Ordained by poet W. H. Auden in the 1930s as a city where “nothing serious could ever happen”, and whose citizens were described only thirty years ago as “among the most unrepresented, forgotten people in Asia”, Macao is now experiencing a remarkable resurgence. In this edition of the Focus, guest editor Tim Simpson outlines the Macao of yesterday, today and the future.
### The Focus

**The ongoing story of Macao**

Guest editor Tim Simpson introduces the ongoing story of Macao, the first (and ultimately, the last) European territory in Asia. The tiny city has effectively bookended the global era of the last half millennia, starting with the Portuguese claiming it in 1557, and now continuing to play a rather remarkable role in the circulations of subjects, cultures, and capital.

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| Pages 21-23 | Werner Breitung’s geographical contribution highlights the territorial ambiguity of Macao. There is a lack of clear historical records regarding the exact administrative agreement forged between the Chinese and Portuguese in relation to Macao, and the territory never clearly belonged exclusively to one or the other power. |
| Pages 26-27 | Cathryn Clayton comments on the unique form of shared sovereignty through which both Portugal and China extended limited authority over different dimensions of Macao and its population. Clayton refers to it as Macao’s ‘sort-of sovereignty’. |
| Pages 30-31 | Macao has long been known for tolerating vices forbidden in surrounding territories. Its liminal identity proved useful to various actors; Britain was one such actor with an interest in the enclave – discussed here by historian Rogerio Puga. |
| Pages 32-33 | Today the Macanese and Portuguese communities combined comprise only a small percentage of the population of Macao. The Macanese, or ‘Sons of the Earth’, and their disappearing Patuã, are the subject of the contribution by Elisabela Larrea. |

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**Pages 35**

Andy Fuller also comments on Macao’s disconnected population, including the many members who have no enduring civil commitment to the city, and looks at the complexities of establishing normalized everyday urban life for the heterogeneous population.
ICAS 8 in Macau is a landmark event for IIAS. It is not just because, as host of the ICAS Secretariat, IIAS was privileged to work with colleagues from tens of institutions and hundreds of individual scholars worldwide, including in particular our colleagues from Macau University, our partner for the event. It is also because, on the occasion of ICAS 8, the Institute will celebrate its twentieth anniversary. Since its creation in 1993, IIAS has grown to become, let’s not be afraid of saying so, the global meeting ground and network builder in the field of Asian studies.

Philippe Peycam, Director IIAS

Books and Accolades
Paul van der Velde, ICAS Secretary

The Convention
The International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS) is the premier international gathering in the field of Asian Studies. Founded in 1997, ICAS is a platform for representatives of academia and civil society to focus on issues critical to Asia and by implication to the rest of the world. ICAS is an active accelerator of research.

ICAS is organized by local hosts (universities, organizations, and cities) in cooperation with the ICAS Secretariat, which is hosted by the International Institute for Asian Studies in Leiden (IIAS). IIAS is administered by Leiden University, which itself has a strong century-long tradition in Asian studies.

ICAS offers the local host a unique opportunity to profile itself in the world of Asian studies and the convention itself connects in a dynamic way to the city where it is held. ICAS attracts participants from over 60 countries to engage in global dialogues on Asia that transcend boundaries between academic disciplines and geographic areas.

Since its first convention in 1998, ICAS has brought together more than 15,000 academics at seven conventions. At these meetings, publishers and organizations in the field of Asian studies display their products in the ICAS Exhibition Hall, which is open to the public. This space also hosts cultural performances and a documentary festival.

From Macau to Adelaide
After previous editions in Leiden, Berlin, Singapore, Shanghai, Kuala Lumpur, Daejeon and Honolulu, ICAS 8 will be held in Macau (24-27 June 2013). The local host is the University of Macau and its venue is the Venetian Macao Resort Hotel. The more than four century long interaction between Western and Chinese traditions in Macao, the first and last European colony in Asia, has left the city with a unique blend of cultural diversity, modernity, and cosmopolitanism. A new and special feature of this convention is the publication, in cooperation with the Macau Daily Times, of the ICAS 8 Daily, which will report daily on what is happening at ICAS 8.

We hope to repeat this feature at ICAS 9, which will be held at the Adelaide Convention Centre, in Australia, from 5 to 9 July 2015. It will be hosted by an internationally networked team of experts, spearheaded by Adelaide’s three leading universities: University of Adelaide, Flinders University and the University of South Australia (see p. 29).

Fifth edition of the ICAS Book Prize
The fifth edition of the ICAS Book Prize (IBP) will be celebrated at ICAS 8 in Macao, with the awards ceremony taking place on 25 June 2013. Its main sponsor is the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The biennial IBP is a global competition that provides an international focus for publications on Asia, while at the same time increasing their visibility worldwide. The IBP is now established as the premier award for Asian Studies publications. From an initial ‘Long List’ and subsequent ‘Short List’, (see p. 28) the Prizes are awarded for the outstanding English-language works in each of the following categories: Humanities, Social Sciences, PhD thesis, in addition to the Colleagues Choice Award.

For this fifth edition no less than 250 books and 100 theses were submitted. Two prizes of 2500 euros each will be awarded for excellent books in the Humanities and Social Sciences. These academic fields will also recognize two outstanding PhD dissertations. The books and dissertations are assessed by international Reading Committees. Another innovation of the ICAS Book Prize is the Colleagues’ Choice Award. The academic community is given the opportunity to cast a vote online for their favourite book.

Reading Committee Accolades
The success of the IBP has, however, meant that the number of works submitted for consideration for the ICAS Book Prize has greatly increased since its inception, making the judging process even more difficult (from 50 submissions in 2005, to 250 in 2013). In view of the overwhelming response to the competition, we have therefore decided to institute a new category: The Reading Committee Accolades.

These Reading Committee Accolades stand entirely independent from the established Prizes, and it is thus quite possible that works will receive an Accolade, even though they have not been included on the long or short lists in each prize category. No work in any category will receive more than one award (Prize/Accolade). The authors whose works are selected for these Accolades will be awarded three books of their choice from the IBP list. The Reading Committee Accolades will be awarded during the IBP prize ceremony in Macao.

Reading Committee Accolades for the Humanities and Social Sciences will be given for each of the following categories:
1. 1 Most accessible and captivating work for the non-specialist reader Accolade;
2. 1 Specialist publication Accolade;
3. 1 Teaching tool Accolade;
4. 1 Ground-breaking subject matter Accolade;
5. 1 Edited volume Accolade;
6. 1 Edited volume Accolade.

