for the poor.

Tradition and modernization

The two branches of Islamic psychiatry have responded in their own different ways to the colonial and post-colonial processes of globalization, and the confrontation with biomedicine. Both traditions have adapted their identity and role to accommodate contemporary social, political, and economical changes. The unani school and its hospitals have lost important traditional features, but have also retained a refined pharmaceutical therapy that, through mass advertising in the cities, can today compete with modern drugs and has found a definite place in the Indian urban-patient and globalized pharmaceutical market.

Conversely, the popularity of sufis who treat psychiatric patients has not been affected by modern institutions. However, important aspects of the sufis tradition in particular have been subject to considerable change. While previously sufis were among the main practitioners of unani medicine, they lost their dual role as doctor and instructor in the post-independence period, when the teaching of unani medicine (which had previously been institutionalized in universities. The large influx of pilgrims to many of the dargahs nowadays feeds a prolific market of medico-religious tourism that is profoundly changing the ethos of the profession. The result is that sufis, who traditionally did not accept money, are increasingly being replaced by a new type of smart and business-minded spiritual healer, who may not have any relation to sufis orders.

Bibliography

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Bidesia: Migration, Change, and Folk Culture

The ‘Bidesia: Migration, Change, and Folk Culture’ project deals with the memory of migration, which flows in various cultural forms in the homeland as well as in destinations of migrants. The historical reality of international migration provides a basis of common cultural heritage for people of Indian descent in the various regions in the world, though each region has an interesting cultural story in itself. The joint experiences of these migrants, however, make it clear that common cultural heritage is not only fixed in places and things, like fortresses, shipwrecks, archives, and arts, but also travels around the world in the minds of men and women who, as migrants with their own culture as baggage, are either obliged or choose, to face new futures in foreign countries.

In the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century, as the abolition of slavery progressed around the world, European colonies found themselves in great need of manpower for their plantations. India, meanwhile, was suffering from an economic depression, due to both the decline of the weaving industry caused by the Industrial Revolution in England, and the extreme population pressure on agricultural and cultivable lands. This pressure on the resources of the country, combined with the colonial masters’ demand for cheap and abundant labour, led to the migration of a large number of migrant labourers from the Bhojpur region.

The Bhojpur region is a cultural entity that transcends political borders. This area comprises the eastern part of Uttar Pradesh and the western part of Bihar in India. In the north, it reaches across the river Ganges and past the Nepal frontier, up to the lower ranges of the Himalayas, from Chaparan to Busti. In the south, it crosses the Son River and covers the great plateau of Chotanagpur, where it finds itself in contact with the Bengali of Mambhum, the Orya of Singhbhum, and the scattered tribal languages of the Chotanagpur plateau. The area covered by Bhojpur is some fifty thousand square miles; more than 15 per cent of the total Indian population speaks Bhojpuri.

Bhojpuri culture can boast national and even international spread, due to the large-scale migration from this region. The descendants of those migrants, who have now integrated into the societies of the countries to which their ancestors were originally taken, also use this language. Bhojpur is mainly spoken in Mauritius, Fiji, Suriname, British Guyana, and Uganda, as well as in some parts of Burma and Nepal. The people of Indian descent in various regions across the world can thus claim a common cultural heritage based on the historical reality of the migration from the Bhojpur region.

Culture, change, and migration

Migration is usually considered an economic phenomenon, but it also creates a cultural phenomenon in both the homeland and the land of destination. For the Bhojpuri people, this migration was first and foremost a heavy emotional loss. Many relationships were torn apart – wives torn from husbands, sisters torn from brothers, fathers from their older age support, and mothers from the ‘apples of their eyes’. All were leaving for foreign shores and there was no way to hold them back. The social, economic, political, and historical manifestations of colonial imperialism were drawing them to this migration, which was more of a forced migration for the Bhojpuris. This economic compulsion is expressed in the folk tradition of the people of the Bhojpur region of India, and the following folk song clearly expresses the pain and suffering that they feel:

In spite of the best efforts of the Bhojpuri people, the migration did not stop. As a result, both externally and internally, the pain of loss and separation became an important aspect of Bhojpuri society. This pain gave birth to a distinct folklore, which emerged as an expression of the pain and anguish of the migrants’ separation from their families.

Bidesia folk tradition

Bidesia was the affectionate form of address given to the migrants by loved ones who were left behind in the homeland, and so lends its name to the new folk culture that emerged out of this migration, bidesia folk culture. This folk culture is represented in many forms, such as nautanki (musical theatre), dramas, folk songs, and folk paintings. It is a complete folk culture, or holistic folk tradition, which developed as an outcome of the vacuum caused by the departure of the migrant Bhojpuris. In this project, the term bidesia will be studied, not only in its nautanki form but also in its role as a metaphor for cultural tradition that emerged in and around the migration of Bhojpuri people.

In bidesia folk culture, the migrants are referred to as bidesia, pardesi, batohia, and other terms, which contain elements of both affection and complaint for leaving the loved ones behind. These three terms of address represent three different kinds of folk tradition: firstly, in bidesia culture, the chances of return of these migrants were slim. When leaving his an muluk, or native place, the migrant brought all ties with his loved ones. Secondly, in the pardesi culture, the migrant is forced to leave his native place in order to earn a living, but still maintains communication ties with his family. The pain of this semi-permanent migration still remains, however, and even though in the Bhojpuri folk songs, a pardesi may be called bidesia in complaining tones, but a bidesia is very seldom called pardesi. Finally, in batohia culture, the bidesia comes back as a traveller to his native place and resumes normal communication ties.

It seems that the use of the word bidesia for migrant labourers in Bhojpuri folk songs began after the year 1837, when migration from the region began. Since very little folk tradition is difficult to fix the exact time period. From what is documented, little as it may be, it can be said that in 1850 Kesodas, a Sadhu following Kabir’s ideology in one of his nighs compositions, used the term videsh – referring to overseas migration – instead of pardes – referring to internal migration:

Bhoare naakain moh bhoawan
Ho Ram, videsh gavan
(Why did you make me lose my consciousness, O bidesia?
I am suffering constantly day and night.
Why did you lock your eyes with mine, O bidesia?)

The composition of bidesia folk songs also began in this time period, and later formed the basis for the bidesia folk culture. In these songs as well, as can be seen in the previous stanza, the word videsh, and not the word pardes, was used as a first time as a tek, or repetitive ending to a song line. Scholars believe that this was the special feature of bidesia folk tradition.

In this time period, a form of folk theatre also called bidesia theatre emerged in the Bhojpur region. Bidesia theatre drew huge audiences, especially when performed by Bhikhi Thakur and his acting troupe – Bhikhi Thakur himself composed many popular bidesia plays. Each play was filled with bidesia songs, which were quite popular as a form of entertainment.

A study of these cultural traditions will not only allow us to understand the Bhojpuri region and its role in the world of migration, but it may also help us reconstruct the history of our ancestors.

Documenting oral memories of migration

Sadly, bidesia folk culture, which is mainly an oral tradition, is in danger of extinction today. It is thus of paramount importance to collect, document, and analyse these traditions, as one could then develop the story of Bhojpuri overseas migration by relating the traditions to other archival and secondary sources. Notably, this folk tradition is popular not only in the homeland of the migrants, but also in the foreign countries where Bhojpuri communities have been settled. Oral tales also survive in the form of popular songs and songs about migration which tell stories of migration.

By Badri Narayan Tiwari
A Thousand and One Identities 
A Meeting with Shauna Singh Baldwin, Shashi Tharoor, and Krishna Baldeo Vaid

On 26 and 27 November last year, three Indian authors presented their work in sessions in Amsterdam and Leiden. These sessions were part of the annual French literary festival Les Belles Étrangetés which invited twenty Indian authors to present their work in France. The festival organiser, the Centre National du Livre in Paris, gladly supported the IAS initiative to invite three of their guests to the Netherlands. All three authors – Shauna Singh Baldwin, Shashi Tharoor, and Krishna Baldeo Vaid – acknowledge their shared Indian identity as part of, and not in exclusive opposition to, a complex transnational identity. The perspectives of different backgrounds and the fact that their writings fall into separate categories, it proved worthwhile to bring them together to discuss their work and their opinions on the problems that arise with the political and cultural construction of identity in modern South Asian society. Identity is a prominent element in their work, but in many different forms and guises. The authors share the notion that social, cultural, or religious identities interfere and clash with the perception of individuality. In the case of Baldwin and Vaid, political events interrupt the trajectories of their protagonists and change the contours of their role in the social context. Vaid adds an existential aspect to this change by emphasizing the inherent fluidity of identity. In Tharoor’s work, this conflict is partially the ‘classical’ post-colonial rift between westernized acculturation and traditional cultural identities, but also shows a deep involvement with Indian society.

The encounter with these authors provides an excellent opportunity to explore the presentation of identity in their work a little further and also to introduce their work to that part of the readership of the newsletter that is not acquainted with modern Indian writing.

Shauna Singh Baldwin lives and works in Canada and made a spectacular debut as a novelist with What the Body Remembers (1999). This novel describes the changes and personal growth of a Sikh girl who is uprooted behind the backdrop of the horrors of the Partition of Pakistan and India. The Sikh community was more or less crushed because of the political division of the Muslim communities. Many fled the Punjab or were killed in the violent aftermath of the Partition. Rug is a Punjabi village which a young girl has to leave behind when her family, more or less forced, is driven away to Delhi. He follows later on the infamous trains from Pakistan on which many refugees are killed.

The story of the novel follows Rug’s childhood in the village, where she develops into a self-conscious and independent child, and her later life, as she learns to survive in the traditional role of her husband’s household. Identity plays an important part in the story but is never depicted as a singular notion. The characters are developed from the point of view of their struggle to cope with different roles and identities which are cast upon them by tradition and modernity. The author stresses that what extent gender and economic dependency define identity in both the traditional village and in her husband’s family. Although social constraints and the political situation determine the events in this novel, the author also suggests that there is a deeper sense of individual identity. It is expressed in the way Rug and her husband’s first wife Satya deal with the role they are given. They develop a form of inner determination and will for freedom and survival that gives them the strength to endure all kinds of hardship. Again, identity appears as complex and with many dimensions. The same goes for the perspective from which the book was written; Baldwin was born in India but has lived in Canada almost her whole life. She paints a very detailed and historically accurate picture of the cultural traditions and modern history of the Sikh community. The historical detail enriches the novel, but it also adds to a dialogic quality to the representation, reflecting different aspects of the author’s own identity.

Shashi Tharoor has published a substantial number of stories, novels, and essays in which he presents India’s literary heritage and modern history from a critical, comical, but above all, personal perspective. He grew up in various places in India and Europe and presently lives and works as an UN official in New York. Although English became his first language through education and upbringing, he never lost contact with the Marathi and Hindi which are apparent in his work. In his essays he is very open about his own multiple cultural identities and analyses the complex way new identities are formed by the interaction of the nation state India, the political system, the positive discrimination of lower castes, and the diaspora of Indians and Indo-descendants. His literary and essayistic works converge on this point, as they depict the conflicts between various cultural or transnational identities and the situations of contemporary Indians. His first successful work was The Great Indian Novel (1989), a caricatured retelling of the

Krishna Baldeo Vaid was born into a Punjabi family and a generation that witnessed the Partition of India and Pakistan in 1947. His story is partially the ‘classical’ post-colonial identity. He grew up in a rural area in the United States and has also published many novels. His latest book Vaid, the United Nations (2002) is a novel about the United Nations and reveals the complexity of the United Nations and its complexities of the United Nations and its role in shaping world politics and society.

His work looks at the role of the UN in world politics. The United Nations is a powerful institution that is often seen as an important mediator in international conflicts. Vaid’s novel explores the complex role of the UN in shaping world politics and society.

Vaid’s novel, The United Nations, is a satirical look at the UN and the complexities of international politics. The novel follows a UN diplomat who is sent to the Middle East to negotiate a peace deal. However, the diplomat becomes embroiled in a web of political machinations and is unable to bring about a peaceful resolution to the conflict.

Vaid’s novel is a critique of the UN’s role in international politics and the complexities of international relations. The novel highlights the challenges of international diplomacy and the importance of understanding the complexities of international politics.

Vaid’s novel is a reflection on the role of the UN in shaping world politics and society. It highlights the complexities of international relations and the challenges of international diplomacy. The novel is a satirical look at the UN and its role in shaping world politics and society.

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A Martyr’s Tale
The Life, Death, and Posthumous Career of Yang Jisheng

By Kenneth J. Hammond

Yang Jisheng was beheaded in Beijing in 1555. His crime was criticizing the leading political figure of his day, Yan Song. But when Yan fell from power seven years later, Yang became a posthumous hero, a Confucian martyr. Over the ensuing 450 years his image has been used by emperors, members of the literati elite, and his own descendants to promote various interests and agendas. Today his memory is again being revived to serve new interests in post-communist China.

Born in 1516 in a village about 120 km south of Beijing, Yang Jisheng led a hard life as a young man. He managed to acquire a Confucian education in the village school, pass the entry level Confucian examinations, and attend the National University in the capital. In 1547 he passed the highest examination and began his official career. After a promising start at the secondary capital in Nanjing, he was called to Beijing in 1552. However, he then submitted a memorial criticizing the policy of trading with Mongol raiders on the northern frontier supported by the chief grand secretary Yan Song. Because of this he was arrested, beaten in prison, demoted, and sent as a remote posting on the frontier of the Ming empire, in what is today Gansu province. He served there for one year, during which time he became popular with both the local elite and the commoners. He founded a school and educated children with funds raised by selling his horse and his wife’s jewels.

By the beginning of the 16th century the position of Confucianism in China was changing. Meanwhile in Lintao, in Gansu province, the school Yang Jisheng had begun in his village was flourishing. Some 75 per cent of the local population, some 3000 people, were educated there. Yang’s story might well have ended here, as just another casualty in the factional battles which plagued the imperial political system. But in 1562, Yan Song fell from power, and official like Xu Jie, who took over dominance at the Ming court, called for the rehabilitation of Yan’s political victims. Yang Jisheng was posthumously restored to office, promoted, given a memorial in the form of the new Longqing emperor ordered shrines to be built to praise his loyalty.

By this time Wang Shizhen had become one of the most influential literary and cultural figures in China. He wrote a biography of Yang which drew the portrait of a righteous martyr, a Confucian hero who sacrificed his life to oppose Yan Song’s corruption and abuse of power. The new chief grand secretary, Xu Jie, wrote a funeral epitaph for Yang praising his righteous spirit, artfully neglecting to note his own failure to defend Yang while serving as Yan Song’s subordinate. Even the often iconoclastic writer Li Zhi articulated the story of Yang Jisheng in its essential heroic dimensions. Yang’s former residence in Beijing had a small shrine built in his honour, and his memory seems to have been associated with the City God’s cult. In the late eighteenth century his memory was revived when his home became a focal point for literati activism, with a series of political groups using the space for gatherings. Qing reformers from Zeng Guofan to Kang Youwei invoked Yang’s name in their own causes.

While these major literati figures established the orthodoxy of Yang as martyr, his family was using his fame to build their own prestige in rural Hebei province. When the Longqing emperor granted funds for shrines in Yang’s honour, the family undertook to build one in the village of Beibeihuo, some 25 km away. There, too, a shrine was built and sacrifices to his spirit were maintained. Yang’s family endured, and kept the memory of their heroic ancestor alive through the end of the Ming, throughout the Qing dynasty, and into the tumultuous years of the twentieth century.

Meanwhile in Lintao, in Gansu province, the school which Yang had established flourished. He had taught land to sustain the school, and the local gentry kept the record of the continuing flow of revenues from these fields for its support. Local men who were educated there wrote poems and essays about it, and about their martyred patron Yang, which both glorified his memory and enhanced their own cultural status by association with a Confucian hero. This example, the Chaoran Terrace Academy, also survived into the twentieth century.

Another way in which Yang’s image was deployed was through drama. In the 1750s a play called The City of the Phoenix appeared which dealt with the rise and fall of Yan Song. The story of Yang Jisheng filled three of the forty-two scenes in the play, and provided the moral pivot for the critique of Yan as an evil official. The play was attributed to Wang Shizhen, but in fact was written by one of his followers, with Wang lending his name to enhance sales and promote interest. Clearly the portrayal of Yan and Yang in the play accords with Wang’s political and cultural views. This play became quite popular, and gave rise to others, such as Ding Yaokang’s The Python’s Gull which appeared in the 1650s.

Yang in the twentieth century

The twentieth century saw the collapse of the Confucian system in China, and in the course of revolution Yang Jisheng was consigned, temporarily it now appears, to the dustbin of history. By the 1960s his home in Beijing was subdivided for urban housing, his shrines were dismantled, even in his natal village, and the Chaoran Terrace Academy became a ‘People’s Cultural Palace’. Confucian political martyrs were no longer desirable figures for emulation in the age of Lei Feng.

But that age has passed. In the years since the death of Mao Zedong in 1976, China has turned away from the path of socialist revolution and embraced a new quest for wealth and power. In the process the ideals of Marxism and Maoism have faded away. China today is in search of new ways to understand the world, and new moral guidelines for living in it. One place in which at least some are searching for guidance is in the legacy of Confucianism. It is in this context that we can understand the current revival of the cult of Yang Jisheng. This revival is taking place in at least two of the traditional venues associated with his life, and may eventually involve the third as well.

A few years ago a descendant of Yang, 75 years his junior, returned to his native Hebei province to restart the venerable shrines in his family’s ancestral home, and establish a new county gazetteer published in 1999. In Beijing Yang’s former home continues to languish, marked by a plaque from the Cultural Relics Bureau, but in sad repair. From time to time reports appear in the Beijing Evening News lamenting this state of affairs, but nothing yet seems to have resulted from this.

The martine of Yang Jisheng’s posthumous career can be seen in the preface to the new edition of his writings. There he is portrayed as a fighter against official corruption. And his spirit is invoked with the explicit end of contributing to the building today of a new China of law, order, and public morality.

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of this current phase in Yang’s posthumous career can be seen in the preface to the new edition of his writings. There he is portrayed as a fighter against official corruption. And his spirit is invoked with the explicit end of contributing to the building today of a new China of law, order, and public morality.

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Artificial Languages, Asian Backgrounds or Influences?

Participants in the workshop on ‘Asian contributions to the formation of modern science: the emergence of artificial languages’ did not take any of these prejudices as their vantage point. As specialists in the history of ancient and medieval science, they knew that this crucial period of human history can only be adequately understood if the Eurasian continent is treated as an undivided unit. That insight was developed over more than half a century, rough digging from Otto Neugebauer to Joseph Needham (who died in 1995), and is based upon the textual and historical study of source materials in the classical languages of science that include Arabic, Old-Babylonian, Chinese, Greek, Sanskrit and Latin.

Much scientific content in these sources remains undiscovered but a few generalities appear to be valid. Mesopotamian science is earlier than any other and influenced China, Greece and, especially in astronomy. Chinese science reflects an organic philosophy of nature which manifests itself in her chemistry and life sciences. India’s strength lies in her mathematics and in artificial expressions such as: \( \frac{1}{2} \) a white + \( \frac{1}{3} \) a yellow = \( \frac{1}{6} \) a white + \( \frac{1}{6} \) a yellow. As it was from this period that the various schemes of generality developed over the centuries, information on words and symbols (as had been suggested, with reservations, by Neugebauer), but are mnemonic abbreviations of geometric operations. Michio Yano (Kyoto) studied oral and written methods of transmission of expressions for numerals and operations. C. Truesdell wrote in 1968: ‘It is unclear. All the formulas that are referred to as ‘Newton’s laws could trigger a scientific revolution because they were discovered in the late eighteenth century, almost three centuries before they were discovered in Europe by Gregory, Newton, and Leibniz. In Europe, infinite series were a powerful tool of the scientific revolution. Indian mathematics was equally strong in this respect and strong enough in any case to have similar consequences. But it was formulated in a complex form of Sanskrit, more obscure than Newton’s Latin, and so nothing happened. I concluded in a 1995 article that the Sanskrit of science was formal, but not formal enough to trigger a revolution. It adds fuel to the idea that the so-called scientific revolution was really a mathematical revolution; and that mathematical revolution was really a revolution in language. Galileo had an inkling of it when he said that mathematics is the language of the universe.

The workshop confirmed that similar developments may have taken place in India and, possibly, China. It was not a textual evidence for historical connections. However, at least since the Bronze Age, the traditional knowledge of practical professionals such as surveyors or ‘reckoners’, spread orally over wide areas, not unlike languages.Bin Sina learned Indian numerals not from books but from his grocer. Such facts strengthen the idea of the Eurasian continent as an undivided unit as well as the hypothesis that formalization is an advance in cognition, which is not hindered by the clumsiness of the classical languages of science and, more fully, by artificial languages.

Let us return to imaginary numbers which illustrate the most mysterious power of artificial language, its inherent knowledge. Imaginary numbers are puzzling not just because we cannot understand them, but because they solve problems in mathematics and physics. It holds for other artificial expressions and seems to show that we are increasingly unable to understand the universe (which includes human language and the brain; in short, ourselves). It led to a solution of the very problem of intelligibility not of the world, but of thought. Quantum theory put an end to that. Heisenberg had already written that we should free ourselves from ‘intuitive pictures’. Richard Feynman declared: ‘Nobody understands quantum theory. Understanding seems to be a feeling generated by visual imagination and/or natural language. Equations may convey knowledge and, as Stephen Hawking put it, ‘Even if there is only one possible unified theory, it is just a set of rules and equations.’ Artificial language has been slow in freeing itself from its natural language background. It seems likely that it still has a long way to go.

References

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‘It took a century before Newton’s work was made fully intelligible and others could do science without being a genius.’ For Newton & Leibniz, the revolution was really a revolution in language.
Colonial and Post-Colonial Hybridities: Eurasians in India

Among the enduring legacies of the colonial encounter are any number of contemporary ‘mixed-race’ populations, descendants of the offspring of sexual unions involving European men (colonial officials, soldiers, traders, and so forth) and local women. This research concerns one such group, the Eurasians, or Anglo-Indians. Despite the withdrawal of the British from India, the community has persisted, shaped indelibly by its colonial heritages, yet also transformed by post-colonial circumstances.

By Lionel Caplan

During the centuries of Britain’s imperial rule a substantial number of officers, soldiers, and civilians served the East India Company and, later, the Government of India. Men of diverse European nationalities — mainly British, but others as well — came to trade or seek employment in various sectors of the colonial economy. Many established domestic relationships with Indian women, resulting in the birth of children and the emergence of a ‘mixed-race’ or ‘hybrid’ population. Eurasians, or Anglo-Indians as they were subsequently to be designated, settled mostly in and around urban centres like Madras (recently renamed Chennai), the locus of the present research. While we know that they descended from a medley of different national groups on the paternal side, it is virtually impossible to say more about the initial maternal progenitors other than that they were of disparate caste and religious origins. In time, their progeny intermarried and became aware of themselves as distinct from the surrounding Indian population, with a common language (English) and religion (Christianity), as well as other shared cultural attributes. The colonial government’s fluctuating policies towards this group contributed to the economic distress of the majority, while recent developments have driven many further into poverty, only some having benefited from new opportunities in the post-colonial economy. Since India’s independence, a significant proportion of Anglo-Indians — as many as half — have left India to settle in the West, chiefly Britain and Australia. Today, the Anglo-Indian population in India totals approximately 150,000, with perhaps 10-15,000 resident in Madras. As in the past, they tend to be concentrated in particular neighbourhoods, generally in central areas of the city where their churches and schools are to be found. Recently, however, rising land costs and house rentals have propelled many out into suburbs, and led to greater dispersal of the community.