Reading Committee Accolades for the PhD theses will be given for the following categories:
1. 1 Most accessible and captivating work for the non-specialist reader Accolade;
2. 1 Specialist publication Accolade;
3. 1 Ground-breaking subject matter Accolade.

The Accolades will allow the judging process to recognize notable works in the field that do not, for a variety of reasons, contend for the main prizes. They not only allow the judges to commend other works that are particularly noteworthy, but also honour the efforts of Asia scholars worldwide.

The deadline for submissions for the sixth edition of the IBP is 15 September 2014. If you are unable to join us at ICAS 8 in Macao, then you will be able to find the IBP winners on our website soon after the awards ceremony (end of June).

Find more information on the ICAS website: www.icassecretariat.org

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Copyright: Responsibility for copyrights and facts and opinions expressed in any publication belongs exclusively to authors. Their interpretations do not necessarily reflect the views of the editors or the publisher. Reprints only with permission from the author and The Newsletter editor (iiasnews@iias.nl).
The history of Cambodian popular music from 1950 on is closely linked to the social and political situation of the times. In the second half of the 20th century Cambodia went through many radical political changes in a very short period of time. Those changes are reflected in the changing nature and role of popular music. The lyrics of popular Cambodian songs written under the leadership of Norodom Sihanouk show how this charismatic patron of the arts, himself a song writer and film maker, used popular music as a propaganda tool to advance his political agenda and enhance his image as a popular leader.

Linda Sapian

Music during the Sangkum Reastr Niyum, under Sihanouk Norodom Sihanouk’s strong interest in the arts and his support of modernization of the country inspired Cambodian musicians to bring a new sound to traditional music, including by adopting foreign influences. Enthusiasm for Westernized elements during Sihanouk’s time in power can be seen in every field of the arts, from architecture to cinema, literature, and music. But Cambodian artists, architects, novelists, and musicians did more than simply borrow or copy Western art forms: they created a unique mixture of Western and Cambodian culture in innovative modern buildings, moralist novellas, and a new rock and roll sound. Phnom Penh became known as the ‘Pearl of Asia’. The urban elite was open to foreign influences and sought to embrace its new identity as a modern nation. Phnom Penh was the central capital of the country: “This regime called Cambodia into one of the most developed countries in Southeast Asia in 1970, on the political level this regime does not evolve.”

There was plenty of freedom of speech if one desired to praise the Prince or the government, but there was no platform for those who wished to express any level of disagreement, even if it did not rise to the level of dissent. Criticism was allowed only if sanctioned by the Ministry of Information through approved government newspapers or magazines. Members of the communist party were executed on the grounds that their ideology, according to Sihanouk, constituted a subversive act of treason. Sihanouk’s ruthless side needs to be balanced against his legacy in the arts. He was a man of many talents. He produced a song, a novel, and directed 19 films, starring in many of them. He was a multi-faceted artist who was able to rule without external interference. Sihanouk’s strong interest in the arts and his support of modernization of the country inspired Cambodian musicians to bring a new sound to traditional music, including by adopting foreign influences.

Under the French Protectorate no higher education was possible in Cambodia. Now the country was changing on every level, from the infrastructure to the social mobility of the people through the new education system; under Sihanouk the country saw the construction of universities, ministries, and public monuments celebrating its culture and identity. Phnom Penh became known as the ‘Pearl of Asia’. The urban elite was open to foreign influences and sought to embrace its new identity as a modern nation.

This modernization of the country was not established through democratic practices of governing. The Sangkum government demonstrated the authoritarian tendencies as many Cambodian rulers before it. By centralizing all the administrative, political, economic, and cultural functions in Phnom Penh, Sihanouk made it a central capital of the country. “This regime called Sangkum Reastr Niyum leaves, in terms of equipment, an undeniable positive legacy. But this regime, a mixture of paternalism and bloody repression, is led by a leader who does not accept that he is not praised, that he is not liked, let alone that he could be criticized. If it turns Cambodia into one of the most developed countries in Southeast Asia in 1970, on the political level this regime does not evolve.”

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Shihanouk was a charismatic figure able to inspire and excite his people. He was adept at arousing an emotional response to motivate his followers with his passionate and persuasive speeches. Music was ever present as he toured the provinces. Music was the means to reach the average Cambodian, the majority of whom were peasants living in rural villages. Popular music was the best tool for communicating Shihanouk’s vision of modernity.

Through the use of popular music, including singing and writing songs for his own personal glorification. He did cast his wife, children and himself in his films. Nevertheless, those films were part of his efforts to create an image of a popular and modern leader who undertook a new medium to communicate with his people. This staging of his persona as a popular leader required him to use means to reach the average Cambodian, the majority of whom were peasants living in rural villages. Popular music was the best tool for communicating Shihanouk’s vision of modernity.

Shihanouk not only influenced and shaped popular culture by showcasing musicians in his films as part of the modern life style of the Cambodian people (and encouraging others to do the same), but also through his own compositions and musical experimentation.

Conclusion

Shihanouk has been criticized for making films and writing songs for his own personal glorification. He did cast his wife, children and himself in his films. Nevertheless, those films were part of his efforts to create an image of a popular and modern leader who undertook a new medium to communicate with his people. This staging of his persona as a popular leader required him to use means to reach the average Cambodian, the majority of whom were peasants living in rural villages. Popular music was the best tool for communicating Shihanouk’s vision of modernity.

Having famous singers perform at his speeches created the impression that they supported his agenda of promoting and preserving culture as well as his foreign affairs policies, including neutrality, which was criticized by some of the urban elite. Shihanouk made sure that he was surrounded by the best artists of the time whether in cinema or in popular music.

Notes

3 The Ho Chi Minh supply trail that ran from North to South Vietnam, through Laos and Cambodia.

Shihanouk composed and wrote lyrics for many songs throughout his life. Many were love songs dedicated to his wife, Monique Icoi, such as My Darling, Monique, Love Star, and If I Dare to Love You. He was very much criticized for marrying her because she was not of royal birth, and it was almost as if he was seeking approval from his people by depicting her in his films, songs, and magazines. He commissioned nostalgic and romantic paintings and photographs of her, which were published in magazines along with his song lyrics.

Shihanouk also wrote songs expressing his love for his country, such as Flower of Battambang, Beauty of Kep City, Phnom Kulei, and Phnom Penh. These songs promoted the qualities of each province to people who had never traveled outside their own village, giving Cambodians a sense of national unity and pride in their regional resources. He also wrote songs about neighboring countries like Laos (Luong Probang, and Flower of Vietnam), Indonesia (Ho Viet Joo Again, and Good Bye Bogor), and China (Nostalgia of China). Some of Shihanouk’s songs had an overt political theme, like one praising Vietnamese hero Ho Chi Minh and giving thanks for the trail with a “glorious name”.

There were also songs written by others praising Shihanouk and his accomplishments. This early traditional song, entitled Cambodia’s Hope, was probably written around the time of Cambodia’s independence from France in 1953, while Shihanouk was still King.

Please remember that Cambodia is prospering because of the King. The nation will no longer meet grief. We’ll be known, and our hopes will be accomplished. Because of the King. So I pray to all deities, please help our King and Cambodia to be preserved from any disaster and always be in peace.

The song Phnom Penh was written by one of Shihanouk’s sons, Norodom Yuvenearth, and sung by Sin Sisamouth and Mao Sareth. Shihanouk had developed Phnom Penh more than any other city in the country, modeling it after the city of Paris. This song depicts the beauty of the capital city, but also the modernity of its infrastructure; it mentions the many roads, modern people in the streets, and flowers in every season, even ending with the sound of a car honking. Even today this song, by a son praising his father’s success, leaves audiences a sense of beauty and modern development.

There were songs that directly praised Shihanouk, like King Father, a name he seemed to particularly cherish, or Monsieur Papa. Samdech Ek [King Father] praises Shihanouk’s paternal role effusively.

Cambodia has only one King Father.
We are his children and grandchildren and we live peacefully.
We built schools and hospitals in the countryside.
His Majesty has pure virtues, and com-
passion toward his people.
His Majesty gives to the openings of buildings for the benefit of the nation and young generations.
Cambodians work hard to build legacies.
The whole nation is blessed by the grace-
ful presence of the King Father.

Under Shihanouk’s influence, traditional Cambodian music was mixed with more modern strains to create a very unique sound. For example, many composers, including Sin Sisamouth, were known for their use of rock and roll band instrumentation with guitars and percussion, which was a departure from the traditional ensemble of wind instruments. Latin music also made its appearance, including Shihanouk’s song Phnom Penh.

Sihanouk not only influenced and shaped popular culture by showcasing musicians in his films as part of the modern life style of the Cambodian people (and encouraging others to do the same), but also through his own compositions and musical experimentation.

Through the use of popular music, including singing and writing himself, Shihanouk provided positive, encouraging words to his people. At a time when few Cambodians had access to radios and even less access to televisions, in order for him to stage himself before the masses, he traveled all over the country and made sure to have a band and famous singers with him.

Samrely Hong, of the 1960s band Baksey Chamkrong, told me in an interview that he had wanted to be a singer like his King when he was a little boy. Shihanouk’s support of popular culture also created a bond among the people such that music became part of the collective culture, without divisions between high and low culture. Without this royal figure, many artists before the Khmer Rouge era would not have had the support and encouragement to become artists and to attain a place of value in society. With this positive evaluation and confidence from the Prince, Cambodian artists gained a heightened sense of self-esteem. Over time, this array of encouraging factors inevitably resulted in a greater sense of national unity.

Shihanouk did not simply rely on speeches to gain the support of the people. His filmmaking, songwriting, and urban design added to his ability to hold the support of the masses and motivate them to participate in his vision for a modern Cambodia. Whether one shares that vision of modernity or not, it must be agreed that Shihanouk left a lasting legacy of promoting the popular culture of Cambodia.

LinDa Saphan, College of Mount Saint Vincent (NY), Associate Producer Documentary Film: ‘Don’t Think I’ve Forgotten: Cambodia Lost Rock and Roll’.

(www.saphan.info)
The so-called Mooi Indië (Beautiful Indies) genre of painting has been both wrongly neglected and scorned. The paintings were mostly dismissed as the inadequate products of artists lacking in classical training. Willem Imandt (1882-1967), about whom little was known until recently, was one of the artists unjustly relegated to this poorly defined and unappreciated genre, which was most unfortunate as only a few years of his artistic development could in fact be categorised as Beautiful Indies. Just a small handful of his paintings found their way into museums, yet many of his pieces have fortunately been preserved in private collections.

The painter Willem Imandt revisited

Paul van der Velde


Increasing interest

The number of publications on Dutch East Indies’ art reflects the increased interest in foreign painters working in Indonesia. This interest comes mostly from well-to-do Indonesians who have started to appreciate the colonial period paintings by western artists. Adding to that number is the more than half a-million strong ‘Indo’ population of Dutch-Indonesians who fled Indonesia after it became independent in 1949. Auction houses took notice and now conduct auctions for ‘Indonesian’ art, whilst galleries in the Malay world organise exhibitions of colonial paintings on a regular basis. Dutch museums also became actively involved; their approaches noticeably changed from ‘colonial’ to ‘mutually culturally influential’. The contours of this shift towards a mutual appreciation started appearing at the beginning of the 1960s.

Renewed appreciation

Sad appreciation became clear in the monumental five-volume Paintings and Status from the Collection of President Sukarno of the Republic of Indonesia (1964) edited by one of the most famous Indies painters, Lee Man Fong. The focus of the book is on the work of Indonesian painters, but western artists are very much present. With five paintings Imandt is well-represented. This publication is likely the reason for the revaluation of paintings made in/or Indonesian, and the increased interest in them.

In 1967, J.H. Maronier published Pictures of the Tropics, which mainly deals with pictorial art in the Dutch Indies. One year later the groundbreaking work by J. de Boss-Haaxma, Verloot Khoen Indië, appeared. She was a curator of the Batavia Art Group (Batavisch Atelier Groep) and knew Imandt personally. Imandt sits at the top of her list of Dutch artists in Indonesia because his contemporaries considered him to be the most famous artist on Java in the 1920s.


Imandt signs up for the East

Imandt was born the eldest son of a primary school headmaster in the catholic village St. Jansteen, which was notorious for its malaria-infested wetlands and woods. His father played an important role in the budding cultural and sportive life of the village. He was founder of the theatre and brass band, and the ice skating and bicycle societies. At an early age Willem was already showing artistic talents, but it was after his uncle returned from The Indies (where he had been employed as a carpenter), full of stories about ‘the Netherlands beyond the horizon’, that Imandt must have started to dream about volcanoes, mountains and banyan trees, which he would later depict in his paintings.