‘Hybrid’ groups, however demographically insignificant, invite serious scholarly attention because, among other things, they blur the divide between colonizer and colonized, questioning the very efficacy of these labels (Stiner 1983). Moreover, they not only undermine the impossibility of viewing rulers and ruled as universal and unendif ferentiated categories, but question the analyst’s treatment of Europeans and colonizers as synonymous. Such populations also host a host of queries about continuities and transformations in the post-colonial world. How does a ‘hybrid’ community imagine and describe itself to others and to itself? How does it understand its past, contemplate its future, and live in the present? What practices does it posit as marking its ‘culture’ and so, its distinctiveness? What are the ingredients of this culture given the diverse origins of its population, and what changes in these cultural habits have occurred with the withdrawal of the colonial power? We cannot hope to attend to all of these questions here, although I have tried to do so elsewhere (see Caplan 2000). For the present it is important to inquire about the attitudes of the British to this ‘mixed-race’ population.

Colonial attitudes

Like similar ‘mixed-race’ groups in the colonized world, Anglo-Indians were seen by their British rulers, at times, as potential enemies and, at others, as allies in their imperial adventure, alternately preferred and promoted or thwarted and victimized. This ambivalence was evident in the occupational realm, in the ‘early’ colonial period. Anglo-Indian males were relatively free to follow a range of activities. For a time from the end of the eighteenth century they were excluded from many civil and military services under the government, but by the middle of the nineteenth century they were allowed favoured if restricted access to positions of intermediate responsibility in central government sectors (railways, telegraphs, customs, etc.) and, from the early years of the twentieth century, in the wake of nationalist pressures, they were encouraged to compete from members of the wider society in virtually all areas of their ‘traditional’ employment spheres. These last developments exacerbated the extent of poverty within the Anglo-Indian fold but, at the same time, as women increasingly entered the workplace, this group was somewhat sheltered from the indignities accompanying downward mobility, types of which is valued and its modes in the Anglo-Indian fold, for example, the end of the colonial period, on its unambiguous character, the Anglo-Indian poor feel themselves to be suffering disproportionately. At the same time, the colonial ceiling which confined Anglo-Indians within certain work spaces lifted with the withdrawal of the British, and today there is a small but growing elite — highly educated, cosmopolitan, professional, and comfortably off — which has become a part of the larger middle class in India, and benefited from new liberalization and structural adjustment policies.

There is a wide consensus among scholars of colonialism in India that, from the end of the eighteenth century, a transformation occurred in the relationship between British rulers and those over whom they exercised dominion. The growth of ‘scientific racism’ in early nineteenth-century Europe, and the ‘hybrid’ become a trope for moral failure and degeneration, and led to the increasingly negative evaluation and status assigned to such groups by British elites in India. Branded with a number of degrading epithets, they became figures of contempt and ridicule, and were seen as combining the worst qualities of both ‘founder races’. These attitudes were reflected in English-language fiction about India, much of it written by colonial Euro peans (Nabar and Bharucha 1994). In both life and fiction they were frequently portrayed in disparaging stereotypes, many of which focused on women, who were regarded as the principal mimics of European mores and seducers of their men.

Self-identification

Notwithstanding the Euro-colonial social practices and attitudes which distanced and demeaned this ‘mixed-race’ community, a remarkable degree of self-awareness and group consciousness from at least the early twentieth century. In spite of their disparate origins they came to regard themselves as possessing a distinct identity of their own (Hawes 1996).

From the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century, however, it became apparent that British rule in India was drawing to a close, increasing voices were heard within the community urging alliance with the nationalist project. In the contemporary setting, Anglo-Indian elites, who share the multi-ethnic, multi-religious, and cosmopolitan ambience of India’s affluence, insist on a strong local connection. At the other end of the spectrum, among the most disadvantaged, enveloped in the surroundings of the poor, a variety of credentials are enunciated, as alternative forms of association become possible. It is principally within the middle ranks of Anglo-India, where economic uncertainties and ‘downward mobility’ have been most acutely felt, that claims to a European pedigree continue to be declared in contemporary Madras. These claims, however, rise and fall on the ears both within the now dominant groups in Indian society, including the elites of their own community, and outside it, where they are meant to be heard by governments in the ‘first world’ assumed to be in search of culturally westernized immigrant populations.

Boundaries, identities, cultures

The post-colonial condition is frequently represented by its theorists as being characterized by, among other things, fluid boundaries, multiple identities, and creolized cultures. The implication is that contemporary ambiguities contrast with the clear-cut identities of the colonial period. This research questions the validity of such a distinction, insisting that these ambiguities were a part of the colonial past as well. The efforts of European colonizers to demarcate subject populations were frequently undermined by the very people on whom they sought to impose their classifications, giving rise to porous boundaries and permeable groupings. For one thing, British colonial officials and the Anglo-Indian lead-
When It Is Good to Be Bad
Medieval Indo-Tibetan Tantric Buddhist Apologetics

By Isabelle Onions

This question is asposite today as ever. Because of its ever-present words and published the concept of a pre-emptive strike may well have been pushed to its illogical limit as justification for inva-
sion. Before revealing one or two explicit examples of the normalized antinoni-
mism, a reminder may be in order. The counter-intuitive data should be noted: the sheer volume of Victorian and modern vilification swamps the scarce evidence for attacks found in contemporary medieval sources.

Tibetan Tantric authors were not overly concerned with apologetics, nei-
ther in the sense of ingenuously excusing themselves, nor even in the paradigmatic sense of Euro-
pean texts offering ideological justification (apologiaes). Perhaps what was most antinomian was not their such emotions at that time. Or, was the silence due to the absolute exotericism of the system?

Moreover, the obscure nature of this religion is, it should be noted, a real obstacle to any enquiry, including this. I have been threatened with what one might call the Valley of the Kings syn-
drome. In parallel to the tormentors explorers of Egyptian monumental tombs, we can imagine the opposite of this phenomenon of the normalization of antinomi-
anism, and sophisticated advocates for, even, the contra-
nomy of the rules of monastic discipline.

In the writings of these men are answers to our flurry of questions: what happens when candidate or initiating master is a monk? From where did the female partners come, and could they be initiated on their own behalves? And, perhaps most crucial of all, what earthly function are these sensual relations supposed to serve on the path to enlightenment? What kind of causal relationship can one imagine between oral instruction and sexual intercourse on the one hand, and transcen-
dent liberation on the other?

Therefore, the answer could not be sufficient conditions for spiritual release, if they are not necessary con-
ditions then why ever take the risk of indulging them? Some claimed that this was a specialised strategy for pulling the attainment of enlightened being, the time-frame of one’s pres-
ent life, for instance, instead of leaving nirvana, the remote if unattainable goal on offer in many traditions.

This is not the place to analyse the apologetic details found in the writings of establishment proponents: name-
ly, whether the initiations are sine qua non for enlightenment. For another, whether monks can properly enact such ceremonies, who is the motivating master is a monk? From where did the female partners come, and could they be initiated on their own behalves? And, perhaps most crucial of all, what earthly function are these sensual relations supposed to serve on the path to enlightenment? What kind of causal relationship can one imagine between oral instruction and sexual intercourse on the one hand, and transcen-
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References

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When do you think it could be good to be bad? Had you met Hitler in a dark alley in Venice in the 1920's, and been armed with infallible foresight, would it have been good to kill him, even though killing is otherwise bad?

It happens to be in immediate conflict with monastic celibacy as well as in, the component of oral instruction, with widespread ignorance of the fact that it figures at such an early stage in initiation is unlikely to be pure chance. Ahkaykargupta explains the impor-
tance of initiating an antinomianism that the third initiation must be taken for full entitlement to higher Tantric prac-
tice. He appeals to the standard authori-
ties of Tantricminus, in the absence ofwithout having experienced the innate reality which is the bliss of non-duality one cannot go on to discuss it in the fourth initiation. If we were to follow through his unspoken argument, it would thus be impossible to direct post-
initiatory practice towards the goal of realizing that reality.

However, in Tantric Buddhism we find that a whole plethora of antiscientific practices, including killing and vio-

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It is amazing how some performers in India believe that Bharatanatyam and other styles of modern classical dance are several thousand years old and have been described in the Nāṭyājātra. This opinion is usually based on a vague reference to “some old texts”. Historical documents aside, even a comparative study of Sanskrit manuals on dance reveals great differences between the performing traditions of various times. One of the most interesting aspects of such a study is tracing back the development of the technical terminology used by the dance practitioners to codify the nuances of their art.

By Marina V. Orelskaya

Very few Sanskrit works on dance are extant today. The main textual material comes from medieval treatises on the dramatic art and musicology, which occasionally provide a separate chapter on dance technique. As a rule, those chapters on dance are dealt with by the scholars with another main field of research. Indeed, there was hardly any demand for a detailed investigation of long lost visual art forms. A detailed catalogue of Sanskrit works describing dance has never been compiled. Few such treatises have ever been published or translated.

The current situation exists for several reasons. The Sanskrit terminology used in the dance manuals is extremely complicated and was not taken into consideration at the time of preparation of the dictionary. It happens that the terminology found in different manuals from the same region and time period will differ significantly in their usage, due to the multiplicity of contemporary dance schools and the impossibility or unwillingness to achieve uniformity even within an individual dance school. Moreover, those very terms can have one meaning in the context of drama or music and a completely different meaning in the context of dance. As a result, it is quite difficult to interpret the meaning of a dance chapter in a treatise on music or dramatic art. Most of the modern classical Indian dance styles are simplified and modified versions of territorially limited schools and are not of much help in the study of contemporary systems of Sanskrit works on dance.

Much information has also disappeared with the loss of numerous texts due to suppression of this art in certain periods. Historical documents aside, even a comparative study of the surviving manuals on performing arts, including modern classical dance, none of those works provides either the etymology or the history of development of the terms. Moreover, most of these works are written in Indian languages, and that considerably narrows the scope of information.

The original Sanskrit sources allow for tracing back the development of some dance terminology to the Vedic times. Dance is mentioned in the Vāgāvada, and although there are no special terms found in this text, investigation of later literary sources reflects the existence and development of a dance-related vocabulary with a considerably narrowed sphere of usage. Some of the words had been later dropped, while others were fixed into terminology groups used by professional dance instructors. Sometimes, with the rise of new performing traditions and the fall of old ones, the original meanings and etymology of such terms were lost and on substituting by medieval authors and commentators on the Sanskrit treatises. Also, a number of terms were replaced by equivalents from the Dravidian languages. With the course of time, the dance manuals were becoming more and more intricate, because almost every author tended to complicate the subject by cramming all possible information known to him under a single title.

The special works on histrionics had already existed at the time of Panini (fifth or fourth century BC), who calls them natastra-vātras, and were apparently quite common by the time of the Nāṭyājātra (circa 200 BC to AD 200). Although this treatise is regarded as the oldest available manual in the field of Indian histrionics, there could be a number of fragments of older works kept in the manuscript collections of South India. The Nāṭyājātra demonstrates, apart from other things, the existence of fairly developed forms of canonical (classical) dance, which are distinguished from the regional (folk) dances. Being constantly in progress, the ancient canonical choreography was gradually blending with various aspects of the regional dances, thus producing various dance styles that began to prevail in certain geographical areas. In time, the innovations were regarded as the ones canonized by some competent preceptors and were gradually noted as inseparable parts of ‘classical dance’ in Sanskrit manuals on performing arts. Nearly one hundred Sanskrit texts dealing with dance technique, in at least one chapter, have been discovered either as (in)complete manuscripts or as being mentioned or quoted in subsequent works. Unfortunately, most of them have been irretrievable until now.

The technical vocabulary of instructors and performers of modern classical Indian dance contains a comparatively small part of the terminology used in old Sanskrit manuals. Even then, the interpretation of many terms varies significantly from the one chapter to the next. Sometimes, the lack of collaboration between practising dancers and scholars of Sanskrit does not help the situation. In fact, major establishments of classical dance training in India do not include learning Sanskrit as a part of training in the technique of their art, giving the reason that young dancers ‘become confused’ over the discrepancies between many the- ories and the practice they learn. The vast gap between scholars and dancers had already been registered in the middle of the fourteenth century AD, when Vācancātra Sudhhakala wrote in his Saṁgītaparivārādabha (VI.129): ‘These days, the dancers are stupid, and the scholars are not practitioner[ies] there is no practice without dancers, there is no success through theory without this [practices].’ Apparently, the com-plex and highly codified system in which the dance technique has gradually developed was not easily understood by the students, who had no opportunity to perform, and practitioners, who preferred to go through the additional burden of learning the extensive collection of various terms and their interpre- tations in Sanskrit, on one side, and the impossibility or unwillingness to understand the technical vocabulary, on the other, unintentionally resulted in a gradual division of the dance students into theore- eticians, who described the dance technique in their schol- arly treatises on performing arts, and practitioners, who pre- served the knowledge of dance by passing it in oral and visual forms to the next generation of professional performers. The scarcity of the original texts being edited and translated, the terminology used in modern Sanskrit treatises on dance tech- nology, and the aversion of the majority of modern practical dancers to study the past of their art have all combined, in the end, to restrict the number of competent specialists in the field. The situation can be clearly observed even at the present time. In view of these circumstances, I have undertaken the proj- ect of compiling an encyclopedia dictionary of the technical terms used in the original Sanskrit treatises on dance technique, with the etymological references whenever possible. The data is being collected from all the available manuals, starting with the Ratnākīrti and including those of the eighteenth cen- tury AD. The passages of some lost works, quoted in later treatises and commentaries, are also being taken into account.

Preparation of the dictionary is proceeding in consecutive stages. The first editions and the available manuscripts of the Sanskrit texts are being compared word by word. The terms, their definitions, and usage are analysed to trace-back their origin and the possible ways of development. Often, references to non-scientific sources of Sanskrit literature are required in order to determine the meaning of certain dance terms in various periods of time. One of the significant fea- tures of the dictionary is that the extensive lists of the uses prescribed for postures and movements of bodily limbs in dance and drama (vinyāsa) are being included and compared as well.

I sincerely believe that, upon completion, the dictionary will be able to be used by scholars from various fields, as well as by the practising dancers of various styles. The comprehensive meth- ods developed in the course of my research can be employed to study other manuals on dance technique, generally speaking, through their popular forms. The dictionary will be of great help in the preparation of translations and critical editions of unpublished Sanskrit treatises on dance and, perhaps, in even reconstructing the actual technique of old Indian dances.

Dr Marina Orelskaya is a postgraduate in Indian philology from the Saint Petersburg State University (Russia). In India, she completed two PhD dissertations on various aspects of Sanskrit texts dealing with dance technique, in at least one chapter, have been discovered either as (in)complete manuscripts or as being mentioned or quoted in subsequent works. Unfortunately, most of them have been irretrievable until now.
Global Performances in Jaipur

The International Federation for Theatre Research (IFTR) held its annual conference in Jaipur under the joint sponsorship of the Jawaharlal Kala Kendra and the University of Rajasthan, with the theme 'Ethnicity and identity: global performance'. This was the first time that the IFTR (founded in 1955) has held its annual conference in an Asian nation, signalling a new recognition for the importance of Asian theatre scholarship and practice in the field of world theatre.

By Matthew Isaac Cohen

Theatre studies is, in many Euro-

and non-European countries, a subsidiary field of literature and, con-

sequently, is oriented toward the study of Western theatre, the focus of study in the British Empire, for example, emerged in the 1950s from the field of English litera-

ture, and the concerns of scholars were largely historical and textual well into the 1980s. Theological practitioners in European nations have in contrast been fascinated with the traditional theatres of Japan, China, India, and Indonesia since the eighteenth century. The influ-

ence of Asian theatres on playwrights as diverse as Goethe, Brecht, and Yeats, and most of the major directors of the past century, is undeniable. The aca-

demic discipline of theatre studies has been slower than practitioners to rec-

ognize the significance of the theatrical practices of Asia, and other parts of the world, in its disciplinary organization. Few European-language academic pro-

grammes or research clusters currently address non-European theatrical practice as a central focus. (The University of Hawai`i’s Asian performance master’s programme is a rare excep-

tion.) The Asian Theatre Journal, pub-

lished by the University of Hawaii Press, remains the sole English-lan-

guage journal devoted exclusively to Asian theatre. Academic positions in non-Western theatre in the United States, Australia, Europe, and New Zealand have increased over the last decade, but there is also a tendency for these same positions to be defined in terms of minority and diaspora groups. A faculty member appointment in Asian theatre in the United States, for example, will typically be expected to teach Asian-American theatre, and reverse discrimination policy often pressures universities to appoint eth-

nic minority representatives to fill such slots over other candidates who might be more qualified to teach about theatres outside the West. The IFTR has reflect-

ed these general tendencies in the field: despite an ‘Asian’ designation, it has been slow to recognize the impor-

tance of Asian theatre scholarship. Until this year, when the endlessly ener-

gic Ravi Chaturvedi managed to attract the IFTR’s annual conference to the pink city of Jaipur.

Asian theatre and the IFTR

The IFTR, despite its ‘international’ nomenclature, has been in historical practice centred on Europe. African conference delegates are predomi-

nantly white South Africans, Latin Americans are few and far between, and North Americans participate prefer-

entially at the annual Association for Theatre in Higher Education confer-

ences. The organization has recognized Asia, and has had Asian members since its inception, but it was only in the last years that a significant concentra-

tion of delegates concluded to rally for an Asian conference.

A definitive highpoint of the confer-

ence was a plenary panel of three British scholars discussing the current West End musical hit, Bombay Dreams. This rags-to-riches tale of a child of the Mumbai slums who makes good in the Bombay film world is essentially a stage version of a Bollywood movie. This panel discussion of a recycled version of an Asian cinematic form tailored for a South Asian diasporic audience and the globalization cultural market garnered considerable attention from the local media. The musical’s commercial tra-

jectory was described as disrupting national dichotomies, offering multi-

culturalism as consumer brand.

Many of the panel’s featured Indian scholars of theatre, history, political sci-

ence, literature, and folklore speaking about a large range of Indian and non-

Indian theatres. Such was the degree that Asian performance was embraced in the conference that a newly estab-

lished working group in Asian and Pacific Theatre that was scheduled to meet parallel to the papers failed to gar-

ner sufficient interest as the papers in the general conference were of so much relevance to Asian theatre scholars.

Evening performances also gave insights into Indian theatre forms and processes. The conference organizers had programmed a series of art theatre, including adaptations of Medea and Goethe’s Iphigenien in Tauris. These pro-

ductions, though well-intended, were of uneven quality, and did not by-and-

large excite the imagination of interna-
tional delegates. The same could not have been said of two impactful perfor-

mances, organized at the last minute at the craft village adjoining the Jawa-

hara Kendra. Ranchi folk performance is renowned for its variety and vitality and it was a great treat to see these performances enacted in a more-or-less appropriate context, with the conference’s student volunteers response-singing. A Shekhawati Khay-

al group performed a folk version of The Killing of Kichka, in a style clearly

influenced by Parsi theatre, and a Katha-

putli group presented a new play with string puppets and music entitled Bhujai, which I devised together with the Jaipur-based puppeteer-musician Gajadhar Bhatia. At the same time that the conference was taking place in the Jawaharlal Kendra, this same arts centre was being used to audition and rehearse a troupe of Rajasthani folk per-

formers for a tour of the Middle East. Partially as a result of this, other per-

formances and workshops (including hobby-horse dancing and social danc-

ing) blended into the conference in less formal modalities and spaces.

Many scholars attending the IFTR had never previously been to India and gained for the first time an in-depth exposure and appreciation of Asia’s rich theatrical past and present. Robin Marie Campbell, a young dance schol-

ar, came to the IFTR to speak of her research on Ballet Frankfurt at the New Researcher’s Forum, but left with a fasci-

nation for Korean dance. Numerous contacts were established between scholars based in Europe, the United States, Israel, and Australia with aca-

demics from India and elsewhere in Asia. This fruitful interchange allowed many of us to recognize the existence of historical links and contemporary commonalities across Asian theatre and shared methodological issues that engage scholars of all ‘ethnic’ and non-

Western performance. Many questions emerge in such encounters. How does one introduce a complex theatre of an ethnic other to a ‘lay audience’ while attending to both artistic richness and socio-cultural location? What is the responsibility of the scholar to explicate non-local influences and origins, and if one does study such matters does this then deprive a theatre of its appearance of originality? Does any academic study of an unfamiliar theatre run the risk of being appropriated by agents of a state or cultural actors as a validation or cel-

bration of their activities, even if not intended by the author? Does a scholar have the moral ground to stand on to be critical of a non-Western theatre in the same sense that one can be critical of one’s own theatre? All of these ques-

tions (and more) could be engaged among the very special confluence of scholars gathered in Jaipur.

At the conference’s closing session, a number of possibilities were discussed for channelising the energy and inertia generated in this Asian theatre focussed conference. The IFTR conference, as well as the international conference on ‘Audiences, patrons and performers in the performing arts of Asia’ held in Le-

den in 2000, demonstrated that schol-

ars of Asian theatre and performance have special concerns and interests that are not addressed in existing organiza-

tions. Asian theatre has its own internal dynamics that do not have precise equiv-

alents in the theatres of Europe or other continents. In Europe and North Amer-

ica, Asian performance is too often rel-

ated to a cabaret of curiosities. Rather than taking Asian performance on its own terms, Asian scholarship is juggled in terms of what it can contribute to understanding the West’s own history of interculturalism. This in effect con-

demns scholars of Asian performance to the status of clerks and documental-

ists in the service of imperialism. It is to be hoped that there will be more oppor-

tunities where scholars of Asian and non-Western performance can meet for discussion and investigation of our mutual interests.
Exoticism and Nostalgia

Consuming Southeast Asian Handicrafts in Japan

Textiles and other handmade items from Southeast Asia, have gained unprecedented popularity in recent years. The Japanese consumers, predominantly women, crave stories and 'biographical' details about these goods; they then turn them into their personalized possessions and display them in an effort to express their individuality. The following article explores the language used in Japanese women's magazines depicting these items.