In 1901 he moved to Amsterdam where he fulfilled his military service, and followed lessons at the Municipal College of Education. He moved in artistic circles, influenced by the so-called Amsterdam School of painting, with famous representatives such as Willem Breitner. In 1904 he returned home and taught at various primary schools, whilst in his spare time managing to obtain his drawing diploma at the State College of Education in The Hague. At this time he painted his first oil paintings of lakes and woods, which were influenced by the so-called The Hague school – an influence that is evident in his first Indies paintings. After falling in love with singer Eliza Robijn he returned to Amsterdam. In 1908 he applied for a job as primary school teacher for the colonial services, and after getting married, he and Eliza soon departed to the Indies on an ocean liner. The colony provided a favourable economic climate, which offered artists increasing possibilities, further facilitated by an expanding network of art circles.

De Reflector as Beautiful Indies platform

Imandt started painting his first Indies work during his first appointment in the colony (at a public primary school in Sulawesi). Their eldest of five children was born in Makassar in 1910. In the same year he was appointed to the Dutch-Chinese school in Yogyakarta on Java. He left the colonial service in 1916 and from then until he was pensioned in 1929 (aged 47), he was headmaster and drawing teacher at several catholic schools on Java.

In 1916 his paintings depicting lakes, mountains, volcanoes, gorges and ancient structures such as the Borobudur, were on view at the Yogyakarta Art Circle. His working method involved making sketches in situ, which he later developed

J. Bastin and B. Brommer published their classic, Nineteenth century prints and illustrated books of Indonesia, in 1979. Then in 1985, the art dealers L. Haks and G. Maris published the Nineteenth century prints and illustrated books of Indonesia, J. Bastin and B. Brommer published their classic, Nineteenth century prints and illustrated books of Indonesia, which lists more than 3000 foreign artists active in Indonesia during that period, and holds about 600 illustrations. The publication gives a varied impression of colonial paintings on a regular basis. Dutch museums also became actively involved; their approaches noticeably changed from ‘colonial’ to ‘mutually culturally influential’. The contours of this shift towards a mutual appreciation started appearing at the beginning of the 1960s.

Famous artist on Java in the 1920s.

“...they transcended the general conservatism in East Indies painting...”

The so-called Mooi Indië (Beautiful Indies) genre of painting has been both wrongly neglected and scorned. The paintings were mostly dismissed as the inadequate products of artists lacking in classical training. Willem Imandt (1882-1967), about whom little was known until recently, was one of the artists unjustly relegated to this poorly defined and unappreciated genre, which was most unfortunate as only a few years of his artistic development could in fact be categorised as Beautiful Indies. Just a small handful of his paintings found their way into museums, yet many of his pieces have fortunately been preserved in private collections.

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Irandt was at the height of his fame. The brother-in-law of Queen Wilhelmina, the Duke of Mecklenburg and the captain of the Chinese in Surabaya, Han, paid a visit to his atelier in 1929. Bos organised a solo exhibition of his work; the show lasted four months and was sold out. By the time Imandt settled with his family in Sint-Gillis-Waas – near his birthplace – he was considered a nabob and one of the most famous painters of The Indies.

Final years

He could now fully concentrate on his painterly work. The Indies remained his most preferred topic, but following his later travels around the Mediterranean his work took on an Orientalist aspect. When not travelling he led a secluded life, working on his oeuvre in his glass-domed atelier. Here he reached full maturity and the works he painted during this period are considered his best. He sold his paintings mostly to relatives, but after being ‘discovered’ by a local journalist, his work acquired a cachet from shades and shifts in colour, which simply did not exist in the West. In a future monograph I hope to show how Imandt developed from a Beautiful Indies painter into one with a recognisable signature, not only unsurpassed in the rendering of the magic nature and landscape of Indonesia, but also as a seascape painter in the best Dutch tradition.

Notes

1. This text is based on my 2012 article ‘Imandt en Mooi Indië voorbij’, Aziatische Kunst 42(1):2-14. I thank the editors of Aziatische Kunst for their permission to publish this translated and adapted article.

2. The term ‘The Indies’ in this article refers to ‘The Dutch East Indies’.


4. See the article about Leonard Eland, written by Louis Zeeuws, on pages 8-9 of this issue of The Newsletter.


8. De Toek, 8 December 1917.


10. Imanndt, ibid.


14. Het Vaderland 1, 12 April 1929.


17. Imanndt, ibid.

Irandt the Great Painter here!

A week after the above quoted article appeared in De Reflector the art critic who had written the first traceable review of Imandt completely readjusted his opinion about the artist: ‘Imandt, whose work I reviewed earlier, has tremendously improved. Before his paintings were devoid of strength and pluck, which is now completely the opposite.’ From this we can conclude that in a very short period he had become an esteemed artist. The height of recognition for an Indies painter was to be invited to the annual exhibition of the Oudheidkundige Kring ‘De Vier Ambachten’, which was founded in 1902. Imandt made his debut at the 1920 exhibition, at which 20 artists exhibited. In addition, his paintings were sold for impressive amounts – a small oil painting went for 156 guilders and the bigger formats for as much as 450 guilders (a labourer’s year income at that time).

In 1922 Imandt met and frequently socialised with famous Dutch impressionist Isaac Israëls, who visited The Indies on and off. In a letter to the painter Willem Witsen, written by Israëls, it was clear that the interactions could occasionally be too much. ‘Otherwise nobody is here. Sometimes you long to see someone else than ‘Imandt the Great Painter here!’’ Besides the playful pun (Imandt sounds like the word ‘somebody’ in Dutch), Israëls’ remark also lays bare a certain occupational jealousy, in contrast to Imandt who was a nobody in The Indies.

With the impending threat of a new world war, and with his sons already working in The Indies, Imandt decided to return in 1938. He continued to paint and his works still sold, but not at the rate he was used to. The new found idyll was rudely disturbed by the Japanese invasion in 1942. He was interned in a Japanese camp, where he could not work, while his archive of sketches and notes was destroyed. He returned to the Netherlands in 1946, a penniless man. He kept on painting, but interest in Indies paintings had almost completely dried up.

In 1954, aged 72, Imandt was honoured with an exhibition, in the rooms of Hoogovens (a blast-furnace company, presently Tata Steel) in the city of Ijmuiden. The main part of the exhibition was devoted to his Indies paintings, and as a painter of volcanoes he could not have wished for a better décor. The reviewer wrote: ‘It is difficult not to wax poetic when seeing this part of the world, as Imandt depicted it. The typical atmosphere of the tropics and the bright light brings out a special depth in all colours: the deep blue of the tropical skies, the lively green of the sea. Imandt painted it with great mastery. The East awakes: alive when we see it through the painterly eyes of Imandt.’

Revolution

Imandt died in 1967, when appreciation for paintings originating in the former colony was at its lowest. But the revaluation of those paintings has again shown a spectacular rise in the past twenty years. That unfortunately does not necessarily apply to the Beautiful Indies painters, or those relegated to themiscellaneous heap of leftovers, constructed by art historians. Surprisingly though, van Brakel in his article on Beautiful Indies painting (in the catalogue of the exhibition ‘Beyond the Dutch’ in the Central Museum in Utrecht) writes: ‘The Indies art of painting has been neglected for a long time and when something was written about it, it was primarily in a negative way. The Indies art of painting deserves, as part of the colonial history and as shared cultural heritage of the Netherlands and Indonesia, a place in the art of painting in both countries.’

But perhaps Indies painting deserves even more than that. As Imandt pointed out: ‘The Indies palette derives its own cachet from shades and shifts in colour, which simply do not exist in the West.’ In a future monograph I hope to show how Imandt developed from a Beautiful Indies painter into one with a recognisable signature, not only unsurpassed in the rendering of the magic nature and landscape of Indonesia, but also as a seascape painter in the best Dutch tradition.

Paul van der Velde is an (art) historian who published widely in the field of East-West relations. He is ICAS Secretary and General Editor of the IAAS Publications Series.
The Dutch East Indies painter Leo Eland (1884-1952) was a successful artist in the first half of the twentieth century, initially in the former Dutch East Indies and later in the Netherlands. He is featured in seminal works such as Indië omlijst (Indies framed) and Beyond the Dutch, but relatively little is known about him.

Leo Eland was born in Salatiga on Central Java, the son of a Royal Netherlands East Indies Army (KNIL) officer. His father was a Quartermaster and the family mostly lived in remote outposts. As a young man Leo worked for the Topographische Service in Weltevreden, a suburb of Batavia. He became inspired by his friend, the well-known Indonesian painter Carel Dake junior (1886-1946), son of a professor at the Rijksacademie in Amsterdam (Royal Academy of Visual Arts). Despite there being no formal art education in the Dutch East Indies, Eland soon developed a talent for drawing and painting. He visited many places in the archipelago to sketch the Indonesian landscape and nature, to draw with pen and ink, sometimes using watercolours. Later, back in his atelier, he would produce oil paintings by expanding on these often detailed ink drawings. Indeed, his preliminary sketches show many similarities with the final artworks. Eland held his first solo exhibition at the Bataviasche Kunstkring (Batavian Art Group) and he participated in touring exhibitions, sponsored by art associations of other large cities on Java and Sumatra, aimed at the upper echelons of colonial society.

He left for the Netherlands at the beginning of the 1920s. There he bought a simple houseboat with an atelier, de Scarabee (Indies framed) and he travelled along the Rhine, mooring at exceptional locations to paint the river landscape. The flamboyant artist with his striking face and long hair was quite a sight to behold. In the spring of 1927 he made a tour of North Africa, in particular Morocco. He was struck by the unique light, the warm pastel colours and the Islamic architecture and culture.

Eland's sketchbooks reveal his preference for landscapes and eye-catching figures in pencil, sometimes coloured in with pastels or watercolours. A great deal of study material remains from this trip. His later oil paintings are dominated by illuminated city walls, gatehouses, kasbahs and mosques with minarets. The street scene depicts traditionally veiled women and men dressed in djellabas on donkeys. Other works show nomads in a vast desert landscape. Eland felt strongly attracted to this fairy tale, Eastern world. In this respect, he had much in common with Dutch Orientalists and painters such as Philippe Zilcken (1857-1930) and Marius Bauer (1867-1932).

At the end of the 1920s, he temporarily went back to the Dutch East Indies. There he painted the forested slopes of volcanoes, the deep blue mountain lakes and the misty mountain landscapes of Java and Sumatra. His oil paintings and dioramas, three-dimensional and detailed views of tea and rubber plantations, the pepper cultivation on Sumatra and the paddy fields on Java, were exhibited at the large Colonial Exposition in the Bois de Vincennes in Paris (1931). Here, the Dutch East Indies was held up as a model colony. At the official opening, Queen Wilhelmina witnessed a great admiration for Eland’s impressive dioramas and paintings. Unfortunately, the Dutch pavilion burned down on 28 June 1931 and the exhibited works of the Indonesian painter Leo Eland, as well as those of Hendrik Paulides (1892-1967) and Charles Sayers (1901-1943) were lost.

In a short time a new pavilion was built and other Indies artworks included. A year later, Eland produced an enormous diorama (600m2) for the Indische Koloniale Tentoonstelling (Colonial Indies Exhibition) in the Westbroekpark in The Hague. It depicted the famous Harau Gorge at Pajakumbuh on West Sumatra with its waterfalls, sawas (fields) and kampongs (villages). This exhibition was opened in May 1932 by Princess Juliana and attracted almost half a million visitors. In the 1930s his star rose quickly. Indeed, Eland caused quite a stir at the international exhibitions in Brussels, Antwerp, Paris, Milan, Leipzig, and Dresden, as well as at the World Exposition in New York and the Golden Gate exhibition in San Francisco (1939).
From the 1930s, Eland was permanently based in The Hague. He owned a gallery with a studio at number 11 Heulstraat where he continued to paint romantic Indes landscapes. Many former Indies expats, civil servants, farmers and people on leave from the colony used to go and eat a rijsttafel at the nearby Indonesian Boestan restaurant, later the famous Cariocca. Afterwards, many would visit Leo Eland's gallery to see, or sometimes to buy, his idyllic Mooi Indië (Beautiful Indies) landscapes in oil and watercolours. His artworks were also painted to order.