Research

By Ayami Nakatani

Department Store, Okayama, Japan

An example of a dis-play of Indonesian handicrafts, Tenssanyo

Given the segmented market structure, both the style and content of women's magazines generally vary according to their narrowly defined readership. Nevertheless, they prove to be somewhat similar in their feature articles related to this 'Asian boom'. The language of the articles is highly eloquent, to be somewhat similar in their feature articles related to this postmodern era. And perfect expression of individuality and the crucial role of one's taste in expressing individuality. But it should also be noted that this space for trying to demonstrate their integrated, not fragmented, self and identity. They exoticize themselves as Asian/Oriental, in a sense, represents the lone, if not empty, self of women. In an analysis of new marketing strategies, it is said that By feeling somehow connected with unknown producers through social imagery, and by successfully incorporating their products into their own lifestyle, Japanese consumers try to demonstrate their integrated, not fragmented, self and individuality. But it should also be noted that this space for the display of individuality is gendered: the home, in this sense, represents the lone, if not empty, self of women.

In an analysis of new marketing strategies, it is said that the Japanese home has lost its status as a symbol of family bonding. Now the home is just a container in which the family members, who lack united concerns, remain, expressing 'their individuated selves' (HILL 1985:64–65). At the same time, the home has been increasingly deemed a woman's (that is, wife') space, as men's absence from it has become the norm, owing to the long hours of work involved in the process of post-Second World War industrialization. We also find powerful evidence in personal accounts. A young, faithful wife who gradually overshadows her husband by decorating their home entirely to her own taste. There are other begging questions to be raised: Why should these women desire the objects of cultural others? Do they mourn the loss of tradition, the past times when their own daily life was filled with such handicrafts? It is here that the rhetoric of nostalgia, one of the most frequently used terms to characterize Asian crafts, comes into play.

Ambivalent positioning of 'Asia'

The term "oriental" (orientaru) somehow sounds formal or traditional. How about "Asia" (ajia-buum), then? Instantly the latter gives a sense of comfort, for perhaps our instinct tells us it is the place where Japan is included, where we belong (Belle Mausin mail-order catalogue, Spring 2001).

European tableware, imbued with Orientalism, renews our appreciation of Eastern aesthetics. “Japanese” materials, including lacquer, fit well with that kind of Western tableware. Let’s try a sophisticated coordination with an image of the “East viewed from the West” (Fujii Gake, June 2000).

These two quotations illustrate particular formulations surrounding the tripartite relationship of Japan, Asia, and the West. Both of them, in fact, express some uneasiness towards the term ‘Oriental’ or ‘Orientalism’, for it is essentially the Western view of Asia, not theirs. However, the Japanese would be equally ready to distance themselves from the category of Asia and, thus, objectify it. The otherness of Asia comes from the difference in ways of life, and its exotic attractiveness as tourist destination. Asia is distanced from Japan both temporally and culturally. From the consumer’s perspective, therefore, the Japanese cast the same gaze upon Asia as their Western counterparts.

In this light, a peculiar juxtaposition of seemingly conflicting sentiments such as nostalgia and exoticism in the magazine’s texts can be explained by Japanese ambivalent positioning vis-à-vis the rest of the Asian region and the West. Either including or excluding Japan, ‘Asia’ is a cultural as well as historical construct, largely informed by the Western view that, subsequently, has been internalized by the Japanese consumer. Intriguingly, Japanese women themselves as Asian/Oriental, in which case they are merged with the rest of Asia but, at the same time, they objectify and present the latter as their cultural other.

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Dr Ayami Nakatani is an associate professor of anthropology at Okayama University, Japan, and was formerly an officer for a research fellow at the IIAS. Her current research interests include the production and consumption of Indonesian textiles, and for the JIAS Newsletter | #30 | March 2003
By Donald M. Seekins

The end of Ne Win socialism and the emergence of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi as the leader of the democratic movement in 1988 attracted a younger generation of researchers. However, an atmosphere of crisis and uncertainty continues to afflict Burma today. Among scholars, controversies over whether or not to engage academically with the military regime (now known as the State Peace and Development Council, or SPDC) have become intense and often bitter. Thus, Burma Studies faces serious obstacles compared with other country-specific fields, such as Thai or Indonesian Studies. Its non-mainstream and highly contested nature is not without advantages. Given this background, the conference on ‘Burma-Myanmar research and its future: implications for scholars and policymakers’ represents an important turning point. Held at the Great Hall of Gothenburg University in Gothenburg, Sweden over a period of four days, it drew some 200 participants, representing both older and younger generations of Burma experts. There were twenty subject-specific panels, dealing with a wide range of areas: librarians and library resources, education, human resource management, sustainable development, law and the constitution, state and society, Burma migrants abroad, ethnic diversity, health and HIV, economic transitions, Buddhism, nation, culture, nationalities and culture, the overlap between concepts, including Buddhism, and Burma-China relations, among others. There were also ‘open panels’ for papers that were high quality, but not easily categorized. Some papers were given in a confidential context, with most papers accessible online to participants. Among the many highlights were: a discussion panel led by representatives of the pre-1962 generation of scholars; a keynote discussion panel featuring Chao-Tzang Yawngwe and F.K. Lehman on the connection between ‘scholarship and activism; the screening of a recent Burmese film on the Anglo-Burmese Wars; Never we shall be enslaved and of two Thai films, Bang Rajan and Siripukhia, showing popular Thai perceptions of Thai-Burma relations; and an address by Thet Tun, former Burmese ambassador to France and a United Nations’ official, on ‘economic lessons from the past’. James C. Scott spoke on the formation of highland communities as ‘non-state spaces’ in Southeast Asia. And finally at the close of the conference, a discussion panel on ‘Diplomacy. The nature of dialogue and reconciliations’, chaired by David Steinberg, was especially interesting in light of the May 2002 release of Aung San Suu Kyi from house arrest and hopes that she and the SPDC can begin negotiations to achieve political transition. The conference organizers, based at Gothenburg University, worked hard to promote an atmosphere of inclusiveness and political neutrality, where all kinds of opinions could be represented. The lively and sometimes contentious atmosphere provided ample evidence that they succeeded. The 2002 meeting should serve as a model for future Burma Studies events in at least four ways. Firstly, rather than being centred at a single location, different venues should be sought for the biannual Burma Studies Group meetings, chosen on the basis of their overall attractiveness and accessibility to the widest range of participants. Secondly, people with diverse Burma-related interests and experiences should be proactively included, not only academics. Thirdly, the four-day format should be maintained, so that participants can get to know each other and their viewpoints. Finally, political neutrality should be preserved and financial support thus accepted from reputable sources only.

By Donald M. Seekins

Dr Donald M. Seekins is Professor of Southeast Asian Studies at Meio University, Okinawa, Japan. Last year he published a book on Burma’s recent history, The Disorder in Order: The Army-State in Burma Since 1962. E: kenchan@ii-okinawa.ne.jp

Full details of the conference are available at: www.therai.org.uk/ antchla/Myanmaburma2002a.html

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Ethnic nationalism in Nepal

Ethnic nationalism is on the rise in Nepal. With only 23.2 million inhabitants and measuring only 147,181 square kilometres, Nepal is host to 62 `nationalities' (janajati). None of these nationalities, including the predominant Khas population – consisting of Brahmin-Ksetri castes, speaking Nepali (Khas) and practising Hinduism – can be considered a single majority group. The Khas, however, remain determined to propagate their language, culture, and religion through their control of state institutions. While ethnic mobilization in Nepal has largely, to date, avoided bloodshed, the frustration of minority nationalities, ethnicities, castes, and tribes (janajati) is an important factor behind the growing popularity of the Maoists' `people's war'.

By Bal Gopal Shrestha

In the wake of political reforms insti- tuted in 1990, non-Khas nationali- ties began asserting their own national identities within the boundaries of the current state. A new constitution was introduced that year, confirming Nepal as a multinational (bahujati) and even multilingual (bahubali) country. The constitution, however, retained the Nepali (Khas) language as the official `national language' and Hinduism as the sole `state religion'. Although the constitution provides liberty for ethnic non-Khas and non-Hindu religious communities to express themselves – against the domination of the `one nation, one language, and one religion' policy of the government – minority languages and religions remain with- out legal protection. The major demands of the non-Khas nationalities in Nepal are: the right to autonomy; political representation in the central government; equal rights for their own languages in courts, in educa- tion, and in local and central adminis- tration; and an end to the domination of Hindu religion and culture. The `All Nepal Nationalities' Organisation (Akhil Nepal Janajati Sangh), a Maithili sister organization to the Communist Party of Nepal, has presented the most radical demands, including the right of secession for all nationalities in Nepal. The influence of the Maithili Party, engaged in a violent `people's war' for more than six years, is increasing throughout the country and threaten- ing its stability. As a ruling class manipulating state institutions, Brahmin-Khetis are the target of other nationalities' criti- cism. The latter find it insulting to be categorized alongside low-caste Hin- duos. Mainstream scholars have referred to these groups as `tribes'. Most groups in Nepal including the Newars, Tamangs, Magars, Gurungs, Sherpa, Limbus, Rai, and Tharus, do not accept the labels `eth- nic groups' or `minorities'. They prefer to be called `nations' and believe they fulﬁl all the criteria of nationhood: lan- guage, religion, culture, territory and a history of independent statehood, which would be achieved again if rights to secession were granted. All these groups now accept the Nepali word janajati, translated as `nationality' in English. In 1990, when eighteen of these groups gathered to form a forum called Nepal Janajati Mahasangh, they translated it as the `Nepal Federation of Nationalities'.
The search for `national identities' in Nepal may be a recent phenomenon, but has deep roots in the past. Until 1769, present-day Nepal was composed of small independent states and prin- cipalities of different `nationalities'. The Gorkhali king Prithvi Narayan Shah, forefather of the present ruling dynasty in Nepal, embarked on an expansionist campaign, bringing several small states and principalities under the control of Gorkha. His successors continued the expansive policy, which came to an end only after their defeat in a war with the British East India Company (1814-1816). It was only in the 1990s that the Nepalese government began to adopt the name `Nepal' as an attempt to make it a modern nation state (Burghart 1995: 235). In general, people of dif- ferent origins within the country's bor- ders continued to live together in peace over the centuries. However, this ended when groups began to feel discrimi- nated against by the state.

Soon after the Gorkha conquest of 1769, the Gorkha king Prithvi Narayan Shah proclaimed his country to be the `True Land of Hindus' (Asali Hindu- sthan). In 1857, Jayabahadur, the first Rana prime minister, introduced writ- ten laws based on Hinduism, dividing the country hierarchically and subordi- nating all other nationalities to the Brahmin and Ksetras (Khas) ruling class. In 1960, King Mahendra, the father of the present king, introduced the party-less political system called `Panchayat', which proclaimed Nepal the only `Hindu Kingdom' and `Nepali or Khas the only official language', thus ignoring its multi-religious, multina- tional, multicultural, and multilingual character.

The ruling Hindu population of Nepal is dominated by the Brahmans, by ignor- ing India's national minorities, whose vivid forms have been discussed by several scholars (Van der Veer 1994; Jaffer, 1996). Thirty years of Panch- chatay politics (1960-90) channelled support to Hindu religious organisa- tions such as the `World Hindu Coun- cil' (Vides Hindu Parishad) while ignor- ing the issues of minorities and their rights. Encouraged by Hindu funda- mentalists in India, Nepalese Hindu extremists are gaining momentum. They have taken inspiration from Indi- an organisations like the `Hindu god Sriw's Army' (Siva Sena) to form groups like the `Gows Welfare Association, Nepal'. It is notable that, even today, a person found guilty of killing a cow is condemned to capital punishment by Nepalese law. Few were surprised when Hindu fundamentalists announced cash rewards to anyone cut- ting off the head of Padma Ratna Tulad- har, then Minister of Health and a champion for human rights, when he spoke on behalf of the beef-eating com- munities of Nepal.

Undercurrents of insurgency

With the downfall of the former Communist regimes in Eastern Europe, many small nations have emerged, while others remain incip- ent. Tamil insurgents in Sri Lanka can be seen as one of the most destructive examples of national uprisings in the South Asian region. In Southeast Asia, Indonesia is experiencing equally vio- lent uprisings. For decades, India has been trying to win Assamese, Naga, Jhark- hand, and Gorkhland national move- ments, whose grievances remain unres- olved. In many respects, present-day ethnic nationalist movements in Nepal are heavily influenced by events else- where, though they are unusual in their, by-and-large, non-violent record. The Nepalese government has taken few steps to fulfil ethnic demands. The news is now broadcast in several lan- guages, but the Supreme Court of Nepal infuriated non-Nepali speakers with its 1999 decision prohibiting the use of local languages in provincial, city, and District Development Committees. At present, all ethnic groups in Nepal feel they are overshadowed by Khas lin- guistic and cultural chauvinism. This situation can only lead to undesirable hostilities. A number of bloody inci- dents have recently taken place in eastern Nepal, in which local people killed Brahmans, burnt down their houses, and chased them away from their vil- lages. Up until now, however, ethnic uprisings in Nepal have been peaceful in nature and, except in a few cases, vio- lence has been avoided. The most inter- esting aspect of the present ethnic mobilisation is that the nationalities are united through the Nepal Federation of Nationalities in their fight against the ruling Khas.

The failure of parliamentary parties in Nepal to address the grievances of these nationalities has caused the latter to turn towards the Maoists for support. It has been noted that the Maoists receive active support from non-Hindu ethnic groups and oppressed low castes (dahis). The majority of people killed by the police, on the suspicion of Maoist activity, come from ethnic nationalities and oppressed groups. Ethnic nationalities are aware of the reality across their northern border, where the Tibetan minority population has been subjected to gross violations under the rule of Maoist China. Bhattachan spec- ulates that the Maoists' war has played a crucial role in preventing ethnic insurgency in Nepal.

To develop mutual understanding among the different groups in a multi- ethnic country like Nepal is a difficult task. Until recently, the king has served as the `unifying symbol' of all national- ities in Nepal, even as the political reforms of 1990 curtailed the king's power by introducing parliamentary democracy. Over the last decade, King Birendra regained considerable popu- larity, largely as a result of the political instability caused by the corrupt lead- ership of constitutional parties. The `palace massacre' of 1 June 2001, in which practically the entire royal fami- ly was murdered, has exacerbated ten- sions in Nepal. The only surviving brother of the slain king, Gyanendra, has now become king. Unfortunately, in contrast to the great respect shown to his slain brother and his family, people do not trust the pres- ent king. Images of dead kings have been left off the calendar. The Maoists, formed in Kathmandu Valley, are sympatheic towards the Maithilis. Despite its cultural richness, Nepal is one of the poorest and most undeve- loped nations in the world. As people are facing various problems, including ethnic nationalism and a vio- lent Maoist people's war. A small coun- try with many nationalities, the gov- ernment is unable to effectively address ethnic conflict. If ethnic uprisings are not handled with great care, Nepal may face trouble in the near future, as has been experienced by the Balkan states, by Southeast Asian countries, or by neighbouring India, Sri Lanka, and Pakistan. As indicated above, ethnic insurgency in Nepal has been prevent- ed thus far because of the people's war launched by the Maoists. The involve- ment of ethnic nationalities in this bloody war, however, has become painfully apparent.

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Dutch, however, promoted the cultivation of paddy rice instead of the dry land rice that was traditionally planted in slash-and-burn shifting cultivation. For that reason, a huge irrigation project was established that still guarantees sufficient paddy rice production in the naturally dry Palu valley. In upland areas like the Kulawi valley coffee was introduced to the locals and created the base for cash-crop economy in the region. The introduction of the Dutch, Arab, Chinese, and Bugis (South Sulawesi) traders entered the remote upland valleys and supported the development of a more vital market structure. Road construction programmes to connect the hinterland with Palu were realized using compulsory local labour.

The short period of Japanese rule (1942-1945) burdened the local population more than the Dutch influence had. Cotton production and longer working hours on the fields became the norm for everyone and action against the will of the Japanese was quickly answered with physical punishment.

During the first two decades since the independence of Indonesia, the Lore Lindu area remained in a relatively static situation. However, the rebellion of Kahar Musakar in South Sulawesi and the Permentea rebellion in North Sulawesi in the 1950s led to changes in terms of migration when refugees of the rebellions moved to Central Sulawesi. This time can be regarded as a greater immigration from other parts of the island. As land was still abundant at that time, these people could easily settle and there were no problems with land distribution. With the change to Suharto’s New Order era, the economic production of food and cash crops was enforced and new local resettlement programmes from remote hillside locations to the plains were implemented. While Palu valley in the east was still lacking sufficient transport infrastructure and thus remained quite scarcely populated, starting in the 1960s Palolo valley was the main area of local immigration, mainly from Kulawi and overpopulated areas along the Palu bay. None of the five valleys surrounding the today’s national park developed as fast as Palolo valley where more than half of the villages were founded between 1960 and 1980. The most far-reaching changes to the cultural landscape took place during the last decade of the twentieth century.

Immigration from South Sulawesi, where land scarcity became a major problem, had already begun on a considerable scale during the 1950s. The main impact of this immigration was the introduction of cash and the beginning of land sales from locals to the mostly financially better-off Bugis migrants. Due to the boom of cocoa prices during the 1990s, immigration from the south of Sulawesi reached a peak. This was mainly the case in Palolo and Napu valley where settlement and ethnicity in Southeast Asia.

My fieldwork is part of the Indonesian-German interdisciplinary research programme STORMA (Stability Of Rainforest Margin Areas). For detailed information on our sub-project A, supervised by Prof. Werner Kreidl and Dr Heiko Faust visit www.geogr.uni-goettingen.de/kus/sfb552/A1.htm

By Robert Weber

The Seven-Word Controversy

Amendments to several crucial articles of the 1945 constitution topped the agenda at the most recent session of the Indonesian People’s Consultative Assembly (MPR, Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat). Following upon lesser amendments (in 1999, 2000, and 2001), the 2002 annual session, held 1–10 August, tackled such vital issues as the authority of the MPR and the president; education; and religion. Particularly sensitive were proposals to amend Article 29, which would redefine the relationship between religion and state. Controversy raged over inclusion of the so-called ‘seven words’ of the 1945 Jakarta Charter, menjalankan syari'at Islam bagi para pemeluknya’.5 Later, Amien Rais suggested that the religion article should not be amended. A poll by Tempo Interaktif, conducted 17–24 May 2002, found 52 per cent of respondents opposed to any amendments to the religion article. While 44 per cent found the proposal in favour, they were divided as to its formulation.

Debating the religion article

Anticipating deadlock, meetings to discuss ‘crucial articles’ of the constitution were held before the annual session of the MPR. Initiated by Islamic parties, participants at these meetings were accused of creating an ‘Islamic caucus’, a charge they denied. Participants supported amend Article 29 but did not agree on a formulation. The PPP, PBI, PNG (Nahdatul Ummah Party), and PK (Christian Party) proposed the inclusion of the seven words of the Jakarta Charter, while the PAN and PKB had their own versions. Later, the PKB changed its position to defend the original text. The participation of the PKB in the meetings illustrated the split of the ‘old friendship’ between the traditional ‘Muslims’ (NU, PKB) and the nationalists (PDI-P), due to the latter’s participation in the impeachment of Abdurrahman Wahid from the presidency. Anticipating the deterioration of relations, Megawati’s husband, Taufik Kiemas, visited Wahid, the head of the consultative body of the PKB, stressing the compatibility of ‘nationalism and Islam.’ Meetings were then widened to include non-Islamic parties, such as PDI-P and Golkar, discussing the issue of the so-called ‘Islamic caucus’. As in the earlier meetings, the parties discussed

continued on page 24 >
Since the Bali terrorist bombs of 12 October 2002, a great deal of attention has been focused on the connection between religion and violence. Religion is a powerful force in Indonesian society, as the New Order aimed to disallow Islamic sharia and other such practices in Indonesia. The present article is based on the observations of a number of newspapers, magazines, and online media, particularly Kompas, Republika, Media Indonesia, Tempo, Tempo Interaktif, and the Jakarta Post, published between 20 May and 20 August 2002.

By Bernard Adekeye-Risakotta

The 2002 annual session of the MPR, which it is expected, witnessed the last of the constitutional amendments, showed religion to be the most controversial and sensitive in the Indonesian constitution. Any effort at Islamization (or ‘religiousization’) of Article 29 would affect relations between religion and state, and between religions in the country. The adoption of the article by the MPR, as well as the arguments to justify it, provide a glimpse of pluralism and religious tolerance in Indonesia, and of the level of international concern about the new constitution. The new constitution, declared on 14 August 2002, was strongly supported by the Muslim community, but opposed by other religious groups.

The three Indonesian worlds of discourse are united by a shared epistemological assumption of modernity. Modern society is understood as a system of institutions that are interdependent and that determine the life style and perspective of all Indonesians. Politicians, intellectuals, and business leaders are modern in the sense that they are shaped by modern institutions, ideas, and practices. However, power in Indonesian society is also shaped by power in the society in which it operates and how this violence is generated out of the tensions between all three. Violence is not primarily caused by evil people, but rather by the new political conditions and between three different kinds of structures of power.

During my past twelve years of teaching and research in Indonesia, I have also been formed by these three worlds of discourse. The social scientific studies of Indonesian society assume a fundamental modernity. Indonesian society is viewed as objects to be studied that are fundamentally different, or even alien from the researcher. Anthropologists try to see the world from the ‘native’s point of view’, but that world remains eternally distant (Geertz 1976). Social sciences assume a modern understanding of scientific knowledge, which takes culture and religion as objects of research. Even Indonesians are taught to radically separate their culture and religion from modern modes of scientific knowledge.

In contrast, this research project is written from within the epistemological assumptions and perspectives of all three of these different worlds of discourse. It is a modern analysis of Indonesian identity, power, and violence, which adopts many of the epistemological assumptions and perspectives of all three of these different worlds of discourse. Perhaps as many as 100,000 people have died during the past four years through violence related to ethnic, religious, political, and social conflicts in Indonesia. In a country known for its gentle culture, high level of tolerance, and warm hospitality, what triggered such an orgy of death?

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Dr Bernard Adekeye-Risakotta was a Fulbright at IIAS Amsterdam from October 2001-August 2002. He has now returned to Yogyakarta, Indonesia where he is Assistant Director of the Graduate Program in Social Science at the University of Gadjah Mada. His current research is in the study of religion and society in Indonesia.
Describing Kekerasan: Reconciling the Local and the National

By Jemma Purdey

Numerous scholars, historians, social scientists, and anthropologists from all over post-New Order Indonesia do we need an understanding of violence that is less focused on the centre? Scholars of recent violence in Indonesia have constructed narratives and histories of violent events by stepping back and observing the ways in which Indonesian society responds to violence, and closely examined political and military contexts and structures to understand how they contribute to violence. The sheer number of articles and papers written by Indonesianists from all disciplines on this subject reflects the range of violence in Indonesia but, also, our fascination with it. This interest is particularly remarkable when compared to the relatively small amount of research on violence, in all its forms, in Indonesia. One of the reasons for a lack of research about violence in Indonesia is that the cycle of violence is external. At a point in time other system of institutional means to justice is an elusive one for some other system of institutional understanding the nation as a whole presents a discourse which labels violence as cultural, as something done unconsciously and without political motive. Like Pandey’s insistence of acknowledging the conditions in which the violence of Partition, in its new version the history of violence in Indonesia needs to incorporate the local, individual, and cultural when analysing the political conditions leading to violence. Explanations of the pervasive violence in Indonesia as an illness experienced by individuals and social institutions presents a normative and generalized view which excludes, once again, the individual from this history. Victim, perpetrator, bystander are rolled into one. The assessment of individuals and their actions is medical rather than political, judicial, or social. Therefore, instead of seeking a solution through the law or through social policy, a medical solution is sought. Thus, language used to refer to violence has major implications for the manner in which it is resolved, and for the level of responsibility taken by the perpetrators. Narratives of the victim and perpetrator are essential in any process which attempts to block the notion of violence – in whatever form – becoming ‘normal’ or everyday in Indonesian society. By adding human and the individual to this story it necessarily devalues normalization. Writers on violence in Indonesia face multiple dilemmas when confronting their subject. Like historians and social scientists in any field, there is a tension to weigh the evi- dence and produce that version of ‘his- tory’ which they see as best. More than that, when writing about violence morality, emotion, and notions of responsibility and seeking justice weigh just as heavily as the pursuit for factual truths. Scholars writing about violence in Indonesia, a nation state in transition to democracy, do their work within circumstances in which the search for truth about violence as a means to justice is an elusive one for victims and their supporters. This is perhaps a heavy burden for scholars to bear but, nonetheless, it is one they must take on in the absence of state institutions and international regimes willing to carry it out.

The problem of describing violence as cultural

Some scholars, although their number might be smaller, are more courageous to understand violence in Indonesia. One of the reasons for a lack of significant research focused on local, and personal, sources for violence is that the prevalent discussion is that of ‘culture’, with respect to violence, not necessarily denies normalization. ‘normal’ or everyday in Indonesia. face multiple dilemmas when confronting their subject. Like historians and social scientists in any field, there is a tension to weigh the evidence and produce that version of ‘history’ which they see as best. More than that, when writing about violence morality, emotion, and notions of responsibility and seeking justice weigh just as heavily as the pursuit for factual truths. Scholars writing about violence in Indonesia, a nation state in transition to democracy, do their work within circumstances in which the search for truth about violence as a means to justice is an elusive one for victims and their supporters. This is perhaps a heavy burden for scholars to bear but, nonetheless, it is one they must take on in the absence of state institutions and international regimes willing to carry it out.

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Notes >


3 The Jakarta Post, 18 November 2002.


Research & Reports

Since the fall of the Sukarto government in May 1998, Indonesia has experienced an increase in the frequency and intensity of violence. This has included communal violence, terrorism, lynchings, criminal violence, and state terrorism. The increase in both gruesome violence and temporary impunity has made many Indonesians feel increasingly unsafe in their own nation. Some have even begun to reflect on the ‘good old days’ of the New Order when violence, although pervasive, was controlled.

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Publication Trends in International Indonesian Studies: The Asia-Pacific Region as New Gravitation Centre

It is the fate of almost every Indonesianist who carries out historical research that he or she must possess some modicum of skill in reading Dutch-language material. The reason is simple: until the 1940s/1950s, almost all publications were written in Dutch and published in the language of the colonizer. It may even be said that the Netherlands enjoyed a factual research monopoly in Indonesian Studies. Such power over the production of knowledge and ‘knowing the world’, as postcolonial studies has witnessed, enabled and, in many ways, determined the colonial endeavour.

It is, therefore, not surprising that foreign research concerning Indonesia has always been of a strategic importance, not only for Indonesian scholars, but also for the political elite of the Republic of Indonesia. Over the last fifty years, how has the situation changed? Does the Netherlands (here read, intellectualism and academic institutions) still dominate in the field of research on Indonesia? Or has their position shifted from centre?

By Arndt Graf

This analysis surveys some basic quantitative trends in international Indonesian Studies in the 1990s. The source material is taken from Excerpta Indonesica, the bibliographical periodical published twice a year at the KITLV in Leiden (the Netherlands). Excerpta Indonesica provides a unique source in that it renders annotated citations of "almost all" research contributions (mostly articles) in journals and readers published on Indonesia. The disciplines covered are mainly from the humanities and social sciences, although certain other disciplines also appear (geography, medicine, etc.). The claimed scope is worldwide, although certain countries and journals are more favoured than others. This is traditionally true for articles published in the Netherlands, since they naturally find their way more easily into the holdings of the KITLV library, which constitutes the material basis for Excerpta Indonesica. The inclusion/exclusion policy of Excerpta Indonesica is often problematized in the field, since this bibliographical journal exerts an important gatekeeping function in the dissemination and, hence, the production of knowledge in Indonesian Studies. This makes it a knowledge-generating site. But it is also interesting to look at the representation of international Indonesian Studies in this influential journal. Events, such as the Amsterdam conference on Indon- esian Studies in 1995 (Barck). This conference provided additional service, important for the purpose of the present study, in every edition since the early 1990s: the introduction typically includes general statistics indicating the numbers of contributions on Indonesia listed according to country of publication. Such a helpful indication suggests what the net balance of publications in journals, readers, and so on, would be. Since the production of these publications is usually linked to centres of Indonesian Studies, this also tells us something about the international drawing power and importance of the various national centres of Indonesian Studies. On the other hand, it also betrays a certain bias, disfavoring small countries with few researchers as well as less publicized publication opportunities for an international audience.

The analysis of the aggregate numbers of the 1990s shows in which regions and countries contemporary contributions on Indonesia appeared. Some interesting results should be highlighted. The ranking of Indonesian Studies as an independent science in the field of world studies (a third of world publications) demonstrates that the enormous investments in the education sector since the 1955 independence of Indonesia have probably shifted the balance in the production of knowledge concerning Indonesia to the former Dutch colonial power itself. In other words, increasingly more Indonesians are writing their own story, on their own terms, thus forcing the international community of scholars to shift not only their assumptions concerning what is or is not a viable ‘primary source’, but also its requirements concerning language acquisition. It is no longer possible to carry out viable research concerning Indonesian studies without the ability to read, write, and speak Bahasa Indonesia.

In this context, it is interesting to see that the Netherlands, as the former colonial power, has lost most of its overwhelming global predominance in Indonesian Studies that lasted at least up until the 1990s. If we only count the statistics available for the 1990’s via the dual purpose of Excerpta Indonesica, then 25 per cent of all published articles new appear in the Netherlands. Given the ongoing cuts in Indonesian Studies in the Netherlands, this figure may well probably shrink. On the other hand, the Netherlands is still the most important place for Indonesian studies publications. In this respect, the proportion of national papers has probably shifted:

Researchers are increasingly looking for venues other than those provided by the KITLV. The Centre for International Studies and the Amsterdam Institute for Advanced Cultural Studies have started to publish the results of the conferences they organize. Other journals have stepped up their efforts to bring in articles on the Netherlands and its colonial past.

The collection of Ceramics Excavated by Olov Janse

During his work in Vietnam, the Swedish archaeologist Olov Janse excavated numerous brick-built Han-style tombs and kilns in Thanh Hoa province, and the remains of the Dong Son settlement in North Vietnam. With the support of the Ecole Française d’Extrême Orient in Hanoi, Janse carried out three series of excavations in Vietnam between 1934 and 1939. During his third expedition he also excavated at the Sa Huynh sites in the province of Quang Nai, central Vietnam. The ceramics he excavated were deposited in numerous museums throughout the world, one of these being the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities (MFEA) in Stockholm, Sweden.

By Ruth Prior

The purpose of my visit to the MFEA was to study a largely ignored collection of ceramics from the province of Thanh Hoa, North Vietnam, which Olov Janse had excavated. Originally all of the ceramics from Janse’s excavations were deposited either in the Musée Guimet, Paris, or in the Peabody Museum in Boston, USA. However, in recognition of King Gustavus Adolphus’ interest in archaeology, and perhaps as a gesture of patriotism, Janse arranged for a selection of objects to be given to King Gustavus Adolphus. Later, these same artefacts were transferred to the MFEA. Since then the vessels have largely remained unstudied and un-displayed.

The original aims of my research were to establish a chronology of the vessels found in the tombs and at the kilns of Thanh Hoa, examine methods used in their production, study the distribution of the vessels made at the Tam Tho kilns, and if possible, sample material for petrographic analysis.

However, during the early stages of my research it became apparent that some of the aims would have to be modified. This was due to the fact that when 1 began examining the objects there was no catalogue of them, nor was there data available on their provenance or date. Obviously, these facts needed to be established through careful research.

Janse published detailed volumes, each reporting on one of the three periods during which he undertook excavation in Vietnam (Janse 1934, 1935, 1938). It turned out that the materials which had been stored in the Musée Guimet, and thus the MFEA, were the result of his first two excavations. The majority of the vessels at the MFEA were marked with a code – usually on the bottom of the vessel base – which appeared to be a site code, for example ‘ITI’. I believed this could be interpreted as Lach Truong, tomb two. Upon testing this hypothesis by examining the photographs in Janse’s volumes, I found one of the vessels in the MFEA collection illustrated, with its site code visible. This code related exactly to the name of the site and the tomb number, confirming the belief that the markings represented site codes.

Using this, in conjunction with the list of objects sent by the Musée Guimet and the tomb plans, I was then able to proceed through the Stockholm collection identifying each object, the site it was from, and the tomb, if from a tomb. This knowledge enabled me to set up a catalogue that detailed all of the vessels in the collection. This catalogue contains an individual record for each vessel, including: measurements, surface decoration and glazing, the method of production, references, and a photograph. It also includes the estimated date based on associated grave goods within the tomb.

The Janse collection in the MFEA includes thirty-five individual ceramic vessels as well as over fifty broken pots, basins, dishes, cups, and vases. These were primarily unglazed, though some were glazed, and some were covered with stamped motifs. Of particular interest were two tripod vessels in the form of birds, which Janse suggested represented either cockerels or phoceans. The majority of the vessels can be dated to between the first and third centuries AD, corresponding to the period of Han occupation in North Vietnam.

The vessels in the Stockholm collection demonstrate that there were two distinct production traditions used in the forming of the vessels found deposited in the tombs. These two traditions possibly co-existed at the kilns of Tam Tho or, as I suspect, are indicative of vessels being imported from outside Tam Tho.

Firstly there is a group of high-fired cream wares, frequently glazed, often well formed, and evenly fired. Some of these wares have Chinese characters on their bases. It would seem unlikely that these inscriptions were made by Vietnamese potters, who were most probably illiterate and who would not have been familiar with the Chinese script. Such inscriptions are often interpreted as ‘makers’ marks’ and would have to be made on the unfired vessel, suggesting that they were produced by Chinese potters.

The vessels appear to be made from kaolin-based clays, deposits of which can be found in the Ma and Red River valleys, but not within the vicinity of the Tam Tho kilns. Therefore this group of wares may have been brought into the area for depositing within the tombs.

The second group of vessels are much lower fired earthenwares. They are commonly unglazed but with stamped decoration, often using some wheel technology. Their uneven colouration indicates irregular firing. The fabrics compare well to the ones I analysed from the Tam Tho kilns, marking them as products of Tam Tho. They seem to suggest vessels made either by careless potters, or more likely, potters who were beginning to adapt to a new technology and new vessel forms. These potters were eager to imitate Chinese forms and motifs but were as yet unable to obtain the greater degree of skill in their production, as shown by the cream wares.

Dr Olov Janse was a specialist in Vietnamese ceramics. She completed her PhD on early historic ceramics from The Kieu in central Vietnam in 2000. ruth.prior@kalshop.com

Let op! Film monteren incl kader!
Politics of Culture in China

The emergence of a transnational management culture in China is a very recent phenomenon. There have, of course, been precedents, which may be traced back to the early twentieth century or even earlier. But what we see happening in China today in Sino-foreign joint ventures has basically emerged during the 1990s. Smaller and less structured, the study of transnational management in China is still taking its first steps, and that a broadly oriented approach in this research field is lacking. Last year, a workshop entitled ‘Politics of culture in transnational management: China during the twentieth century’ was convened by the authors in order to develop such an approach.

By Leo Douw & Chan Kwok Bun

The workshop ‘Politics of culture in transnational management’ was held at Hong Kong Baptist University on 23–24 May 2002, as a part of the international conference ‘Politics of Culture in the modern world (1980). Hofstede suggested that the existence of cultural differences among the personnel of multinational firms offers a substantial explanation of the problems with which corporations such as IBM are confronted in their foreign branches; he also offered an apparently sophisticated methodology for the research of those differences, because his project provided a convenient outline of the components of culture and enabled students to efficiently interview their proclaimed cultural luggage along sliding scales. In many departments of business economics and organizational studies at universities, and in professional schools, the work by Hofstede and his followers is still the standard reference. As for China, Hofstede has provided the obvious starting point for a large number of research projects.

Undoubtedly, the Hofstede school has engendered a vast amount of useful information on work relations in foreign-invested firms, including those in China. There is no doubt about the existence of cultural differences among their being a real and often formidable obstacle to be overcome when doing business across national borders. Nevertheless, over the past decades the theory’s limitations have also become clear. For one thing, the argument of cultural difference can be manipulated to the purpose of maintaining or underlining pre-existing power structures. Research on gender relations in Sino-German enterprises indicates that whereas German expatriates usually serve different purposes for the Chinese than for their foreign partners, they also, often unconsciously, serve quite diverse and sometimes conflicting interests among their Chinese counterparts. A more realistic understanding of these interests on the Chinese side seems to be much more helpful in conducting business than any preconception of cultural differences, which are often very useful that may be. It would be better, too, if our rapidly increasing understanding of the workings of Chinese business networks could be extended to the analysis of transnational management, as a method of getting to grips with the question of where foreign firms in China are heading in the longer term, and which side controls that process. The past achievements of such business networks in accommodating the needs of Western enterprises in China would particularly merit such analysis.

What applies to claims that cultural differences really matter, applies equally to claims of cultural affinity. Research reveals that managers of a bicultural background are often perplexed by the conflicts which result from that situation: prospective Australian-Chinese business people for example, who try and enter the Chinese market, have often shrunk back from their initiative when realizing that they were considered as Chinese rather than as Australians, and were not prepared to live up to the resulting expectations. The claim that their shared culture provides them with a big advantage over other foreigners in doing business in China is equally deceptive. For example, research into the Suzhou Industrial Park shows how a joint undertaking between the China and Singapore governments ended in failure because, amongst other things, the cultural affinity from both sides blinded the participants to objectives against a local administrative project.

It is perhaps high time to transcend the Hofstede approach by examining what is behind the cultural divide rather than its alleged features and, also, by looking upon the newly emerged transnational management culture in China as a totally new phenomenon. To mention some final precedents: German and Chinese female managers in transnational enterprises in Hong Kong have demonstrated a remarkable ability to create career opportunities for themselves, which is quite contrary to Chinese common practice. Also, there is now sufficient research showing that certain systems in transnational firms in China have their own specific features and can no longer be called either ‘Chinese’ or ‘Western’. The new transnational management culture in China can be said to be composed of very different elements, but is more than the sum of its parts, and

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is closely related to the power structures which gave birth to it and keep changing it.

Reference

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Prof. Chen Kewei Bum is Head of and Professor at the Department of Sociology and Director of the David C. Lom Institute for East-West Interaction at Hong Kong Baptist University. Having published on a wide variety of sociological topics, he is now concentrating on problems of transnational interaction and the workings of Chinese business networks in the global economy.
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News & Reports

‘Wellcome’ Asia: Histories of Medicine in the UK

The Wellcome Trust, the well-known British educational charity, has played a sterling role in encouraging the development of research and teaching expertise in the history of medicine in the United Kingdom. At the moment the Trust funds three different major centres in London.

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Dr Sanjay Bhattacharya is a lecturer at the Wellcome Trust Centre for the History of Medicine at University College London. He specializes in the history of medicine in South Asia, with particular emphasis on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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What Is Bon Medicine?

Analysing Narratives of Illness and Healing

Tibetan medicine is recognized today as one of the world’s most complex and sophisticated systems of medicine. Over the last 1300 years, Tibetan medical traditions have produced a vast corpus of literature analogous in complexity to the medical scholasticism of India, China, or Greece. Tibetan medical systems are practiced widely today in the countries of Nepal, Bhutan, and Mongolia; in Tibetan populated areas of the People’s Republic of China; in parts of Russia (Kalmykia, Buryatia); and throughout India (Ladakh, Sikkim, and in Tibetan refugee settlements). The popularity and use of Tibetan medicine is growing in Europe, North America, and the Pacific Rim as well.

By Mona Schrempf and Frances Garrett

Studies on Tibetan medicine generally refer to the ‘classical’ medical system, which is largely influenced by Buddhist notions of the body and the human condition. With an emphasis on medical theory, existing historical research on Tibetan medicine stresses the influence of the Indian Ayurvedic humoral system and Chinese pulse diagnosis, and focuses on the institutionally codified body of Tibetan medical literature comprised by the Four Tantras (rGyud bzhi) and its commentaries. Many studies of Tibetan medicine are limited by a scientifically oriented epistemology that places value in the study of medical systems only in the search for effective healing techniques. Medical anthropologists, in turn, have concentrated mostly on the impact of modernity and socio-political change among Tibetan patients on the public health system and on the institutionalization and professionalization of traditional Tibetan medicine, as exemplified in the largest Tibetan medical institutions, the nMdti quyang linLha (Tibet Autonomous Region) and in Dharamsala (Indian exile).

Despite a growing interest in Tibetan medicine, the pluralistic diversity of Tibetan medical systems, that is their text, method, content, and localized practical forms, has received little scholarly research attention outside Tibet. By examining modern-day Bon narratives of illness and healing and the historical development of such narratives in nineteenth- to fifteenth-century Tibetan literature, this project aims to articulate the boundaries of a distinctive tradition of Bon medicine.

Associated with the Bon religion, and claiming origins dating back to centuries before Tibetan Buddhism, Bon medicine is an ancient medical tradition. Taught in Bon monasteries, specific medical schools, or through oral transmission by hereditary lineages of Bon doctors, it is still practised today by Bon medical practitioners in the People’s Republic of China, and in indigenous and exile Tibetan communities in Nepal and India. Historical and anthropological research on Bon medicine will facilitate a scholarly analysis of the complexities of local medical practice and of indigenous understandings of health and illness in Bon life in Tibetan communities. In the effort to understand how Bon medicine is defined as a tradition distinct from other forms of Tibetan medicine, this project will also contribute to the larger question of how medical and religious disciplinary boundaries are drawn in Tibet both historically and today.

Narratives of illness and healing

Drawing on methodologies of history of medicine and medical anthropology, this project will analyse ‘story-like’ narrative descriptions of individual experiences of illness and relief from illness in Tibetan Bon literature and practice. In such narratives, notions of self, society, and culture are negotiated and made meaningful. These narratives – crucial components of medical education, medical theory and practice, and the healing process – will support an analysis of cultural constructions of illness and healing, and the relationship between medical practice and the social and cultural contexts, and other forms of culture. This approach identifies medicine as a player in a far larger discourse than simply that of medical healing. It exposes broad hermeneutic issues in the study of medicine in India and Tibet.

Narratives of illness and healing

By Mona Schrempf

The authors express gratitude to Henk Blezer (h.w.a.blezer@let.leidenuniv.nl) for his earlier comments on this article.

Notes

For fellowship applications, you may contact Professor Cook with a copy of your CV and a two- or three-page research proposal, to be considered by the Centre’s Research Committee. Successful applicants are forwarded to the Trust for its fellowship competition.

Doctoral candidates (with their own funding) may contact Dr Neve: m.neve@ucl.ac.uk

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Contemporary Korean Cinema

By Roald H. Maliangkay

Hyangjin Lee’s Contemporary Korean Cinema: Identity, Culture and Politics explores how the socio-political status of Koreans has influenced the work of directors and filmmakers in both North and South Korea over the centuries. Contrary to what the title suggests, it constitutes a history of the socio-political conditions, ideologies, and struggles regarding Korean cinema in both North and South Korea throughout the twentieth century. Lee analyses seventeen films from both sides of the thirty-eight parallel and shows how they represent the disparate national and state ideologies regarding national and class consciousness into four categories that each deal with cinema on each side of the divided nation. At the end of the book a lengthy chronological filmography (pp.194–221) is included that summarizes the people and companies responsible for the films mentioned in the book, followed by a bibliography and index.

In her introduction (pp.1–15), Lee explains that the purpose of her study is to show that the way in which filmmakers have related past experiences often express ideological attitudes relevant to present-day society. Ideology, she notes, underlies all films as far as that they are not reliable mirrors of actual reality but coloured reconstructions of it. Her focus is on the aspect of ideology in the interpretations of North and South Korean films will, she predicts, demonstrate, that both nations claim a historical legitimacy over the other, they have also maintained the idea of a cultural and ethnic homogeneity. Following a summary of the discourse on ideology in film studies in general, Lee recounts the Marxist approach toward the expression of ideology in film, as well as that of poststructural language and para-language, and ties this into a brief but sharp assessment of the relevance of the work of Foucault, Said, Geertz, and Barthes.

In the first chapter Lee relates the development of Korea’s film industry vis-à-vis political opposition from the very outset. Within years after the introduction of the technology, film became a booming industry and it did not take long for the Japanese to realize the medium’s potential as a powerful tool for propaganda. The severe competition from foreign films forced Korean filmmakers to work with Japanese distributors and investors, but they often did so unsuccessfully. The difficulties they faced in making independent Korean films was exacerbated follow-

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In State Formation in Korea, Gina Barnes discusses the complex subject of the transition period from the proto-history to the history of the peninsula against the background of these two historical approaches. It is a complex subject on which few books have been published, this being the first ever book in a Western language to deal with it. Her application of a Western state formation framework to the subject, which has not previously been attempted, allows her to make the Korean question more easily comparable at a global level. This collection of eight essays deals with specific questions that arose during Barnes’s research into the ‘background to the complex social development on the Japanese islands’, but does not attempt to give a comprehensive answer to the various questions peculiar to the peninsula. We are left not with a book but, rather, with a collection of papers and articles, originally written between 1983 and 2000. Due to a lack of editing, the data are sometimes redundant, and have not previously been attempted, allowing her to make the Korean question more easily comparable at a global level.

Controversy surrounds the formation process of the Kaya Federation and the Three Kingdoms (Kogury0, Paekche, and Silla) on the Korean peninsula, which took place at around the beginning of the Christian era. In essence, two main approaches oppose each other; the historical approach, which relies on Chinese and Korean historical sources, and the archaeological approach, which relies on excavation data. The former dates the foundation of the Three Kingdoms to the first century BC, while the latter, based on archaeological evidence of social stratification in the form of sumptuously furnished mound tombs, asserts that the Three Kingdoms did not emerge before the fourth century AD.