The bohemian Eland had a rakish charm and was popular with his clientele in the Hague art world. His canvases show not the daily lives of the colonial administrators or the KNIL military, but special panoramic mountain landscapes with rising volcanoes streaked with sunlight, rushing waterfalls, gargling mountain streams and indigo-blue crater lakes with steep cliffs. The natives are often miniscule figures in the dominant landscape. His works are usually recognizable topographic renderings of, for example, the Karo Plateau and Toba Lake in North Sumatra, the Kibouwengop (Pegawai Sianok Canyon) in the Padang Highlands of Sumatra’s West coast, the Pranaer region and the Tangkuban Prahu volcano at Bandung on West Java; and the Batur Lake and the Gunung Agung on Bali. In addition, there are many atmospheric sunrises and sunsets and silvery moonlit lakes and sea views. Other subjects are limited mostly to kampungs, poors (markets), tea plantations with pickers, vast paddy fields with toiling natives, market goers and trucks laden with gentuksi (buffaloes) on the narrow mountain passes. In the background there are often misty blue mountains.

His work reveals his particular admiration for the Indies landscape and its inhabitants. In his gallery, always busy with visitors, he hung a permanent exhibition of picturesque, almost paradise-like landscapes. His artwork was a response to the prevailing, sometimes rather conservative tastes of his buyers and clients. He fits in the tradition of his peers and Mooi Indië artists, such as Hal Wichers (1893-1968), Ernest Dezentje (1885-1972) and Carel Dake junior. They used comparable themes and styles.

His oil paintings, along with the sketchbooks, ink drawings, preliminary works and correspondence, give an intriguing image of the method of the artist. He spent the first half of his life in the tropics, and subsequently spent twenty years working on his Mooi Indië paintings in his atelier in The Hague. His impressive oeuvre, now lodged in museum collections and with private collectors, has, in our global age, become a silent witness to a partially vanished world.

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Notes
1 All of Eland’s sketches and ink drawings shown here are part of the author’s collection, unless otherwise specified.
4 Eland had contact with the architect & painter Piet Mijnjens (1870-1955), a central figure in the Indische cultural life and director of the Batavische Kunstenstelling. In addition, he knew Henri van Volthuyzen (1881-1954), artist and founder of the Vrienden van Beeldende Kunstenaren (Association of Visual Artists) in the Dutch East Indies.
5 The sketchbooks with their many pencil drawings, sometimes coloured in, and preliminary works that he made during his 1927 journey through North Africa, are in the author’s collection.
6 Batavisch Nieuwsblad, 6 March 1931, ‘De koloniale wereld-expoasitie’; De Telegraaf, 8 May 1931. ‘Opening van Nederlands pashoofd in Vincennes’; De Telegraaf, 29 June 1931. ‘Nederlands paviljoen te Parijs door brand vernield’.
8 Eland’s oil paintings (45) can be found in important museum collections, such as the Tropenmuseum (Amsterdam), former Museum Nusantara (Delft) and Museum (The Hague). Paradise Framed (1996), a guide to Indonesian paintings and watercolours sold by auction houses such as Christie’s, Sotheby’s, and Grevin, includes 120 works by Leo Eland. The author is currently producing an inventory and research on this oeuvre of Leo Eland, painter of the Dutch East Indies landscape. Private owners of Eland’s work are also being approached by the author.
After its independence in 1991, Uzbekistan, one of the five post-Soviet Central Asian republics, was looking for a common framework to shape the discourse on nation-building and nation-branding. The great emperor Timur (1336-1405), one of the very few mortals to give their name to an acclaimed architectural style, was branded as the epitome of Uzbek national identity. While the alluring persona of Timur played the role of a symbol, the production of meaning was created by Timurid architectural artefacts. As a result, the surviving Timurid monuments were hastily restored for the celebrations of Timur's 660th birthday in 1996. In the period between the Uzbek Independence in 1991 and 2001, when the architectural centre of Samarqand was put on the UNESCO World Heritage List, some of the Timurid monuments were actually rebuilt, not restored. In this analysis, I discuss the epigraphic additions to two key Timurid monuments in Samarqand. The restorations are treated as a power tool used for the production and acceptance of history.

**Amir Timur and the Timurid legacy**

Timur (ruler 1370-1405) was a nomadic conqueror whose empire stretched from Anatolia to India in the late fourteenth century. The architectural monuments of the Timurid empire, situated mainly in present-day Uzbekistan, are regarded as masterpieces of medieval Islamic architecture. Throughout his reign, Timur utilised and exploited the cultural and artistic resources of his vast empire for the beautification of his two capitals Samarqand and Shahr-i-Sabz.

It was only after 1991, when the Independence of Uzbekistan was proclaimed, that articles and books on Timur started reappearing. After the break with the Soviet Union, Uzbekistan drastically rejected the Marxist-Leninist communist legacy and substituted it with the Timurid cult. In 1993 the horse statue of Amir Timur replaced the monument of Karl Marx in the heart of the Uzbek capital Tashkent. The main square of the New City – Revolution Square – was renamed Amir Timur Square.

Following an initiative of the Uzbek president Karimov, UNESCO took a decision to celebrate the 660th anniversary of Amir Timur in 1996. The celebrations were crowned by the opening of the new yurt-shaped museum of Timur, erected in the 1996. In the period between the Uzbek Independence in 1991 and 2001, when the architectural centre of Samarqand was put on the UNESCO World Heritage List, some of the Timurid monuments were actually rebuilt, not restored. In this analysis, I discuss the epigraphic additions to two key Timurid monuments in Samarqand. The restorations are treated as a power tool used for the production and acceptance of history.

**Epigraphic restorations of Timurid architectural heritage**

1. **Fig. 1** (inset): Bibi Khanum Mosque, Samarqand, present view after restorations 1991-1996.
2. **Fig. 2** (main image): Inscription main sanctuary Bibi Khanum Mosque, present view after restorations.
It is very interesting to note that exactly the same text can be found above the entrance to the Gok Gunbad Mosque in Shah-i Sabz, initially commissioned by Timur’s grandson Ulugh Beg (1433-1448) and rebuilt after 1980. Another example is the main sanctuary of the Shyahband Khan Mosque in Bukhara (completed around 1514), the Surat Al-Baqarah sanctuary inscription was only added after 1987 (fig. 3 and 4). The present Koranic epigraphy of the exterior and interior of Bolo Khanum, Gok Gunbad and other Timurid monuments, was designed by the Uzbek calligrapher Saliev. It might be possible that during the restoration campaigns similar calligraphic templates were reused for these three completely different monuments stemming from three consecutive centuries.

In analogous restoration campaigns, inscriptions were added to the main entrance of the Timurid dynastic mausoleum Gur-i Amir. Again, the earliest photographs of the gateway by Vedensky (1884-1887) and Prokudin-Gorsky (1911) (fig. 5) reveal only the damaged muqarnas vault. Very detailed drawings of this vault were also published in a lavishly illustrated Russian imperial edition on Gur-i Amir (1905).7 In 1943 the Uzbek government took a decision to restore the Gur-i Amir ensemble, consisting of Timur’s mausoleum to the south, a madrasa to the east and a Sufi lodge (Sherqolla) to the west. At the beginning of the 1950s the whole courtyard was refurbished under the architectural guidance of Notkin. Although the main efforts went into the preservation of the west. At the beginning of the 1950s the whole courtyard was refurbished under the architectural guidance of Notkin. Although the main efforts went into the preservation of the architecture of these monuments. Furthermore, there are no surviving plans or drawings that might shed more light on their original design. This is why, the earliest photographs and lithographs, from the second half of the nineteenth century, could be regarded as objective evidence revealing the state of the Timurid monuments prior to their subsequent restorations by the Soviet and post-Soviet elites.

Why were the inscriptions added?
I suspect that the artistic reasons were overshadowed by a political move to manifest the process of Uzbek nation-building initiated after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Both texts transcribed above underline the concept of a nation. After the Uzbek Independence in 1991, the Timurid myth became the key to the process of Uzbek state formation. The Turkic steppe conqueror Timur, previously ‘Uzbekified’, became the undisputed national hero. Throughout the last two decades, Timur has enjoyed a mass appeal among the Uzbek general public in a predominantly Muslim nation with nomadic roots. Timurid architecture, in turn, is used to boost the Uzbek population’s sense of belonging and pride throughout the construction of an ethno-national identity.

Since Independence, the Uzbek government has been using the Timurid heritage for state-branding. Uzbekistan is presented to the world as the cradle of Timurid civilization and as an important cultural hub along the Silk Road. The Timurid monuments in Samarqand and Shah-i Sabz are depicted on all state-sponsored Uzbek cultural events across Europe and the US. The authenticity of these monuments is not questioned. The legitimacy of their exquisite decoration and epigraphic programmes are branded as perfectly preserved Uzbek architectural heritage.

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All images taken by the author (2006), unless otherwise specified.

Notes
1 Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan.
3 In 1426-1427 Yacubi completed the biography of Timur.
4 A large vaulted hall with an arch opening on one side, usually overlooking a rectangular courtyard.
6 A system of projecting niches used for zones of transition and for architectural decoration in Islamic architecture.
8 Ibid., p. 59.
IN REALITY, the Katé festival occurs during the seventh month of the Cham calendar, usually in October, and the participants in the Katé festival are not limited to the Cam Ahier, but also include Cam Awoal. The Cam Awoal are a complex community that may consist of both Cam Awoal (Sunni) and ‘polytheistic’ Bani elements, or may consist of Bani elements only, depending on the source. Finally, the Cham community has recently adopted Katé to include the ceremonies and festivals, such as Katé-Rom'baw, and Katé Cín Có, each of which represents a shift toward a transnational frame to redefine communal and cultural identity.

Misconceptions about Katé are rooted in the history of the Southeast Asian Cham. Once a classical civilization that stretched along nearly half of the contemporary Vietnamese coastline and deep into the hinterlands of the Annamite Chain, the ‘archipelagic’ territories of the Cham people were slowly annexed by various Vietnamese lords through a process of demographic and administrative expansion that lasted from the eleventh to the nineteenth century. During this time Cham society changed greatly as the religious makeup of the Cham society changed greatly as the religious makeup of the people had lost their humanity and humaneness, as well as their sense of communal and cultural identity.

The second is that the festival is limited to the Cham ‘Brahmanist’ population, known as the Cam Ahier (or simply Cam). It is perhaps due to its popularity that there are two dominant misconceptions regarding Katé. The first is that Katé is the ‘Cham New Year’. The second is that Katé is the festival of the ancestral deities, which are centered on ancestral worship and the veneration of the oldest matrilineal family. To the outsiders observer these two days may not appear so different from the first two days, but they most certainly are.

Katé, day by day
Each Cham family is associated with a hometown (C: chum Pói; VN: quê hương), and each hometown is associated with one or more of these Cham creation deities such as the various incarnations of Po Klaong Can, or tribal gods such as Po Râm and Po Klaong Garai; and other ancestral gods such as Phu Sà Ina and Po Khlong Can. On the first day of Katé each of these deities is worshiped at individual sites in the hometown. For example, in Pêki Hamutan (VN: Hão Dì) there is a parade that brings ceremonial gifts and clothing to a small figure of Po Ina Nâmar. Cham Abers/priests offer gifts to this goddess of the soil, who according to Cham manuscripts written in the modern Cham script of Akhar Thinh was responsible for teaching the Cham community the art of weaving and the technology of long rice agriculture.

The second day of the Katé is dedicated to the ‘tombs’ (VN: nguyệt điền) of noble Cham (C: Katí bá lêm/hông). The Cham tombs are various cultural symbols, particularly since the largest tomb group at Mỹ Sơn was declared a UNESCO world heritage site in 1999. During the ceremonies and festivals of the Cham calendar (kabaw Cam) the Cham tombs become sites of active communal worship, gathering, and celebration. Thus, on the second day of Katé, members of the Cham community go up to the towers and perform a ceremony to ask permission to open the doors, which is followed by offerings to the ancestral gods.

The third day of Katé is usually referred to as ‘New Year’, and is the beginning of the ‘New Year’ gatherings, ceremonies, and celebrations. On this day, Cham families return to their hometown temple and observe the New Year ceremonies and festival. For example, on this day Cham families in Pêki Caló (Nhình Xuân province), at the local temple (donoix) of the deity Po Khlong Can, who is said to have taught the Cham people pottery, and the one responsible for granting Po Klaong Garai his royal ‘presence’ (gnôrêm). The ceremony starts by asking permission to open the doors of the donoix. Next, worshippers (mostly women) gather along the inside of the hall, while the priests (mostly men) sit off to the right hand side. As the ceremony reaches its peak, the On Kâthar (a specialized priest who is a master in the history of the Cham people, has a deep knowledge of Akhar Thrah, and plays the kanyi) sings the Donnyi (or ‘history’ of Po Khlong Can. Meanwhile, priests assist in the ritual washing of the figures of Po Khlong Can and his wife. Those familiar with Indic tradition these figures may appear as ‘lingas’ that have been faced paintings on them. Finally there is a priestess, known as a Mê Pujôi, who is responsible for channeling the Po Yang, or divine essence of the ancestral deities, in a ritualistic act of spirit possession. As the Mê Pujôi is possessed by the Po Yang, she smokes two cigarettes, performs traditional Cham dances, thrusts her arms

Reexamining human rights discourse after the Jewish and the Chinese Holocausts

After World War II, considerable efforts were made in the discipline of philosophy to question the validity of Western metaphysics. Surprisingly, human rights discourse has not been the subject of similarly rigorous interrogation.