This collection of eight essays deals with specific questions that arose during Barnes’s research into the ‘background to the complex social development on the Japanese islands’, but does not attempt to give a comprehensive answer to the various questions peculiar to the peninsula. We are left not with a book but, rather, with a collection of papers and articles, originally written between 1983 and 2000. Due to a lack of editing, the data are sometimes redundant, and have not always been brought up to date. The author has missed the opportunity to draw diverse results into a real, new, and informative synthesis. An example is the theoretical second chapter, which observes that the ‘problem of state formation in the southern Korean peninsula hangs on the integration of so-called Bronze Age and Iron Age data, and their integration requires the use of a settlement pattern concept which focuses on actual communities and their relation to each other in a broader political and social network’ (p.89). It would have been much better had it been incorporated into the first chapter. There, the author reappraises the study of seven states (from Old Chinese to Silla) as they are accepted in Korean historical literature through the framework of the Western anthropological theory on the transformation of chieftain states, thus providing the book with a proper introduction.

The lack of integration of new data is particularly noticeable in the bibliographical areas who wish to learn about the peninsula. She reminds us that it is impossible to arrive at a good synthesis on the matter of this critical transition from the proto-historical period to the historical period. Meanwhile, Barnes’s book should not be neglected: it provides a wealth of information and is the pioneer publication in a Western language on some important questions related to this period. It will serve as a necessary tool for students who do not have direct access to the Korean sources and wish to specialize in ancient periods of North-East Asia, and to proto-historians working on other geographic areas who wish to learn about the peninsula.

Dr Elisabeth Chabanel is head of the Korean branch of the French Research School of the Far East (Ecole française d’Extrème Orient, EFEO), residing in Seoul. Her main area of interest is art history and archaeology of ancient Korea.

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A Venetian Woman protects her husband against Japanese soldiers. Taken from the old Thousand-climax Sanmang hunseolsa (Korean Examples of the Display of Confu- cian Virtues: New, illustrated edition), which for each entry gives the text in Chi- nese as well as Ko- rean, with a picture for the illiterates.

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Due to political circumstances, Korean Studies has had a late start compared with the study of Japan and China, and, consequently, in many fields there is still a scarcity of authoritative standard works and handbooks in Western languages. For the study of Korean literature the publication of Histoire de la littérature coréenne is a milestone, similar to that of the Sourcebooks of Korean Civilization for the study of Korean culture some years ago. It is the fruit of a collaborative effort by Cho Dong-il and Daniel Bouchez, both scholars who, in their own way, have played an important role in their field.

Cho Dong-il, who belongs to the generation of students who topped the regime of Syngman Rhee in 1960, has not only published studies of various aspects of Korean literature and a comprehensive five-volume history of the subject (of which this book is an abridgment), but in his numerous books also has devoted a great deal of atten- tion to comparative and regional studies, which may be viewed as a Frenchman of French literature, and from the outset with unrivaled energy he has attempted to develop a perspective that could overcome the limitations of the Eurocentric views that also dominated Korean academia. Daniel Bouchez first went to Korea to teach philosophy to the local Catholic priests (in Latin!), but turned out to be one of the most prominent European scholars of classical Korean literature. Through his groundbreaking work on the seventeenth-century author Kim Man-jung he became one of the central figures in a fierce debate in Korea concerning the language in which Kim wrote his novels.

Bouchez has not only translated and abridged the first four volumes of Cho’s history (leaving the truly modern litera- ture of the twentieth century for a future publication), but also adapted the text for non-Korean readers, thus becom- ing the co-author of this volume. The result is excellent. Cho’s original work is so long that most readers will only consult it piecemeal, whenever they need information on a specific topic. The French version, too, may be used in this way (it contains a 34-page index and a detailed table of contents), but also is a pleasure to read from beginning to end. In fact, it provides one of the most attractive and most stimulating introductions to Korean cultural history I know, not least because of the attention paid to intellec- tual developments in general.

To avoid misunderstandings, it should be emphasized that the idea of “Korean literature” does not only mean literature in the Korean language. Koreans have from very early in their history made ample use of Chinese charac- ters and the Chinese language to express themselves in writing, and to write in Korean was difficult before the Kore- an alphabet was invented in 1443. Cho Dong-il has firmly broken with the tendency of some narrowly nationalistic historians of Korean literature, after liberation from Japan- ese colonialism in 1945, to focus exclusively on writing in the vernacular. Consequently discussion of writings in Chi- nese takes up at least as much space as that in literature in Korean, and probably more. One of the most prominent and innovative players in this context is the ambivalent bilinguism (diglossia) in which the Koreans (some of whom continued to write in Chinese until the twentieth century) found themselves during most of their history. The study of the two languages and the complex relationship between the two languages was extremely complex. One of the two languages had a certain affinity with a specific gender and class (for example women and com- moners were largely excluded from literature in Chinese), whereas the other was a vehicle for trenchant social criticism, as the cutting irony of the short stories of Pak Chi-won demonstrates. The vernacular lyrics called sijo often were translated into Chinese, while some sijo were originally Koreanized versions of lines of Chinese poetry. Many late Choson nov- els exist in Korean and Chinese versions. A representative Chine- se case is Kwonong (A Nine Cloud Dream) by Kim Man-jung (1657–1952), widely regarded as the best specimen of its kind. There has been disagreement about the language in which it was originally written and the last word has not been spoken, but it is not unlikely that it was first written in Korean, then translated into Chinese, and subsequently retranslated into Korean. Chinese was used for all kinds of purposes and not, as one might be tempted to think, always associated with conservatism and a lack of respect for Korea’s own culture. In many cases Chinese served to mediate native traditions and Korean self-esteem and could be the vehicle for trenchant social criticism, as the cutting irony of the short stories of Pak Chi-won (1777–1805) attests.

National identity and tradition

Two other prominent themes reflect basic concerns of intellectuals of the generation to which Cho Dong-il belongs. Using the Korean terminology these may be summarized as minjok and minjung: the nation (and the masses of the people. In other words, much attention is paid to the rela- tionship of literature with national identity, national con- sciousness, and national destiny, and with the fate of the ordi- nary people, those who were dominated and exploited. The preoccupation with the nation, a natural consequence of Korea’s confrontation with colonization and modernization, does not, however, imply a total lack of consciousness. National consciousness is not assumed from the outset, but its emergence is carefully traced. In a different context, writing about the oral literature of Cheju Island, which he regards as that of a minority people, Cho has demonstrated that he is not blind to the dangers and limitations of the nationalistic per- spective and has even issued a call to transcend it. The inter- est in literature that directly, or more often indirectly, repre- sents the views of the lower strata of society may be seen as a reflection of the drive for democratization that has charac- terized contemporary South Korean history while one repres- ening government after another assumed power.

The admiration Cho expresses for an author like Yi Kyubo (1618–1642) is typical of his views and values. Although Yi exclusively wrote in Chinese, he exhibited a clear con- sciousness of Korean tradition, regarding, for instance, an orally transmitted story of the language of the Ancient Korean state of Koguryo as literature. He saw himself as an Occidentalist paradigm that generated partly converging cultural products as a whole.

The admiration Cho expresses for an author like Yi Kyubo (1618–1642) is typical of his views and values. Although Yi exclusively wrote in Chinese, he exhibited a clear consciousness of Korean tradition, regarding, for instance, an orally transmitted story of the language of the Ancient Korean state of Koguryo as literature. He saw himself as

Korean literature.
Moral Fictions: Tamil Folktales in Oral Tradition

India represents a special conundrum for scholars working with folktales. Such early tale collections as the Panchatantra, the Buddhist Jataka legends, and the fables of the Jain elders point to the existence of a long-standing and diverse body of tale-telling traditions, giving the folklorist a feel for historical continuity and change that is often absent among traditions of tale-telling in non-literate environments. Yet, at the same time, the literary nature of such collections presents problems of its own. The same is true for Indian folktales collected by early European folklorists.

Stuart Blackbourn is therefore to be applauded for his efforts in the painstaking and time-consuming work of translating a large number of tales from a single regional tradition. Moral Fictions brings together translations of one hundred folktales that Blackbourn collected in different regions of Tamil Nadu during the mid-1990s. Treading carefully the path between the too simplistic and the too specific that can easily characterize such enterprises, the collection is significant in the context of Indian folklore studies in providing a broad selection of tale-types told by no fewer than forty-one tellers that allow an overview of one particular cultural/linguistic folklore tradition at a given point in space and time. As a methodological exercise in the writing of folktales, the volume is also of interest as an attempt to make the construction of the text as close and simple as possible a mirror of the ethnographic experience, while not allowing details of recording to interfere with the tales themselves. The volume is organized by story-telling ‘sessions’, keeping tales together by author, title, and location of their telling. As well as the clarity this allows into the contexts of the tales, as Blackbourn himself notes, this approach also reveals something of the ‘narrative logic’ through which different tales relate to one another within a given session.

There is a minimum of authorial comment on the tales outside of the ‘Introduction’ and ‘Afterword’. However, in these two short pieces that frame the collection, Blackbourn is careful to draw our attention to the moral dimensions of the tales. He comments that the weight of opinion among Tamil folklorists is to view fantasy as the main characteristic of the folktales and the topic of morality as only a peripheral theme. Yet, for Blackbourn, the most striking characteristic of the Tamil folktales is its emphasis on crime and punishment. Citing Maria Tatar’s argument that violence and sex represent the ‘hard facts’ of folklore, Blackbourn offers what he sees as the unifying characteristic of the folklore tradition he is presenting in the claim that ‘[T]his is a story of morality and moral fictions.’ Thus in one story from Panasajakkattu, a female practitioner of ‘country medicine’ steals money from corpses for cures and so becomes involved with a group of thieves who try to bungle her house and kidnap her. In the denouement, we find the woman suitably admonished through a short jail term and the thieves who molested her condemned to death. In another tale from Tanjavur, a cruel mother-in-law is tricked by a young bride’s faked return from the dead into arraging her own death and funeral. With its mixture of helpless- ness and the catharsis of revenge, the story of the young bride is one with resonance for any patriarchal society based around the extended household.

Such recurring societal references suggest that Blackbourn is right to take issue with aesthetic arguments that view the intrinsic narrative freedom of the folktales, since such a perspective takes shape only by comparison to (and so very much in the presence of) writing. Like the genesis of folklore studies itself, however useful such aesthetic approaches are, they are very often the product of a literate sensibility and cannot do much to ignore more societal and even functional dimensions of given folktales.

The tales are translated into a highly readable style and present much that will be enjoyable to specialists and non-specialists alike. The tales present insights into the religion and social structure of their tellers’ communities no less than the particular modalities of folklore itself. The tales draws our attention. However, perhaps the most lasting contribution of the volume is its ability to draw the reader into another parallel universe of the tales themselves and in doing so communicate something of the peculiar narrative magic that sustains successful story-telling traditions, wherever they are found.

India...
T
his book can best be appreciated as a response to the issues raised in two earlier publications: Michel Picard’s Bali: Cultural tourism and touristic culture (1996) and Adrian Vick- ers’ Bali: A paradise created (1990). Most of the essays in the new book simultaneously celebrate and commis-
erate the results of that creation and seek to further challenge the residue of ‘paradise’ mythology while presenting diverse views on Bali’s possible futures. With its multiple voices, there are four-
teen contributors, including several of Bali’s most prominent intellectuals and social commentators, there emerges a selective, but interdisciplinary, account of the debates and discourses that are of current concern on the island and which are relevant to both academics and the more general reader. The con-
tributions and, in particular, Rama Surya’s photographic essay from an excep-
tionally ‘traditional’, though thorough-
globally’ ‘modernized’ society, is undergoing rapid trans-
formation; this is proposed as the meeting or collision of ‘two worlds’.
The articles display a tough realism borne of intimate knowledge combined with academic distance, thus acknowl-
edging the bittersweet contradictions that are so apparent and disturbing in contemporary Bali. The main premise that runs throughout the collection is that Bali is no longer the paradise it was once perceived and represented to be and that various forces, especially tourism development, are threatening Bali’s remarkable quality of life. All main-
tains, in their own ways, that there is ‘a shocking discrepancy between the exot-
ic beauty of Balinese tours and trans-
formations, and the way in which they are perceived and interpreted by the world at large’ (p.1). IGR Panji Tisma comments on the increasing hacv: ‘working by environmental pollu-
tion and tourism development, IGR Panji Tisma and Ketut Sumarta discuss the Balinese language as a central, but seriously threat-
ened, aspect of local culture. IGR Panji Tisma provides an incisive analy-
isis of the increasing tensions between competing factions of the PHDI, the Indonesian Hindu Council (Parisadha Hindu Dharma Indonesia), and Cok Sawitri discusses changing gender roles in the performing arts, to mention but a few. The anthology also includes poems by Cok Sawitri, Oka Rusmini, and Adit S. Rini, which offer alternative perspectives on being a ‘woman of Bali’ (p.139).
Rama Surya’s photographic comple-
ment the text and portray a similarly ambivalent view of urban Balinese adapta-
tions to Indonesian, transna-
cultural, and cosmopolitan modernity. In particular, the portrait of a young Bali-
nese couple in full garb, ‘The dream of the golden age. Balinese couple’ (p.79), both ‘traditional’ (pakuan adat) and global fashion MTV-style (jungles and nose-nyeuh) effectively captures that tension and just avoids the dichotomiz-
ting that is typical of overt ‘tradition’ ver-
sus ‘modernity’ imagery. Similarly, Coca-Cola and holy water are juxta-
posed in what appears to be a fairly functional and comfortable coupling, despite the implicit critique of con-
sumerism and globalization in what, perhaps, ‘should be a spiritual place (see photo). For me, one of the most powerful images is of the provin-
cial capital’s busiest crossroad junction, on the way to Kuta, where a signp, funded by the Bali Post newspaper and perched between advertisements and Hindu shrines, impotently reads ‘Bali Barhi’ (Protest graveyard) as the traffic hurtles past ‘Between Coca-Cola, reli-
gion, and neurology, Denpasar’ (pp.93–93).
While the anthology explicitly seeks to challenge the enduring, but stale, stereotype of Bali as paradise, many of the contributions, perhaps under-
standably, still read like a lament to par-
adise lost, despite their claim that par-
adise was never really there to begin with. It is, in the words of Uv Ram-
seyer, ‘an admonishing book’ (p.13). This critical rewriting of the tourist mirage is not, however, without prece-
dent. Very little scholarship of the past two decades, at least, has unques-
tioned romantized the state of affairs in Bali. That there are contradictions and
discourage some readers. Nevertheless, the fact that the contextualized approach is complemented by longitudinal per-
spective works in the book’s favour. As an ancient Asian proverb says, ‘to understand the present, one should understand the past; without the past, the present would not be what it is’. Indeed, the impact of European colonial-
ism on Southeast Asian heritage is undeniable, either in Indonesia, in the context of religious and ethnic-religious differences. With influx of Chinese and Indian migrants into the Malay peninsula, during the nineteenth century, at a time when Britain was consolidating its colonial rule, administrative apparatus was introduced to facilitate socio-political order, and this in turn threatened the local way of life, which was, and still is, a highly heterogeneous and polyglotal population. Different groups were formally categorized discriminatingly to ethnic, a classification that post-colonial Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore have retained. The con-
tractions, tensions, and repercus-
sions, emerging from unequal com-
mercial interests, and socio-political change, is little surprise and, to an
informed audience, not all that contro-
versial.
The real quality of this book is the diversity of the contributions and, indeed, the editors’ achievement in bringing them together in this fresh and original account. Although, in recent years, Indonesian writers have been more widely published in translation, this book will be of real benefit to interna-
tional scholars and students, as well as to the lay-reader, because it offers unique perspectives that can only derive from an everyday perspective with the subjects dis-
cussed, both as familiar relatives and anthropological ‘others’. It is pity that some minor English translation errors occasionally distract from the otherwise excellent overall quality of the contents and presentation. It might also be appropriate to consider translating and publishing it in Indonesian, thus mak-
ing it more accessible to local readers. Such comments aside, this particular venture towards ‘living in two worlds’ has, I think, been a success. <

References
Picard, M. Bali: Cultural tourism and tour-

Dr Laura Noszlopy has recently completed her PhD thesis, The Bali Arts Festival – Pesta Kesenian Bali: Culture, Politics and the Arts in Contemporary Indonesia, at the University of East Anglia. She teaches com-
parative knowledge and presentation. It might also be appropriate to consider translating and publishing it in Indonesian, the book aims toanswer the question that resulted from study conducted in the region between 1998 and 2000. The book offers a new perspective on the way to achieve cultural and civic awareness in deeply plural societies. In examining the discourse and prac-
tice of multiculturalism across different spheres, and by trying to understand the serious short-
cumings in current literature on citizenship and civic participation. The issue tackled is not an easy one and the concepts discussed far from static. Using a comparative knowledge approach, the new faces of pluralism are examined from the point of view of politics, gender, markets, and religion. Written in collaboration with John Briscoe, the analysis on J.S. Furnival’s general approach and works. This British administrator and political intro-
ducer to Hinduism is highly evocative of a plural society, which he describes as a society that comprises ‘two or more elements or social orders which live side by side, but in the name of one political unit’. Certain distinctive characteristics in the political and eco-

The Real Quality of this Book is the Diversity of the Contributions and, Indeed, the Editors’ Achievement in Bringing Them Together in this Fresh and Original Account. Although, in Recent Years, Indonesian Writers Have Been More Widely Published in Translation, this Book Will Be of Real Benefit to Intern
ational Scholars and Students, As Well As to the Lay-Reader, Because it Offers Unique Perspectives that Can Only Derive From an Everyday Perspective with the Subjects Discussed, Both as Familiar Relatives and Anthropological ‘others’.

The Politics of Multiculturalism
Pluralism means a belief in more than one entity or a tendency to be, hold, or do more than one thing. This literal meaning is common to all the political and social applications of the concept of pluralism but has been applied in contexts so varied that, in practice, pluralism can be seen as having a multitude of separate meanings. Nonetheless, each of these ways of interpreting pluralism has had at least some influence on its primary contemporary meaning: that the pluralist model of society is one in which the presence of groups is of the political essence.

Pluralism is the politics of multicultural-ism. Pluralism and citizenship in Southeast Asia

By Marie-Almeida Teures

There are perhaps no better exam-
examples than Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore to illustrate this con-
cept of pluralism and open the debate. However, despite this, most writers take Western industrialized societies as the exclusive point of departure for their discussion. Thus by compiling the work of fourteen specialists, all Asian and based in Asia, Robert Hefner has attempted to challenge this approach in his book, entitled the politics of multiculturalism. Pluralism and citizenship in Indonesia, Singapore, and Indonesia,

By Laura Noszlopy

Bali: Living in Two Worlds
How can paradise be paradise? Although it was published in 2001, the socio-cultural problems discussed in Bali: Living in Two Worlds, seem all the more poignant and burdensome with implications for the future. Indeed, immediate impact of the attack far surpasses these problems, but this (still) timely compilation of essays, compositions, poetry, and photographs nonetheless offers a very contemporary ‘critical self-portrait in order to bring up questions about present-day and future cultural, social and ecological developments of Bali’ (p.10). The ‘two worlds’ of the title refers, on this level, to the negotiating point between Bali’s often romanticized past and its possible futures.

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Preservation of Archives in Tropical Climates

Both bibliography and manual, *Preservation of Archives in Tropical Climates* deserves a wide readership among all who recognize the importance of preserving the cultural heritage in the tropics. This first-class reference work treats the reality of Asian aged further friction between ethnic colonialism, the ethnic division of the niches in the economy and/or politics nocentrism may have existed before. Both bibliography and manual, the same division into chapters as the publications listed in part two, makes excellent and informative reading. It has the same division into chapters as the second part with the notion that the chapter is subdivided into several sections. For example, the chapter on storage is subdivided into eight sections (introduction, internal climate control, sunlight, dust, shelving, handling, packaging, and good housekeeping), while some sections are again subdivided into smaller sections, for example in this case ‘internal climate control’ is subdivided into air-conditioning, simple mechanical provisions, and air pollution. In this way each topic – large or minute – is dealt with in a narrative fashion, with summaries and connections to the tested texts and with comments and reminders by René Teygeler.

Personally, I really appreciate this approach, which is of immediate use to librarians working in the tropics. There is a wealth of practical tips, thoughts, guidelines, projects, and initiatives, and just plain facts. Who knew that in Quito in Ecuador seems to have the well-situated perfect climate for preservation purposes? Although located near the equator, its high altitude provides the city with a dry and cool climate and low atmospheric pressure. As is mentioned in the book (p. 10), ‘humidity and heat are not one that many can afford. It is not just the cost of installation; there is the need to maintain the system and the running costs, i.e. the electricity bill. [...] Often archivists hold the mistaken belief that if a comprehensive air-conditioning system is installed all would be well. It is now understood that this view is entirely erroneous’ (pp. 89–90). The appendix, mentioning around a hundred addresses of contacts and institutes involved in preservation activities in the tropics, comes in very handy.

Evidently the compiler has opted for a discussion of preservation of traditional media such as palm-leaf, bark, and of course paper, paying no attention to other media such as microfilm (already in use for more than half a century), tape, disk, CD-ROM, or other electronic media. Because of the rapid expansion of these media in the libraries and archives in developing countries, the preservation of microfilm, for example, is currently becoming an extremely urgent matter in the tropics. Microfilm and probably other modern media as well are in far more immediate danger of destruction as a result of the fatal combination of high temperature and high humidity than are the traditional media. Indeed, destruction of films is taking place at a much higher pace than that of paper. Thus the very results of huge microfilming projects, set up in order to save the contents of deteriorating manuscripts, are endangered. Ironically, the films have in some cases become unusable whereas the manuscripts are still readable.

Some other relevant digital issues are not dealt with in the book. For example, there is the encouraging initiative from Southeast Asian professionals to set up a Southeast Asian Consortium for Access and Preservation (SEACAP). This consortium, which was set up in 2000, has already succeeded in publishing a collection of conference papers and maintains a website. To my mind real omissions in the bibliography are the two authoritative, free online databases for conservation professionals. These are AATA Online, a comprehensive database of more than 150,000 abstracts of literature related to the preservation and conservation of material cultural heritage, and the BCIN database, which is managed by the Canadian Heritage Information Network and brings together bibliographic holdings and abstracts produced by several of the world’s major conservation centres. Both databases are accessible through the Getty Conservation Institute. It is to be hoped that a future edition of this bibliography will take these matters into account.

Dr Roger Tol’s Chief Librarian of the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology (KITLV) in Leiden. His research interests concern the written and oral traditions from Indonesia, in particular in Malay and Bugis, and the preservation of indigenous manuscripts.

By Roger Tol

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- Te" ake or ‘these enemies of Islam’ do not want a majority-Muslim country to become strong’ (p. 13).

- Dr Marie-Aimée Tourres, [*Southeast Asian Consortium for Access and Preservation (SEACAP)*](http://www.seacap.changmai.ac.th)

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Tourism, Anthropology and China

Tourism, Anthropology and China links a variety of perspectives on tourism and anthropological approaches in a colourful constellation of views on in-outsider relations with regards to culture. This highly readable collection of papers is based on the proceedings of a conference on Anthropology, Tourism, and Chinese Society held at Yunnan University in the autumn of 1999 in Kunming, Yunnan Province (South-West China).

By Margaret Sleeboom

Next to Tourism in China: Geographic, Political and Economic Perspectives (1995), edited by Alan Lew and Lawrence Yu, Tourism and Cultural Development in East Asia and Oceania (1997) (edited by Shinji Yamashita, Kadir Din, and J.S. Eades), and Tourism and Modernity in China (1998) (by Tim Oates), it is valuable as a rare study of tourism in China in English. Whereas China forms the location of research for the majority of papers, aspects of tourism in Kenya, Southeast Asia, and Japan are also dealt with. Treating society- and culture-related topics this book is interesting to both students of the social sciences and Asian Studies.

The book is divided into four parts. In the first – theoretical – part, Edward M. Bruner discusses the issue of representation, showing how different agencies, ranging from state to private enterprises and indigenous communities, may be involved in representing particular kinds of exhibits (cultures, ethnic minorities, historical sites) to different categories of tourists, notably domestic and foreign tourists. Eric Cohen urges a comparative approach, exemplified by his study of the politics of representation by the state and by Nelson Graham’s discussion of nostalgia for tradition and nature in China and Japan. Graham emphasizes that nostalgia does not necessarily indicate a desire to return to the past, but may be a wish to re-experience certain aspects of the past. Han Min’s conception of tourist nostalgia for Mao Zedong presents people’s feelings for a specific time as meaningful to their present life.

Among the articles, Eileen Walsh’s fieldwork-based article on the myth of matriarchy among the Mosuo is outstanding. Her highly critical descriptions (by authors in parts one and two) of the process of reconstruction and representation of local culture, and the role played in it by the state, seem to be regarded by Tan Chee-Beng, Yang Hui, and Bai Lian as a recipe for the enterprise of trading local culture. This is probably due to a combination of an evolutionary perspective, which regards the coming of a Chinese version of modernity as inevitable and – what I call – a postmodern instrumentalism. Here the postmodern notion of the ‘active local agent’ is equated with its political and economic role of ethnic minorities in state planning. The book, therefore, could be improved by the addition of a theoretical framework in which the clash of interests of ethnic minorities and the state can be understood.

The book’s main merit lies in its diversity, covering general notions such as the representation of human groups, authenticity, nostalgia, modernity, and development, and more problem-related topics such as the effects of tourism on ethnic minorities, the exoticism of ethnicity generated by tourism, and the need for heritage preservation.

The purpose of the book, according to its editor Tan Chee-Beng, is to show how tourism brings about a reconstruction of local culture. These representations, according to Bruner, rely on credibility, rather than on authenticity, while fixing those images in the past. The editor points out the need for paying more attention to the study of tourism and ethnic expression, rather than just concentrating on the effects of tourism on ethnic groups (p. 18). In other words, the culture of ethnic minorities is not to be regarded as a static object, something to be revered, but as part and parcel of an economy in high need of development. Therefore the editor encourages observers of tourism and ethnic minorities in China to carefully weigh preservation and ethnicity against development and tourism (p. 19).

Nevertheless, throughout the book the idea was disturbed by the fact that a large gap exists between the anthropological views of the editor and those of some of the main authors of the book. The highly critical descriptions by authors in parts one and two of the process of reconstruction and representation of local culture, and the role played in it by the state, seem to be regarded by Tan Chee-Beng, Yang Hui, and Bai Lian as a recipe for the enterprise of trading local culture. This is probably due to a combination of an evolutionary perspective, which regards the coming of a Chinese version of modernity as inevitable and – what I call – a postmodern instrumentalism. Here the postmodern notion of the ‘active local agent’ is equated with its political and economic role of ethnic minorities in state planning. The book, therefore, could be improved by the addition of a theoretical framework in which the clash of interests of ethnic minorities and the state can be understood.

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Since antiquity the moon has been considered one of the most attractive elements of nature, and men have often been depicted pondering its light. In China, the ‘literati viewing the moon’ is an important stereotype of art, and Kalisch, an expert in Eastern art history, discusses this specific genre of poetry and landscape painting.

The second part of this study accentuates the formal composition, and focuses on the characteristics of moonlit landscapes, with and without men viewing the moon. Lee-Kalisch concentrates on the compositional element of an invisible line between the person and the moon. By using schematic drawings the author is able to illustrate the many situations whereby literati gather, up to the Moon period, for a diagonal line between the viewer and the moon. This stereoscopic effect seems art works to become more vivid. A vertical line between the moon and its viewer is often used to intensify the distancing effect of the composition. Frequently, depictions of literati, the moon and a third element, such as flying birds or another person, form a triangle.

How the moon and its emitted light are represented in the paintings is another important aspect of this research. Is there reflection of the moonlight? How are shadows dealt with? The author points out that questions such as these are often neglected by Chinese artists. They emphasize, not a naturalistic representation of a moonlight landscape, but rather the manifestation of the essential, the qi, of the moon. In comparison with Western realism with its representations of changing light, Chinese artists seem to rely on synaesthesia: In Chinese art, depictions of the moon in religious contexts whereby literati gather to represent the moon are not represented in a naturalistic way. The whole complex of plants, animals, and beautiful women in moonlight, as well as representations of the moon in religious contexts, are not represented in the same way. This is fortunate but understandable, considering the enormous range of material researched in undertaking this analysis. As such, this text can only be intended as an overview or an introduction to the topic. It provides the reader with a wide range of material and is a solid basis for further research. "


Dr. Ricardo Dobekow studied sinology, history, and artology at the Ludwig-Maximilian-University, Munich. Focusing on Chinese art, he conducted research on nature and art, her research area compris- es China and Taiwan. She is currently working as an author for an Eastern art and magazine twoe.ch.

By Ricardo Dobekow

Of Moon and Man A Close Look at Chinese Landscape Painting

By Paul van Els

Previous studies into Daoist identity have often departed from the dated definition of ‘identity’. The identity of a religious tradition, according to this definition, is its essence, or those essential features that remain unchanged throughout its different manifestations. As Christian identity can be account- ingly characterized as the belief in one God and in Jesus as his this-world-representative, Daoism may be explained as the belief in the Dao and the worship of Laozi, the Old Master, as its founder. However, this definition fails to explain the plura- rity of identities under the Daoist umbrella.

Inspired by the theories of the theologian and anthropolo- gist Hans Möl, the editors of and contributors to this work intereprete identity not as a static entity but as a dynamic process. Rather than focusing on the ‘permanence and solidity in the tradition’, they emphasize the ‘continuous interaction of the two forces of differentiation and integra- tion’ (pp. 7-8). In other words, the process of how identity, on the one hand, changes through political and economical develop- ments and through adoption of ele- ments from other traditions (diffusion- ism) and, on the other, aspires for stability and continuity (continuation). Stability and continuity are achieved by setting up - what Möl distinguishes as – belief sys- tems, lineage lines, rituals, and myths.

Part I, ‘Early formations’, of this vol- ume on Daoist identity discusses Great Peace and Celestial Masters, two move- ments that have been crucial in the cre- ation of a Daoist identity. Part II to IV deal with the first three aspects disting- uished by Möl: Part II, ‘Forms and Sym- bols’, contains articles on the formation of Daoist belief systems; Part III, ‘Lin- eages and Local Culture’, studies Daoist lineages vis-à-vis local and popular cults; and Part IV, ‘Ritual Boundaries’, concentrates on the formation and reinforcement of Daoist identity and the functions that repeatedly appear in Yu’s poems are clothing, boats, and zithers. The second image most clearly reveals her Daoist iden- tity. This novel approach surely is an asset, but as Daoists do not have a particular uniform, this is no easy task.

In the end, what is ‘Daoist identity’? The tenor of this book is that no answer to this question exists. Each Daoist interprets and manifests his or her Daoist identity in a unique way. As Shiga concludes, they identify themselves as ‘Daoist’ based on their own idea about what Daoism is (p. 206). The book thus deepens our understanding of the Daoist identity and pro- vides a clear basis for further research. This novel approach surely is an asset, but also raises questions. For example, such terms as ‘Daoist’ or ‘Daoism’ are used so often in the fields of Daoism and Confucianism that it is not clear what these terms mean. Additionally, there is no clear definition of what constitutes a Daoist identity, and it cannot be said that there is a ‘core’ identity with various manifestations. But how to determine this core if practitioners are free to establish their identity through differentiation and integration (leading, in one case, to abstinence of meat, to performance of meat-offerings in folk religion and in Confucian rites made their way into Daoism by popular demand. Nonetheless, Daoists deliberately keep meat-offerings in the periphery and assign it far less importance than other components of offering – such as incense, flowers, tea, or fruit – thus reassuring stability and continuity.

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Comintern Eastern Policy and Iran

With the fall of the Soviet Union and the accessibility of former Soviet archives, rewriting the history of the Soviet Union continues to be of scholarly interest. Of the different political institutions facilitating Soviet expansionism, as well as enlarging its domain of political influence in the international arena, the Communist International (Comintern) was undoubtedly the most influential. Originally set up as a ‘universal world revolutionary party’ in 1919, both its strategy and its tactics were guided by the principle of ‘world socialist revolution’. However, long before completing its formation the Comintern metamorphosed into an institution defending the Stalinist policy of socialism in one country, only protecting the interests of the Soviet Union.

By Touraj Atabaki

I n Comintern Eastern Policy and Iran (1919–1943) Solmaz Rustamova-Tohidi successfully endeavours to shed light on the more general issue of the organization’s Eastern policy, by focusing on its policy towards Iran during 1920s and 1930s. During the twenty-four years of its life, the Comintern went through different political phases, adopting some zigzag type policies. From a radical stance promoting a proletarian socialist revolution, even for agrarian, nomadic societies in Asia, it developed into a more retained policy of cooperation with other social classes and groups within the same societies. Rustamova-Tohidi not only examines these phases and changing policies in detail, but also considers their political implications for Soviet internal and external affairs.

The Comintern Eastern Policy and Iran (1919–1943) is a well-written and thorough researched work. It is based on original materials obtained from archives in Russia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan. Moreover, the author’s acquaintance with a variety of languages enables her to utilize the pertinent sources in Persian, Turkish, and Russian as well as those in some Western European languages. This book can be highly recommended for students of Soviet history and those seeking a broader understanding of the complexities that burdened the Bolsheviks in sustaining the first socialist state in history.

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Women’s Images, Men’s Imagination

The world of Indian women witnessed significant changes in the course of the nineteenth century. Patriarchal notions about lifelong protection and seclusion of women came under fire then and abolition of suttee, the pleas for widow remarriage, and the demands for female education were major issues that engaged public opinion. The position of Indian women also prominently figured in the novels of the period. In her study, Banani Mukhia explores the construction of female characters in fiction written by males.

By Victor A. van Bijleren

T his perspective offers interesting new insights in different gender relations, such as between: father and daughter, husband and wife, young wife and male in-laws, and the relations between women themselves: mother and daughter, wife and mother-in-law, and female friends. Banani does this by analysing various social roles played by the heroines in the novels of three great Bengali writers whose careers span more than half a century: Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay, Rabindranath Tagore, and Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyay. Among the earliest novels analysed in this study are Bankim’s Indra and Bishakha-tal, both from 1871; the latest ones are Rabindranath’s Tattopanidhi (1915) and Sarat Chandra’s Shikhandi (1917–1913). This broad time-span enables Banani to sketch developments and important changes.

As these novels reflect only to some extent the social realities of their times, Banani adds observations derived from her own historical and sociological research on the period. Yet the novels themselves remain the central focus of this study, as these were essentially women-centred stories in which women had been imagined from a great diversity of backgrounds, characters, moods as well as patterns of behaviour, so as to defy the stereotypical woman’ (p.9). The main theme is approached from different disciplines. For this reason the study offers interesting insights for disciplines such as women’s studies, history of private life, sociology, pedagogy, and psychology. It may also serve as a model for similar ventures in the novels of the same period written in other Indian languages. The book has an appendix with summaries of all the novels discussed in the main text, an extensive bibliography, and an index.


Victor A. van Bijleren

The Prelude to Empire

The Prelude to Empire: Plassey Revolution of 1757 is a follow-up of From Prosperity to Decline: Eighteenth-Century Bengal (1995), in which Chaudhury challenged the ‘conventional wisdom’ that the conquest of Bengal by the English was almost ‘accidental’ and that there were no ‘calculated plottings’ on behalf of the English behind the conquest. In this respect, the author criticizes the position of scholars like S.C. Hill, B.K. Gupta, C.A. IIAS Newsletter | #30 | March 2003 38

The Prelude to Empire: Plassey Revolution of 1757: A Reappraisal of the Slaves of Bengal’s Rulers and Merchants of Bengal. instead, the role of advocate of the cause of one of the partisans, in this case, the rulers and merchants of Bengal.

By Bhaswati Bhattacharya

T his book, the second by Chaudhury to explore the Plassey conspiracy, presents more evidence in support of his thesis that it was engineered and encouraged by the British, who were able to persuade the discontented courtiers of the Bengal nawabs to stick to their ‘project’ of revolution (p.9).

As a novel area, the Communion and stable regimes in the region, Bengal in the early eighteenth century was a land of plenty. While Bengal became the dominant partner in the European companies’ Asiatic and European trade, the major share in the export from the region and the import of bullion still belonged to Asian merchants (p.23–25). The author dismisses the claim that it was Siraj’s antagonism towards the English and his intention to drive them out of Bengal that were responsible for the commencement of hostilities between the nawab and the English. It was the attitude of the English, especially the rigidity and belligerence of its English governor of Calcutta, which caused of the outbreak of war against Siraj. Chaudhury asserts that there had not been an internal crisis – neither in the form of schism in the society nor in terms of economic decline – which would have caused and arguably legitimized British intervention.

‘Given the rivalry between the Asian merchants and their European counterparts, and the privileged position enjoyed by the former, there could be no question of collaboration between the two.’ The English wanted to replace Siraj in the interest of their private trade.

There was a long but calculated transition period between late 1756 and 1675 when, for the first time, the necessity of a shift from peaceful trade to armed trade in India was first suggested, and the 1750s, when the servants of the English East India Company became set on conquering territories in India. Indeed, the Plassey Revolution was not a mere coincidence (chapter 5).


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Bharatstudies

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The first thing that needs to be said about Southern Exposure is that it is a publication of some significance. Okinawan writers have, in recent years, demonstrated their brilliance by winning a variety of Japanese literary awards, notably the Akutagawa Prize. Few contemporary Japanese readers harbour any doubts about the quality of the literature being produced in Okinawa — here meaning the island chain south of Kyushu that has had such an unhappy history over the course of the previous century or two.

Today, as the editor points out in their introduction (pp.1–16), Okinawa is still seen as a ‘marginal’ prefecture, with the lowest living standard of any of Japan’s prefectures. Prejudice still exists on the mainland against Okinawans, with their distinctive dialects and ethnicity. Okinawa cherishes its differences, not merely in language, but also in customs, food, and religion, from mainland Japan — although with the spread of mainland cultural influence through the mass media, such differences are becoming more diffuse and less distinctive. Thus, the appearance of an anthology such as this of translations of modern Okinawan literature is a rare and welcome event. Translations of Okinawan literature — whether classical or modern — are very few in number, and this volume undoubtedly represents the largest single such collection to appear in English to date.

The anthology is divided into two parts: translations of modern poetry and fiction. However, poetry is treated very badly, with only seven poems totalling a mere ten or so pages. If we compare this meagre total to the twelve stories (which make up well over 90 per cent of the 153 pages of translations) then it is disappointing indeed. The book does not at all represent the mass of poetry (in traditional and modern forms) produced in Okinawa over the past century. It is noteworthy that one of the leading authorities on Okinawan literature, Okamoto Kottoku, in his 1996 piece on modern Okinawan literature, included in the recent seventeen-volume history of Japanese literature produced by Iwanami, begins his essay by stating that, in Okinawa, modern fiction took shape much later than the modern poetry produced in large quantities from early in the modern era (Okamoto 1997: 177).

However, despite this major shortcoming, this is nevertheless a historic and welcome beginning to what I hope will be a series of translations of Okinawan literature. The stories also reveal an overwhelming concern with ethnic identity, which is hardly surprising given the modern history of Okinawa. Yamanokuchi Baku is represented by a charming, ironic tale dating from 1958 about a pre-war Korean businessman in Japan who passes himself off as Japanese in order to avoid racial discrimination. The businessman finds himself observed by the narrator, who is no other than the Okinawan poet Baku; a twist in the narrative voices that are tentative and shifting — although not exact — of ground zero that we have grown used to in much postmodern fiction — to portray the complexities of contemporary Okinawan life in language that is both poetic and haunting.

The two final stories by Medoruma Shun and Matoyoshi Eiki respectively (the two young lions of contemporary Okinawan writing) are excellent examples of the art of fiction. Both use narrative voices that are tentative and shifting — although not exact — of the grey areas that we have grown used to in much postmodern fiction — to portray the complexities of contemporary Okinawan life in language that is both poetic and haunting.

A better story, in my view, is Yoshida Sueko’s ‘Love Suicide at Kamaara’ (1994) about the relationship between an ageing Okinawan poet and an American dancer, their relationship demonstrating the difficult and obscure nature of love. The volume, then, is worth reading, and certainly worth purchasing, not merely for its intrinsic scholarly and literary values, but also because it reveals an area of Japanese literature hitherto little exposed to non-Japanese readers. All in all is a handsome volume that contains various delights.

References


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The volume, then, is worth reading, and certainly worth purchasing, not merely for its intrinsic scholarly and literary values, but also because it reveals an area of Japanese literature hitherto little exposed to non-Japanese readers. All in all is a handsome volume that contains various delights.
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Exhibiting Chola Bronzes

Among the most renowned works of Indian sculptural art are the temple bronzes cast a thousand years ago during the Chola dynasty in the Tamil-speaking region of South India. Today, museum visitors encounter exquisite Chola sculptures within the hushed spaces of galleries. But in Chola times, the bronzes were consecrated as deities, adored in silks, and encountered, amidst the chants and music of lively temple processions, as gods. Richard Davis, in his seminal work, *The Lives of Indian Images*, first elucidated the dichotomous perceptions and practices surrounding the reception of Chola bronzes by devotional and museum audiences.

A magnificent group of temple bronzes brought together from public and private collections in Europe and the United States forms the core of *The Sensuous and the Sacred: Chola Bronzes from South India*, which seeks to broaden our understanding and appreciation of Chola bronzes by productively contrasting these areas of perception. This exhibition expands upon traditional museum practice by addressing the ritual adornment and sacred resonance of bronzes and by incorporating historical and contemporary Hindu voices into its curatorial framing.

Most of the bronzes date from the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries CE, the apex of Chola dynastic strength and the height of Chola temple tradition. The Chola aesthetic of fluid movement, supple flesh contrasted with delicately carved ornament, elegant proportion, and serene expression is evident in an astonishing array of divine forms ranging from a seated Narasimha with ferocious but contained power (Cleveland Museum of Art) to an elegantly composed wedding group of Krishna, his wives and attendant Garuda (Los Angeles County Museum of Art). The bronzes are spotlit, displayed upon pedestals, and accompanied by curatorial labels.

While the exhibition situates many of the bronzes in this aestheticizing fashion, it also seeks to address the meanings that these bronzes have had for historical and contemporary Hindu audiences. In choosing bronzes for the exhibition, curator Dr Vidya Dehejia was guided not only by aesthetically derived aesthetic considerations, but also by the character, narrative, and ideological meanings of sacred bronzes maintained within Chola shrines to Shiva and Vishnu, the main deities of Chola temples. Two sets of ancient inscriptions, one at the modestly sized Shiva temple at Tiruvaduthurai and the other from the great royal temple of Shiva at Tanjore, form the basis for the Shaiva selection. Although no comparable Chola inscription has been located for a Vaishnava temple, current groupings in Shaiva temples indicate continuity from medieval to present-day practice, and the grouping of Vaishnava bronzes are plausibly based on festival images found in contemporary temples.

A Shiva Nataraja (fig. 3) and a standing Vishnu in the introductory gallery introduce visitors to the bipartite organization of the exhibition. The two bronzes are visible from a lobby space decorated with a repeating pattern of the exhibition title written in Tamil script. The script evokes the inscriptions carved into Chola temple walls and situates Tamil language and culture as primary. This strategy also locates the museum display of sacred art to recollections of some of the meanings that the deities hold for worshipers. In the Shaiva section, galleries are devoted to Shiva Nataraja, the Shaiva poet saints who lived between the sixth and the ninth centuries, Shiva as ‘family man’, and goddesses associated with Shiva. The Vishnu galleries are distinguished by a monumentally door that recalls South Indian temple architecture. The doorway frames a Vishnu flanked by his consorts Bhuv and Lakshmi. Subsequent sections are devoted to Vishnu’s avatars: Varaha, Narasimha, Rama, and Krishna.

In recreating groupings for this exhibition, the repetition of images within Chola temples is evoked through the inclusion of multiple bronzes of popular forms, although other gods important within the Chola ritual cycle, such as Shiva Bhikshatana (‘enchanting mendicant’), are absent from the exhibition because no Chola period bronzes of these manifestations exist outside of India. An ancillary gallery displays a bronze Buddha and two Jinas (literally, victors, enlightened beings of the Jain tradition) that illustrate the extension of Chola patronage and aesthetics to other religious communities within the region.

Various textual and presentation strategies are employed to evoke the meaning and reception of festival bronzes with in a Hindu context. A video documents the ‘lives’ of sacred bronzes from creation in wax and casting in bronze to ritual unveiling by temple priests in a procession through the streets of a South Indian city during a temple festival. Temple chants and South Indian classical music playing throughout the exhibition evoke the aural environment of the temple. Spotlit and unadorned ‘masterpieces’ paired with contemporary photographs of similar sacred bronzes in procession or worship allow visitors to compare the aesthetics of the museum with the aesthetics of Hindu worship – and to ponder the cultural contents that alternately expose or adorn bronze sculptures. An eighteenth-century bronze Nataraja from the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, ritually garbed by a Hindu priest for the exhibition, is the centre of an installation designed to suggest the colourful excitement of a temple festival (fig. 2). The bronze, flanked by donor-portrait lamps, stands upon a tall pedestal jeweled with flowers in front of a long banner of mango-coloured silk. Displays of bejewelled gold ornaments, similar to those given to temples by devotees, provide further insights into the visual opulence of sacred bronzes in procession.

Curatorial labels address aesthetics, morphology, and chronology, but also relate the myths that underlie divine forms. The gallery devoted to Shaiva saints invites viewers to appreciate their sculpted forms and also to apprehend their importance within devotional practice. Dr Dehejia has noted that in South India, from around the sixth century and perhaps earlier, Hindu deities began to assume public personae similar to those of human monarchs. Deities were required to appear in person in public and preside over a number of festivities that became part of a temple’s ritual cycle. Since the stone icons in the inner sancta of temples could not be easily carried, portable images of gods were produced that were able to leave temple premises, thus becoming accessible to even the most lowly of worshippers. In the same period (in a phenomenon that is surely connected but in ways not yet fully understood) the Tamil Vaishnavas and Shaiva poet-saints sought to imbue sacred images with their distinctive theology of embodiment. In this theology, personal communion with the Lord – typically through sight – was paramount. Saint Appar wrote that beholding the visible beauty of God made even life on earth worthwhile:

> if you could see the arch of his brow, the budding smile on lips red as the kovvai fruit, cool matted hair, the milk-white ash on coral skin, and the sweet golden foot raised up in dance, then even human birth on this wide earth would become a thing worth having.

Other poets, both Vaishnava and Shaiva, described the dazzling forms of deities in verses that led devotees towards an awareness of cosmic power or even the paradox of an accessible but transcendent divinity. To augment the curatorial voice, verses from the Tamil saints’ poems, situated near appropriate bronzes throughout the galleries, allow contemporary viewers to apprehend how Chola audiences would have understood the consecrated and adored bronzes. Finally, excerpts from interviews with contemporary Hindus, conducted by teenagers from the Sri Shiva Vishnu Temple in Maryland (USA), suggest some of the meanings that the deities hold for worshippers today. The contemporary voices open up a refreshing variety of perceptions, memories, and experiences, from condemnation of the museum display of sacred art to recollections of favourite festivals and descriptions of beloved deities.

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Exhibition Itinerary
Arthur M. Sackler Gallery
Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., USA
10 November 2002 – 9 March 2003
Dallas Museum of Art
Dallas, Texas, USA
4 April – 15 June 2003
The Cleveland Museum of Art
Cleveland, Ohio, USA
6 July – 14 September 2003

Parviz Tanavoli: Sculpted Poetry

By Nina Cichocki

Parviz Tanavoli, Post with the Symbol of Freedom, 1966

The recent retrospective exhibition of one of Iran’s most famous sculptors has helped to broaden the scope of contemporary Iranian art for art historians around the world. In exploring the work of Parviz Tanavoli, I hope to illuminate his sculptural intersections of Persian tradition with contemporary form.

Born in Tehran in 1937, Tanavoli benefited from Reza Shah Pahlavi’s quest for modernization/westernization. After Western-style art education had been introduced to Iran, Tanavoli graduated as the first student from the new sculpture programme at the Tehran School of Arts in 1956. Subsequently he went to Italy in 1962, to establish his first studio, the Atelier Kaboud, and was a visiting artist. In 1962, he returned to Iran and is now an independent artist and author.

Parviz Tanavoli’s career can be divided into two periods: the 1960s, which marked a turning point in his career, and the 1970s. During this time, his work addressed the modernization of Iranian society and culture in the context of the Revolution of 1979.

In the 1960s, Tanavoli’s work was characterized by a blend of modern and traditional elements. He used traditional symbols and motifs in his sculptures, which often depicted modernized versions of traditional Iranian culture. His work was characterized by a sense of spirituality and a focus on the human form.

In the 1970s, Tanavoli’s work became more political, with a focus on the social and political issues of the time. He began to use political themes in his sculptures, which often depicted the struggle for freedom and democracy.

Tanavoli’s work is characterized by a sense of spirituality and a focus on the human form. He used traditional symbols and motifs in his sculptures, which often depicted modernized versions of traditional Iranian culture. His work was characterized by a sense of spirituality and a focus on the human form.

Parviz Tanavoli, Hooch and Chair II, 1973

The Revolution brought Tanavoli’s career in Iran almost to an end, since he proceeded objects considered to contradict the precepts of Isfand. Tanavoli retired from his position at the University of Tehran and is now an independent artist and author.

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By Nina Cichocki

On 26 January 2003, the contemporary Iranian art world was enriched by a long-awaited event in the Tehran Museum of Modern Art: the opening of a retrospective exhibition of some of Iran’s most famous sculptors. Although the world-class sculptor Parviz Tanavoli, modern Iran’s leading sculptor, has been living in exile in Western audiences and even art historians, there are a number of factors that account for his undeserved obscurity. Scholars of modern art still concentrate mainly on developments within their own European or American cultural horizons and are seldom familiar with the ideas underlying Tanavoli’s oeuvre, which is rooted in the cultural heritage of Islamic Persia. Scholars of Islamic art, on the other hand, focus on the past rather than the present. Here, I will discuss the relationship of Tanavoli’s oeuvre to Persian classical poetry, using as examples one early work as well as his most famous sculpture.

Poet with the Symbol of Freedom, 1966

Although many of Tanavoli’s bronzes depict humans, as we can gather from both their statuary forms and their titles, he obliterates distinct facial features, poses, or hand gestures, all of which carry the expression of sentiment. The Poet with the Symbol of Freedom sports a box-like shape with a per- forated front where we would imagine the head to be. The perforated front, reminiscent of the grilles on the shirines Tanavoli has visited since his childhood, acts like a veil: it hides the poet’s face, habs all details and specifics, and, therefore, renders the poet’s feelings abstract and generalized. The cylindrical body is devoid of arms and hands or any bod-
The conference on ‘The traditional arts of South Asia: past practice, living traditions’ aimed at addressing these questions and assessing the role of the traditional arts of South Asia, both as a way to understand the past and its current practice. These very issues are central to the activities of De Montfort University’s research centre PRASADA (Practice, Research and Advancement in South Asian Design and Architecture). The speakers came from a variety of disciplines and included both academics and practising artists and architects. The eleven presentations focused on a variety of media and contexts – including architecture, sculpture, painting, and textiles – from Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and India.

Abigail McGowan (University of Pennsylvania) and Robin Jones (Southampton Institute) both addressed the colonial foundations of our knowledge and interpretation of South Asian traditional arts. In ‘Indian crafts in colonial display and policy 1880–1920’, Abigail McGowan argued that in comparison to the preceding decades, a recognition of artisans as practitioners of South Asian traditional arts, both as a form, which had a decisive impact on contemporary crafts, policies, and interventions, but also shaped the way we perceive Indian crafts today. In his paper, ‘British interventions in the traditional crafts of Ceylon (Sri Lanka) c. 1850–1930’, Robin Jones examined the British reapproprial of the material culture of Kandy in the late nineteenth century, including attitudes towards local arts, crafts, and architecture, in response to the rediscovery of Sri Lanka’s ancient cities. From the 1870s to the 1910s the colonial government and missionary societies established industrial schools, for the local population that affected traditional arts. This influence has been examined, not least through Ananda Coomaraswamy’s early twentieth-century writings. Jyotindra Jain (Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi) and Sharada Srinivasan (National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bangalore) explored the impact of colonialism and modernity on the production and reception of Hindu images. In ‘The Hindu icon: between the cultic and the exhibitory space’, Jyotindra Jain examined mass-produced Hindu imagery of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. With the shift to mass-production and the use of print technology, a new generation of printed images of Hindu deities and mythological characters came into being.

Using new techniques, these printed pictures displayed an amalgamation of a whole range of pictorial elements, including the idioms of the colonial art schools, traditional fresco and manuscript painting, European prints, photography. Western and regional Indian theatre, and contemporary cinema. This fundamentally changed depictions of Hindu imagery and went alongside the rise of new exhibitory contexts, from the consecrated temple context to the Hindu shrine to the living rooms, restaurants, shops, and trucks, and modern contexts. In her paper, ‘From temple to mantelpiece: changing paradigms in the art of South Indian metal images’, Sharada Srinivasan explored the ways in which current artistic practices help us understand our information of past images and their production. South Indian metal images have also undergone various paradigm shifts, from objects of ritual veneration and procession to worship to mantelpiece curios in the marketplace. These transformations are now shaping prevalent artis-tic trends.

Southern India remained the focus of both Anna Dallapiccola (PRASADA) and Samuel K. Parker (University of Washington, Tacoma). In ‘A contemporary pantheon: popular religious imagery in South India’, Anna Dal-lapiccola discussed the traditional temp-ple arts of late-twentieth-century Tamil Nadu. She demonstrated how modern imagery and aesthetics, such as those discussed by Jyotindra Jain, are influencing brick and plaster sculptures and temple murals, adding a wealth of new elements to age-erovved forms. Dr Parker examined the construction, during the last century, of a gram-rite Hindu temple, of the sort popularly associated in Tamil Nadu with claims to royal sovereignty, by leaders of the Nadar community in Aruppukottai. It was designed to give, literally, ‘hard evidence for the Nadar’s contested identity as a royal caste’ allegedly dis-sessed of its true status. As such it emphasizes the contemporary importance of temple architecture and patronage as a means of expressing social and political identity.

Eluned Edwards (PRASADA) and Ismail Mohammad Khatri (Dharmaduka village, Kachchh) discussed the textiles of Kachchh in Gujarat. Ismail Moham-mad Khatri, a ninth generation textile craftsman from the village of Dharmad-ka, gave an account of the block-printing tex-tiles from his perspective. His presenta-tion of the Khatris’ community’s regional history in South and Western India, including the production of material produced for the Hindu and Muslim herding communities of Kachchh, was complemented by a practical demonstration of the complicated process of making gond, a block-printed cloth that is printed on one or both sides with natural dyes. Eluned Edwards discussed the resist-dyed and block-printed textiles produced by the Khatri for many castes in the region. Encoded in these textiles are a host of details about a per-son’s caste, religious affiliation, gender, age, marital status, and economic standing. She examined the changes in the essential features of these markets for these textiles and the emergence of new mar-kets for the Khatri textiles as a result of post-independence industrialization, changes in traditional caste occupations and patterns of consumption, and advances in textile technology.

The architects Adam Hardy (PRASA-DA), Kamal Khan Mumtaz (Anjumah Khatri, Kachchh), Ismail Mohammad Khatri (Dharmadka, Kachchh) and Minarunnisa Khan Minarunnisa, Lahore), and Nimish Patel, together with Parul Zaveri (Abhikram, Ahmedabad), discussed on traditional architecture. Hardy’s paper ‘Approach- ing design through history and history through design’, used examples from Indian temples and architecture to demon-strate that the study of architecture from a design perspective can lead to an understanding of the processes of its creation. Such an approach to architectur-al history is the basis for understanding the transformations of archi-tectural traditions. It was argued that if these various traditions could be brought together, they could subsequently be learned and brought into practice. This might then lead to an architecture that draws from tradition in a more profound way than in the case with past revitalisations and his-toricisms. Similar approaches were expressed in the remaining two papers. Kamal Khan Mumtaz’s background as a Western-trained architect practising in Pakistan, with a keen interest in tradi-tional architecture, discussed two cur-rent projects for a mosque and a tomb in Pakistan. Nimish Patel and Parul Zaveri similarly discussed the charac-teristics of traditional architecture and the changes that can be brought about to the understanding and appreciation of contemporary architecture and conservation, as illustrated by their work on a number of projects in Gujarat and Rajasth-an. At the start of the twenty-first centu-ry we are in the position of being able to better assess the legacies of colonial-ism and twentieth-century modernity in the representation and appropriation in present-day practice of the tradition-al arts of South Asia. This will lead to a greater appreciation of the vitality and variety of the region’s traditional arts, both past and present.

By Crispin Branfoot

Asian Art & Cultures

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Research Grant for Socio-Economic Research in Food and Nutrition in Asia

The NHF has established its programme for research, degree research and especially applied research that has a major impact on the health of different communities from researchers from social sciences, food, nutrition and health sciences are invited to apply for a NHF grant. Researchers should be socio-economic in character and should have household, families or the individual an unit of research. The NHF intends to utilise (research) limited cost by scientist(s) from Asia with a collaboration with a Dutch or other European university. In such a case the costs for (field visit(s) of the in Europe based counterpart can be to be included in the budget of the proposal.

The grant is meant to cover research costs, including cost of preparation, fieldwork, data analysis and publication. Grants may vary up to a maximum of €100,000 depending on the research (dissertation) costs. The grant does not allow for funding of salaries of researchers. The applicant should send the proposal in the English language. There is no specific deadline for submitting proposals.

For more details please refer to NHF website: www.neys-vanhoogstraten.org or contact: Dr. Aedel P. van Hoogstraten, NHF Secretariat, P.O. Box 179, NL 3001 BN Maarssen, The Netherlands. E-mail: office@neys-vanhoogstraten.org; Tel: 00 31-(0)346-566864; Fax: 00 31-(0)346-574099

IIAS Newsletter | #30 | March 2003 43
Art Agenda

Zhao Shao'ang, Oi Baishi, and HuangBinhong. Institute of International Visual Arts

This exhibition of over 30 pieces of art is

29 August 2003 – 26 October 2003

Australia

`Reach Me`: Christine Ay Tjoe

Thirty-one works by Oh Chi-ho (1906-1982)

6-8 Standard Place

Steenstraat 1

India

From 13 June 2003

Veil

Exhibition

Featuring about 40 representative works

Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures

The Kamoro presents a wide-ranging picture of the Kamoro culture on the south-west coast of Papua (New Guinea). The life of the Kamoro has been recorded in photographs and field notes. The collection includes polished stone axes, decorated wooden panels and statues. These are often of spectacular dimensions and are particularly beautiful and full of symbolism.

Until 20 April 2003

Kamakura – The Art of Zen Buddhism

Presents a wide-ranging picture of the Kamakura period (1185-1333), with a focus on the role of the Kamakura shogunate. The exhibition features over 100 works, including paintings, sculptures, and garden designs.

From 13 June 2003

Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde

Let's Make ART

Web installation exhibition by Yu-Chuan Si

From 3 July 2003

Japanese Works of Art: Acquisitions from the Laiyantang Collection including burial objects, silver and inlaid bronze vessels and clothing accoutrements from the Warring States Period (475-211 BCE), the Han Dynasty (206 BCE-221 CE) and the Tang Dynasty (618-906 CE).

From 3–13 April 2003

Hong Kong Museum of Art

Featuring a rarely seen mix of Japanese objects, the exhibition explores the role of Santo images in the promotion of Catholicism in the Philippines and their continued appeal.

Until 25 May 2003

Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland GmbH

The Five Seasons of the Earth: Paintings by Rameshwar Singh

Featuring over 60 works by the Indian artist Rameshwar Singh, the exhibition explores the artist’s life and work, emphasizing his use of natural materials and his exploration of the relationship between art and nature.

From 27 April 2003

Asian Art & Cultures

This exhibition presents the 'golden age' of Japanese art from the fifteenth to the early seventeenth centuries. Highlighting artistic developments during the Muromachi and Momoyama periods, the exhibition features reconstructions of intimate traditional tearooms and a range of traditional Japanese objects.

From 13 June 2003

The New Art Gallery, Walsall

This exhibition features works by a range of contemporary artists, including paintings, sculptures, and installations, highlighting the diversity of contemporary art practices.

From 13 June 2003

The Art of Japan, 1600-1900

This exhibition explores the development of Japanese art from the 17th century to the early 20th century, featuring works by artists such as Hokusai and Hiroshige.

From 13 June 2003

The Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology

Featuring a selection of works from the museum's collection, the exhibition explores the development of Japanese art from the 17th century to the early 20th century, featuring works by artists such as Hokusai and Hiroshige.

From 13 June 2003
Art Agenda > Asian Art Online

Japanese Regional Cultural Centers

Art Institute of Chicago
11 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60603-7416
www.artic.edu

Art of China
5 April – 7 July 2003

The exhibition explores Chinese ceramic and metalwork objects from the Tang and Song dynasties. Works include celadon, jades, porcelains, and metalwork such as bowls, vases, and vessels. Highlights include a kiln-fired red porcelain jar from the Tang Dynasty and a large bronze figure of a standing Buddha from the Song Dynasty.

Painting and Calligraphy from China
10 April – 24 May 2003

This exhibition brings together 200 paintings and calligraphy from China, spanning the past 1,500 years. It is the first significant exhibition of its kind to bring together paintings from China, Japan, and Korea. Highlights include works by artists such as Ma Yuan, Li Cheng, and Hsieh Yung-Chih.

Art of the Silk Road
2 May – 23 August 2003

This exhibition presents over 100 objects from the Silk Road region, including textiles, ceramics, and metalwork. The objects are drawn from the collections of the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. The exhibition is organized chronologically, highlighting the development of artistic styles and techniques over time.

Art of the Himalayas
26 April – 13 July 2003

This exhibition presents over 100 objects from the Himalayas, including Buddhist sculptures and devotional objects. It highlights the artistic achievement and history of the region, and raises awareness about the presence of fake Buddhist sculptures in Western collections.

Chinese Aesthetic Taste: Ceramics
10 April – 24 May 2003

This exhibition presents over 100 Chinese ceramics, highlighting the development of artistic styles and techniques from the third century BCE to the nineteenth century CE. The exhibition is organized chronologically, highlighting the evolution of Chinese ceramic art.

Chinese Export Porcelain
Until 26 April 2003

This exhibition presents over 100 Chinese export porcelains, highlighting the development of artistic styles and techniques from the early sixteenth century to the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The objects are displayed in a chronologically organized manner, highlighting the evolution of Chinese export porcelain.

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Asian Space

The space age began with the launch of the Russian artificial satellite Sputnik in 1957 and developed further with the race to the moon between the United States and Russia. This rivalry was characterized by advanced technology and huge budgets. In the process there were spectacular successes, but also many spin-offs. Europe, Japan, China, and Indiaquickly joined this space club of the superpowers. With the advent of relatively low cost high performance mini-satellites and launchers, the acquisition of indigenous space capabilities by smaller nations in Asia has become possible. How, in what manner, and for what purpose will these capabilities be realized?

By David Soo

Rocket technology has progressed considerably since the days of ‘fire arrows’ (bamboo poles filled with gunpowder) first used in China around 500 BC and, during the Sung Dynasty, to repel Mongol invaders at the battle of Kai-feng (Kaifeng fu) in AD 1232. These ancient rockets stand in stark contrast to the present-day Chinese rocket launch vehicles, called the ‘Long March’, intended to place a Chinese astronaut in space by 2005 and, perhaps, to achieve a Chinese moon landing by the end of the decade.

In the last decade there has been a dramatic growth in space activities in Asia both in the utilization of space-based services and the production of satellites and launchers. This rapid expansion has led many commentators and analysts to predict that Asia will become a world space power.

The space age has had dramatic affects worldwide with direct developments in space technology influencing telecommu- nications (mobile and fixed services), the Internet, and remote sensing applications. In the development of this tech- nology, culture, and history, interact and play important roles.

Already self-sufficient in terms of satellite design and man- ufacturing, South Korea is currently attempting to join their ranks with its plans to develop a launch site and spaceport. Additionally, nations in Southeast Asia as well as those bordering the Indian subcontinent (Nepal, Pakistan, and Bangladesh) have, or are starting to develop, indigenous space programmes.

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has, in varying degrees, embraced space applications using for- eign technology and over the past five years or so its space activities have been expanding. Southeast Asia is predicted to become the largest and fastest growing market for com- mercial space products and applications, driven by telecom- munications (mobile and fixed services), the Internet, and remote sensing applications. In the development of this tech- nology, many technological factors, such as economics, pol- itics, culture, and history, interact and play important roles.

Satellite remote sensing – environmental and societal

Asian and Southeast Asia in particular, suffers from a long list of recurrent large-scale environmental problems including storms and flooding, forest fires and deforestation, and crop failures. Thus the space application that has attracted the most attention in this region is remote sensing.

Remote sensing satellites equipped with instruments to take photographs of the ground at different wavelengths provide essential information for natural resource accounting, environ- mental management, disaster prevention and monitoring, land and sea mapping, and sustainable development planning. Progress in these applications has been rapid and impres- sive. ASEAN members, unlike Japan, China, and India, do not have their own remote sensing satellites, however most of its member nations have facilities to receive, process, and interpret such data from American and European satellites. In particular, Thailand, Malaysia, and Singapore have world- class remote sensing processing facilities and research pro- grammes. ASEAN has plans to develop (and launch) its own satellites and in particular remote sensing satellites.

Obviously, space technologies can also be used for non- peaceful and military purposes (dual use technology). Earth resource satellites, with their high resolution imaging capa- bilities, can be used for reconnaissance and spying. This strategic use of satellites – of great value for national defence and foreign policy – is of great significance in Asia taking into account the region’s potential hot spot. North and South Korea, India, Japan, Pakistan, and Srilanka, Indonesia, and Taiwan, amongst others.

Zen and the art of satellite manufacturing

Japan is regarded as the dominant space power in Asia and its record of successes and quality of technologies are equal to those of the West. In view of the technological challenges and high risks involved in space activities, a very long, and expensive, learning curve has been followed to obtain those successes achieved. Japan’s satellite manufacturing was based on the old and traditional defence and military procurement methodologies as practiced in the US and Europe. In recent years there have been fundamental changes in the way satellites are designed and built to drastically reduce costs.

The emergence of ‘small satellites’ and their quick adoption by Asian countries as a way to develop low-cost satel- lite technology and rapidly establish a space capability has given these countries the possibility to shorten their learn- ing curve by a decade or so. The global increase of tech- nology transfer mechanisms and use of readily available com- mercial technology to replace costly space and military standard components may very well result in a highly com- petitive Asian satellite manufacturing industry.

The laws of physics are the same in Tokyo as in Toulouse...

At present, three Asian nations, Japan, China, and India, have comprehensive end-to-end space capabilities and pos- sess a complete space infrastructure: space technology, satel- lite manufacturing, rockets, and spaceports.

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Globalizing Media and Local Society in Indonesia

Media can be defined as a meeting point of many conflicting forces in a modern society and is, therefore, a highly complex issue. The study of media has been conducted in a wide variety of disciplines, such as sociology, mass communication, cultural studies, political science, and anthropology. Although there have been numerous approaches and theories in media studies, we have not yet found any clear-cut satisfactory perspective. The workshop ‘Globalizing media and local society in Indonesia’ tried to grasp the complex and complicated mediascape in Indonesia, which has experienced drastic change in the last decade. The participants discussed the role of dual TV to local television stations. Here we consider two of these topics, namely, the relationship between media and politics and the problem of globalisation and localization, both of which are highly controversial in media studies in general.

By Melati Koike

S ome participants discussed the role of media in the collapse of the New Order in 1998. Based on interviews with media persons, who had lived through those dark days, Ihsan S.K. convincingly described how they came to side with the people’s Reformation (reformasi) movement against the owners of the TV stations, who were Suharto’s children and cronies. The critical news these journalists broadcast hastened the collapse of the New Order, which had implemented the privatization of television. Melryna Lim described this theme, looking at how the newest technology, the Internet, played a crucial role in supporting the Reformation and democratization movements. For example, the emails about Suharto’s wealth, originally written by George Aditjondro, were published on a website launched by Indonesian students in Germany. Some Indonesian students found Aditjondro’s articles on the Internet and printed them for their friends and family. Finally, newspaper sellers got hold of them and sold photocopies of the articles on the street, and this controversial information affected both individuals and society in general. Consequently they are important, according to Lim, as a response to the globalization of television contents.

May a woman serve in a position of authority over men? Is jihad licit in Maluku? Who are the upholders of orthodoxy? These questions have recently been put before Muslim scholars and institutions in Indonesia and have received answers in the form of fatwas. Fatwas can be authoritarian or democratic, and both affect individual and societal behaviour. Consequently, they are important indicators within the discourse of religious authority. They were also the subject of last October’s meeting of the Islam in Indonesia project, attended by some sixty participants, both from the Leiden scholarly community and beyond.

By Nico Kaptein & Michael Laffan

K ees van Dijk’s opening lecture introduced a variety of regional cases (Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia), highlighting the tension between religious authority as expressed in fatwas on the one hand and political authority on the other. It was shown that in some cases religious authority was invoked successfully to overcome political tensions, while in others it was not.

The following three papers addressed the question of whether the religious authorities were successful in their efforts to exert control on the media and on the other hand, were new media not likely to undermine them? The first, delivered by Khalid Masud, was of a general theoretical nature and as such, illuminating for the broader theme. Masud suggested that it is the istiṣla (the formal question posed in order to obtain a fatwa), its further development and institutionalization, Masud suggested that it is the istiṣla rather than the resulting fatwa which reflects a community’s political and social conditions. Certainly this continues to be the case with Malaysia, with well known examples such as Wajid Burhanuddin’s fatwa, which addressed the dialogue established between the Egyptian reformist journal al-Manar (1898-1936) and the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago. By examining requests for fatwas addressed to al-Manar, Burhanuddin pointed out that there were three sorts of Southeast Asian petitioners: Malay-Indonesian students in the Middle East who seem to have formed the most important channels of transmission of ‘Salafi’ reformist thoughts to their homeland; persons of Arab descent living in Southeast Asia, and finally, Muslims indigenous to the region.

In the following paper, read by Mar tin van Vliet, who has collaborated with M. Hassad, gave a contemporary account of how an Indonesian organization for Islamic propagation has used its links with conservative hate groups in the Arab world to justify the formation of a paramilitary force. This force, Laskar Jihad, was dispatched to the Moluccas to wage jihad in 2000. The main thrust of the paper did not revolve around jihad itself but interrogated the penetration of Salafi discourse in Indonesia and the role of electronic media in the establishment of networks. According to Noshadli, most Salafi groups had remained essentially apolitical until the crisis. He therefore analysed the changes in this discourse and the role fatwas issued in Arabia have played in the process.

The three remaining papers each discussed influential bodies in present-day Indonesia that employ fatwas as part of their arsenal of authority. Nicho Ichwan examined how the Council of Indonesian Ulama (MUI) has attempted to play a proactive role in politics since its inception under Suharto. Focusing on what he calls its ‘discursive products’ – ranging from silence to fatwas. Ichwan argued that the MUI has attempted to use the fatwa in their political concerns of the executive.

By Nico Kaptein & Michael Laffan

Ref: Prof. Makate Koike is Professor of Cultural Anthropology at St. Andrews University, Osaka, Japan. As an affiliate fellow at the IIAS (a 4 February 2002 until 16 September 2003) he researched both the Indian contribution to the Indonesian media, cinema, and television drama and the local reception of mass media in a Java village.

Dr Nico Kaptein is research coordinator of the project ‘Islam in Indonesia’, coordinator of the Indonesian-Netherlands Cooperation in Islamic Studies (INIS), and current secret ary of the Islamic Studies Programme at the IIAS. He can be reached at: nico.kaptein@leidenuniv.nl

Dr Michael Laffan completed his PhD on the history of Islamic nationalism in colonial Indonesia. In January 2002, he joined the IIAS project on ‘Islam in Indonesia’, where he is concentrating on the competing discourses of traditionalism and modernism. m.laffan@let.leidenuniv.nl

1 The annual meeting of the KNAW/CNWS/ISM-sponsored research program “Islam in Indonesia” took place on 12-14 September 2002 in Leiden. For more information, see: www.isi.niis.nl/agenda/archief/31102002.htm

2 The term ‘Salafi’ derives from the phrase al-Salaf al-ṣāliḥ, lit. ‘the pious gener ation’. Confusingly, this is used by both adherents of the modernist move ment of Salafism, led by Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Rida, and the Wahbab’s box of so-called hate media exploiting ethnic and religious conflicts in Ambon. Both speakers referred to mob attacks against media organizations. Veven Sp. Wardhana also discussed this problem, focusing on Islamic discourse on television programmes: it is very common for Muslim journalists, who had worked in the newsrooms, to give a negative view of the activities of modernist Islamists, like the terrorist (fahdi’ed), has achieved nationwide popularity and is amazingly popular with female audiences in the Javanese village where I carried out ethnographic fieldwork. In my own pres entation, I explored the mixture of the global and local and the traditional and modern in rural Java today. Focusing on foreign television programmes from the perspective of a cultural anthropologist, Gareth Barkin analyzed the ‘domesti cation’ of this material and translation from English into Indonesian. The consumption of American dramas in Indonesia always entails this kind of localization process. For example, Trans Television broadcasts an American series, Sex in the City, which is watered down and sentimentalizing and translation from English into Indonesian. The consumption of American dramas in Indonesia always entails this kind of localization process. For example, Trans Television broadcasts an American series, Sex in the City, which is watered down and sentimentalizing and translation from English into Indonesian.
The Syntax of the Languages of Southern China
Dr. Nelson Barry, Hong Kong

This research programme aims at studying the syntax of the languages spoken in Southern China. The study of syntactic structures and their relations is based on the nature of the new bilingual and historical linguistic examination that awaits us. This examination is divided into two parts: syntactic and structural. Together, they form the basis of the comparative method of the languages spoken in Southern China.

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1. The Syntax of the Languages of Southern China
2. The Syntax of the Languages of Southeast Asia
3. The Syntax of the Languages of the Philippines

Programme coordinators:
Dr. Sita Pieris, General Editor for Asian publications
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1. The Syntax of the Languages of Southern China
2. The Syntax of the Languages of Southeast Asian Art and Archaeology Index
3. The ABIA Index

The ABIA Index online database covers the sociopolitical implications and practices of the development and application of the new biomedical and genetic technologies in Asian religious and secular contexts. The research focus is on classifiers, modifiers, and possessors in the nominal domain; the human language capacity. The project is co-funded by the Dutch Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) and Leiden University (main sponsors), and the IIAS.
One of the most important goals of the Institute is to share scholarly expertise by cultivating young scholars through postdoctoral research positions. The IIAS accommodates six categories of fellows: Research fellows, Senior visiting fellows, Visiting exchange fellows, Affiliated fellows, and Visiting students. The IIAS also offers an opportunity for postgraduate students to participate in international exchanges through the Framework Programme forcarry on their research in the Netherlands. Scholarsswho have found their own funding support may also apply for The Institute of Asian Studies (IIAS) is a nonprofit research institute in Jakarta, Indonesia, that specializes in research on Asia and the Pacific region. It was founded in 1961 as a successor to the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISAS), which was established in 1951. The institute is affiliated with the National Institute of Development Studies (NIDA) and the University of Indonesia. The IIAS conducts research on a wide range of topics, including politics, economics, social sciences, and humanities. It publishes books, journals, and other publications to disseminate its research findings. The IIAS is committed to promoting understanding and cooperation among the people of Asia and the Pacific region through research, publications, and educational programs.
Asia Alliance
The European Alliance for Asian Studies is a cooperative framework of European institutes specializing in Asian Studies.

The Asia Alliance Partners are:

IIAS (secretariat Asia Alliance)
The International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) is a postdoctoral institute established in 1993 by Dutch universities and the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, to encourage Asian Studies in the humanities and social sciences and to promote national and international scientific cooperation in these fields. The IIAS is mainly financed by the Netherlands Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences.
Director: Prof. Wim Stokhof

NIAS
The Nordic Institute of Asian Studies (NIAS) is an independent research institute funded by the governments of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden through the Nordic Council of Ministers. The NIAS, founded in 1967, serves as a focal point for research on contemporary Asia and for promoting Asian Studies in the Nordic academic community.
Director: Dr Jørgen Dalen Lefsgade 35 2300 Copenhagen S, Denmark
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IFA
The Institute of Asian Affairs (Instituut voor Asiekunde, IFA) was founded in 1956 on the initiative of the German Parliament and the German Foreign Ministry. The Institute has been assigned the task to study the political, economic, and social developments in Asian countries. Its field of activity concentrates on contemporary affairs, while aiming to procure and broaden scientifically based knowledge of the region and its countries.
Director: Dr Detlev Drueger Rothenbaumchaussee 32, D-20148 Hamburg, Germany
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EIAS
The European Institute for Asian Studies (EIAS) is a Brussels-based policy and research think-tank supported by the European Union (EU) institutions, which aims to provide understanding and cooperation between the EU and Asia. EIAS seeks to provide information and expertise to the European Union institutions, the academic world and business by disseminating concise, in-depth reports on contemporary Asia and for promoting Asian Studies in the Nordic academic community.

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AEC
In Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques (Sciences-Po), the Asia-Europe Centre is the third pillar with the American Centre and the European Centre in a resource framework to the service of the whole institution. The Asia-Europe Centre acts as the interface between Sciences-Po components and our Asian counterparts. It provides information and expertise to public and European institutions, to Sciences-Po’s academic network and to the business community.
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For more information also see:
www.asia-alliance.org

Directors of Urban Change in Asia and Europe
As the absolute and relative numbers of Asians living in cities are ever increasing, the population of countless Asian cities has reached over a million residents and some cities already have more than ten million inhabitants. This has moved many to organize a workshop on the so-called ‘directors of urban change’. These ‘directors’ may be defined as actors with clear ideas about urban development and who are in a position to formulate and influence future developments. Two major questions are, then, to be asked: (1) what do the directors of new urban developments envisage for the future; and (2) how do the directors manage to realize their ideas? In dealing with these questions at the workshop ‘Directors of urban change’, most participants chose to discuss the current development of one or two Asian cities.

Whereas, at the beginning of the twentieth century, Europe was the continent where most of the largest cities were to be found, today eight Asian locations figure prominently on the list of the fifteen largest cities in the world: Shanghai, Tokyo, Beijing, Bombay, Calcutta, Jakarta, Seoul, and Madras. Their unprecedented rate of population growth and absolute population figures, ranging from twelve to twenty-three million inhabitants, pose considerable problems for their directors of urban change, problems that the European cities were never forced to face.

In order to enrich the comparative perspective, the workshop also invited papers on the European cities of London, Rome, and Cologne and on medium-sized Asian cities, including some relatively small national capitals, such as Colombo and Kuala Lumpur. Small as they may be (Colombo having a population of less than a million inhabitants), the national governments are already interfering with urban management and have ambitions to attain global status for their capital. Other participants contributed papers on provincial capitals and the way their urban administrators aspire to the example of the larger, national capital. Some ‘chains of aspirations’ were discerned. For example, the Indonesian provincial capital Bandung, a city of 2 million inhabitants, bears a close resemblance to Tokyo. Its urban administration, like its government, is locked in ‘chains of aspirations’. The workshop organizers attempt to draw firm conclusions, but a few tentative general observations can already be made:

Directors of urban change are competing for (international) investments. One way to attract investors is by creating an imaginative, spectacular, yet functional cityscape. Upon joining the regional or global competition for investors, urban administrators must comply with international standards of what is supposedly an imaginative architecture; cityscapes thus tend to become uniform. Yet, ironically, for their city to be distinct from others, the urban administrators need to come up with something divergent from standard architecture. Local and provincial city administrators and national governments, making a showcase of their respective national capitals, are locked in this paradox. Also, real estate developers involved in housing projects face the same dilemma, torn between fulfilling universal requirements and the need to build something distinctive. It is a paradox that also lies at the root of the ‘chains of aspiration’ noted above.

Another issue is that directors of urban change of all sorts, including the urban administration, the national government, real estate developers, the papers have been submitted will the workshop organizers attempt to draw firm conclusions, but a few tentative general observations can already be made:

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Another issue is that directors of urban change of all sorts, including the urban administration, the national government, real estate developers, the president’s wife, and grassroots NGOs, show no intention of cooperation. Their clashing visions, or indeed complete lack of vision of how to develop a city, generally result in a rather disorderly end product. More than anywhere else, perhaps, this is the case in cities situated in countries going through a transition from a strict regime to a more liberal (capitalist) economy. Examples can be found in Tehran, Nanjing, the Pearl River Delta, and Hanoi.

Can the natural environment be considered a director of urban change? One author’s case in point, though stretching the concept a little too far, was quite well made. Issues of waste-water and solid waste management, land subsidence due to over-extraction of ground water (leading to regular floods), and badly polluted air are issues that are not addressed, especially in mega-cities.

As a follow-up to the workshop, convenors Freerk Colbjørg and Peter J. M. Nas, in close cooperation with some of the participants, are trying to acquire funds to develop the workshop’s theme into a research programme with junior scholars, with the hope that specific themes relating to the concept of directors of urban change may then be elaborated in subsequent workshops.

Dr Freerk Colbjørg lectures at the Department of Languages and Cultures of South-east Asia and Oceanias, Leiden University. He is an anthropologist and historian specializing in Indonesia and has published on urban development, environmental change, football, state formation, and violence in Indonesia.

Dr Peter J. M. Nas is affiliated with the Department of Social and Cultural Studies, Leiden University. He is Associate Professor at the Department of Anthropology, Leiden University. His main topics of interest are urban and applied sociology and anthropology with a regional focus on Indonesia, where he has conducted fieldwork.

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For agenda details of all ASEF/Alliance workshops, please check this issue’s Conference Agenda.

Editors’ note
This ASEF/Alliance workshop received grants from: ASEF-Asia Alliance, Leids Universiteits Fonds (LUF); Social Science Research Council of the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO-MaCWS), and Research School of Asian, African and Amerindian Studies (CANWS). The workshop was convened by Freerk Colbjørg and Peter J. M. Nas with secretarial assistance from Marloes Rozing.

For agenda details of all ASEF/Alliance workshops, please check this issue’s Conference Agenda (p.54-55) or visit www.asia-alliance.org/workshops
Islamism, which is defined by some scholars as political discourse and action that attempts to centre Islam within the political order (Roy 1994; Sayyid 1997), has been a conspicuous phenomenon in different parts of the Muslim world, mainly since the eruption of the Iranian revolution in 1979. Southeast Asia has been no exception. This region has witnessed a proliferation of Islamist movements, which have been highly active in contesting the legitimacy and the implementation of Islamic visions in all aspects of life. During this period, Islamism has been involved in a contestation for the public sphere, although its challenges have never significantly threatened ruling regimes in the region. The proponents of Islamism have actively produced counter-hegemonic discourses by proposing Islam as an alternative to the existing political, social, economic, and cultural system. The panel ‘After September 11: Islamism in Southeast Asia’ aims to examine the impact of the present increase of Islamism in the region.

By Noonheid Hasha
Since 11 September 2001, when American airmen hijacked by terrorists struck the twin towers of the World Trade Center and part of the Pentagone, the dynamics of Islamism in Southeast Asia has apparently undergone some significant changes. This tragedy and its repercussions have not only facilitated the move of Islamism into the centres of the discursive field, but also radicalized its discourses and actions. It appears that the hostility to the United States in particular and the West in general has become a dominant colour of Islamism in Southeast Asia after 11 September.

In Indonesia, for instance, the rhetoric of global holy war (jihad) against the so-called ‘West-cum-Zionist conspiracy’ has increasingly enjoyed wide currency in popular political discourse. Mass demonstrations exploded in several cities, demanding the implementation of the Islamic sharia, viewed as the only answer to challenge the hegemonic system imposed by the West. Similarly in Malaysia, placards and banners hinted with slogans like ‘we love jihad’ could be found everywhere and Osama bin Laden appeared to be a hero for thousands of young people. In the Philippines, Abu Sayyaf’s radical Islamist group intensified their terrorist actions by kidnapping hundreds of foreign tourists. The peak of radical expressions of Islamism occurred when high explosive bombs exploded in Legian, Bali, on 22 October 2002, taking the lives of 185 foreign tourists. It is of interest to note that, while the world’s hegemonic powers have become more ravenous in presenting the negative image of Islamism associated with terrorist actions, Islamist media has flourished and attracted new audiences. At the same time clashes and tensions have increased among Muslims from different groups, as they increasingly dispute religious symbols and public spheres. The political dynamic of the region in general has changed, particularly where various governments have been urged to put political pressures on Islamist groups, targeting the political radicalism and terrorist actions led by the United States.

Objective of the panel
Our panel at ICAS 3 will focus on the issues around Muslim discursive dis- putes, demands for implementation of the sharia, shifting attitudes of the ruling regime towards radicalization of Islamism as projected in the media, and long-term impacts of the increasing Islamism in Islam in the region. Focusing on the events that have followed in the wake of the 11 September tragedy, this panel will seek to answer several basic questions, which include: What are the dynamics of Islamism in Southeast Asia after 11 September? What is the significance of anti-Western sentiments for the future political par- ties bringing such discourse into the public sphere of various countries? To what extent will anti-Western sentiments influence the societal discourse forma- tion in Southeast Asian Muslim societies? How is the future of ‘peaceful Islam’, which still constitutes a dominant character of the majority of Muslims in Southeast Asia, threatened with anti-Western sentiments?

The participants of this panel will comprise scholars of sociology, anthro- pology, political science, Islamic studies, and media studies, who have been particularly concerned with Southeast Asia. The panel will be addressed to scholars, observers, and those who are interested in the new political developments in Southeast Asia in relation to the issue of Islam. We believe it to be of importance to analyse the changing trends in Islam in Southeast Asia in the wake of 11 September tragedy, and the subsequent excessive campaigns by the global anti-terrorism forces against ‘Islamism’. Understanding the changing trends in Islam in Southeast Asia in relation to the 11 September issue will contribute to a more comprehensive study about Southeast Asia in particular and Asia in general, regions which are facing the challenges of rapid secularization and Islamization in the twenty-first century.

References

Noonheid Hasha, MA is a PhD student within the framework of the project ‘Islam in Indonesia’, researching ‘The jihad paramilitary force: Islamic identity and ideology in the era of transition in Indonesia’.

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At ICAS 3, the IAS will present several panels dealing with a large variety of topics. For more information, see the next issue of the IAS Newsletter.

www.fas.nus.edu.sg/icas3
**Bangkok in the Age of Partnership**

**Second TANAP Workshop**

The Royal Chronicles of Ayuthaya are full of events such as ceremonies for the Supreme-Holy-Lord-Omnipotent, and the King's holy compassions and angers concerning his beloved Siam, especially in times of conspiracy. Westerners appear to have little information on the Thai kingdom (for a rare appearance see the annals of the time of the famous king Narai, 1656-1688). The Dutch are only mentioned twice: when they transported holy Buddhist monks to Sri Lanka in 1744 and when their ships were destroyed in 1766. Were they that marginal? Young historians try to formulate new answers to old puzzles.

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**Clerks’ Jobs for 12 Historians**

Since 2000 a group of twelve young historians has been ploughing through the records of the Dutch East India Company. They are quite determined to make this important series, consisting of hundreds of lists of heavy, back-breaking materials. The Zeeland and Amsterdam archives were brought in Middelburg as a hospital and sold a few thousand francs. The use of paper in their fireplaces. Dur- ing the seventeenth century, Chinese merchants from Canton sold their tea in Batavia, where it would temporarily lead to profits, but in the end trading privileges were lost to peripheral forces. Did the handful of VOC copper ships made a difference to Asian economies? Shimada argues that it did indeed. Outside Japan, in China, Vietnam, and, in particular, South Asia, for example, copper was widely used for the production of cur- rency. Its regular supply may have boosted the regional and local economy. Made from a relatively cheap metal, copper coins were in wide use among the common people, such as textile producers. Shimada believes that serial data on the fluctua- tions in the export, re-export, and sales of copper may tell us more about the mechanisms and dynamics of both intra-Asian trade and how local and regional economies functioned.

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**By Hendrik E. Nijmeijer**

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**By Dr Hendrik E. Nijmeijer**
NIOD Fellowships in Southeast Asian Studies (1930s-1950s)

With generous support from the Japanese embassy in the Netherlands, the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation (NIOD) invites applicants for short-term research fellowships in Southeast Asian Studies, esp. Indonesia. NIOD is a research and documentation centre, and it is part of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences. The institute is based in Amsterdam and its researchers study the history of the Netherlands and Southeast Asia in the twentieth century.

Recently NIOD launched a new documentation and research programme, entitled ‘Latching Attentions: personal orientations and national perspectives on colonialism and conflict in Indonesia, 1930s-1950s. Towards a multi-faceted interpretation of history’. The research programme consists of three projects:

- Changing roles and shifting loyalties: Indonesian, Japanese, and Dutch during the early Revolution;
- Gender and racial relations during the early Revolution;
- ‘State of the Art’ work on Indonesia in the Pacific War.

As part of these projects NIOD has initiated a short-term research fellowship programme (six weeks or three months) specifically meant for scholars from Asia working in one of these fields. For academic applicants, eligibility is limited to junior scholars holding an MA degree and senior scholars holding a PhD degree. For other applicants, an equivalent level of professional achievement is expected. All applicants should have a very good command of spoken and written English. The closing date for this year’s application is 1 April 2003. 

Religious Mobilization and Organized Violence in Contemporary South Asia

Religious violence, also called communal violence, is often described as a ritual or a ‘pact of violence between social groups’ that keeps the community boundaries in place. At times the ritual turns from symbolism into organized political violence, also called communal violence, is often characterized by its socio-economic development and a competitive democracy. During the post-colonial period, the island nation has by and large successfully attained the objectives of a higher rate of literacy, economic growth, improved health and educational services, and a higher level of political participation. Sri Lanka has been going through major changes and upheavals during the last several decades, including an ongoing ethnic war since 1972 (now under ceasefire), two armed revolts in the south and major changes in demography, social differentiation, and the economy. Furthermore, Sri Lanka is subjected to gross changes in the socio-economic environment because of internationalized globalization. All this has repercussions in the socio-economic, political and cultural spheres. The Ninth ICSLS conference will explore this broad juncture in Sri Lankan society.

The ICSLS is a biannual meeting of scholars preoccupied with research on Sri Lankan history, society, ethnicity, demography, economy, education, polity, literature, foreign policy, international relations, diaspora, gender and other related issues. It provides an academic forum where scholars on Sri Lanka Studies, exchange their research findings and ideas in order to advance scholarly exchange and have more innovative research in future.

The conference aims to provide a forum for taking stock, rethinking, and making plans in the light of past experience. Scholars on Sri Lanka Studies from around the world are invited to contribute papers on their research in their respective fields, on a wide range of topics and from a wide variety of disciplinary perspectives, with direct or indirect bearing on changes in Sri Lanka. Like in previous conferences, we aim for ‘an exercise in conceptualization and theorization of Sri Lanka reality’. 

Masters Programme in Asian Studies 2003-2004

Lund University now offers a new challenging, interdisciplinary Masters Programme in Asian Studies that is open to students from all over the world. Students may choose one of two tracks: East and South-East Asian Studies or South Asian Studies. The programme focuses on social sciences and the humanities, and comprises 60 Swedish credit points (ECTS) over three semesters (16 months). The language of instruction is English.

The programme provides advanced knowledge about Asia with an emphasis on contemporary issues and concerns powerfully facing the region. The concluding semester includes a specialist course given at a leading university in the region, as well as a period of field study in Asia.

Application deadline: 15 April 2003
www.ece.lu.se/programes/master