ON THE PRESSING ISSUE of crimes against humanity, no serious efforts have been made in the liberal West to seek alternative preventions or cures outside human rights discourse, which had long existed before Auschwitz, but nonetheless failed to avert it; nor have thinkers and policy makers seriously examined whether the abstract subject-centered reason grounding human rights discourse has not uninvitingly contributed to the problem it seeks to address. As Levinas turns to the Jewish tradition in the aftermath of the Holocaust in order to reorientize the suffering face of the Other before the philosophizing subject, I turn to the Confucian tradition for an alternative ethics and politics that would foreground the destructiveness of the Other before abstract legal, political, and philosophical discourse about ‘rights’.

The above is what I undertake in one of my two BAS book projects, entitled Reexamining Human Rights Discourse after the Jewish and the Chinese Holocausts. In keeping with the Institute’s spirit of bringing Europe to Asia, and Asia to Europe, both books in progress are devoted to translation, comparative philosophy, and comparative politics. That Levinas and Confucius are brought together in my first project is no coincidence: the Jews and the Chinese sustained the greatest crimes against humanity in World War II. Both cultures provide alternative insights that might help explain how the specific civilization created by the Enlightenment could turn into a monstrous unleashing violence of an unceasing kind. The significance of Levinas and Confucius in my project is further illuminated as I bring in critiques of rights discourse by Gandhi, and feminists including Scott, Glendon, and Gilligan.

Humanization of man
My project originated as a response to an important proposal made by the Chinese representative P.C. Chang (陳道利器) at the drafting stage of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Chang recommended that the foremost mission of the Declaration should be the ‘humanization of man’. For good reason: for the Chinese who had suffered an estimated loss of 10-20 million lives in World War II, crimes against humanity were committed not because of the absence of the concept of ‘rights’ in the world, but because people had lost their humanity and humaneness, as well as their ability to recognize the victims of such crimes as human beings. Chang’s pleading fell on deaf ears.

World history since the adoption of the UDHR by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948 merits it to reconsider Chang’s proposal. Rights discourse has become ever more elaborate and sophisticated over the past 65 years. Yet in this, this international framework is, simultaneous with the burgeoning of rights discourse, should command us to reexamine whether ‘rights’ were not yet another abstract notion hypostatized into a monolithic God, and whether it would not be more to the point to focus on the ‘human’ in ‘human rights’, and to reorientize the flesh-and-blood human being into the intangible idea called ‘rights’.

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Notes
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3 By emphasizing feeding the hungry and clothing the naked, Confucius’ ren is a core idea in human ethics.

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In Deleuze and the Anthropology of Becoming, Biehl and Locke describe life in post-war Sarajevo. According to the authors, the diagnosis of collective trauma overlooks the discontentment about political and economic processes that cause (neo-liberal) deterritorialization of social life. Their approach is inspiring if one considers the consequences of rapid urbanisation in China: the deterritorialization of social and cultural life in entire neighbourhoods is often considered a necessary price for progress, whilst opposite views are judged conservative and unrealistic. Inspired by Deleuze for an ‘anthropology of becoming’, Biehl and Locke see agency in nostalgia, and give a voice to the memory of a less individualistic society.

Wim Haagdorens

Deterioralization, nostalgia and inclusiveness

At the beginning of the 21st century, the Chinese government launched the ‘harmonious society’ as a project to balance economic growth and social well-being. In this paper I recount the restructuring of neighbourhoods in Beijing and refer to similar dynamics in Chongqing, Chengdu, Dalian, Shanghai and Lijiang. Bourdieu’s concept of class habitus explains how trends can stir an entire society. He also insisted on the way spatial organization governs practices, with the house as privileged locus for the earliest learning processes. I will describe one urban assemblage in Xi’an that I experienced as a harmonious community, and the deterritorialization that disrupted this. I suggest that the very structures and practices that are sacrificed for real estate projects form precious social and cultural capital that can enhance individual well-being and equally, in Putnam’s words, can ‘improve the efficiency of society’. Thus, I mirror the deterritorialization of neighbours with the project for a harmonious society. Today, Beijing promotes itself with four keywords: ‘patriotism, innovation, inclusiveness and moral strength’. By sketching a personal interpretation of inclusive Chineseness, I suggest an answer to a perceived loss of Chinese culture and identity.

Progress and loss – Beijing 乒乓

The network of hutongs in the centre of Beijing contain thousands of quadrangles, where several families live in low houses and share their courtyards. The alleys provide space for markets and restaurants that serve as meeting points. Trees and greenery abound, and due to a chessboard pattern, main roads with subway entrances are at a walking distance. Trees and greenery abound, and due to a chessboard pattern, main roads with subway entrances are at a walking distance. The aged owner explained his situation: “I must go to a neighbourhood in the suburbs, where housing is still affordable.” Then he exclaimed: “I am a veteran of the Korean War, and I’ve always been a patriot. How can they do this, force me out of my house, at the end of my life?” His story exemplified the negation of symbolic capital; as a veteran on a modest pension, this was all he had in his defence. After a passerby offered to show me around, it struck me that this was the first time I had heard people emphatically deploying the cultural loss, apart from financial worries.

In August 2009, I visited the redesigned Qing-style Qianmen Street. East of Qianmen Street, a section of hutongs was walled off. Once a neighbourhood with hutongs brimming with life, albeit with a number of dilapidated houses too, it now felt like a war zone. I entered a surreal world of crumbling houses, where plants were still kept alive by those inhabitants who hadn’t left (yet). The first person to whom I spoke, a street sweeper stoically performing his job, said that preserving the houses was “too hard”, but didn’t give any further comment. His companions coughed and smiled in response to my questions. After a second attempt, a lady told me she didn’t think anything would be restored. At some point, everybody would have to leave. Apartments at more than 4000 euro per square meter would be impossible to afford. To my question as to where they would go and live, she answered, “here and there, anywhere”.

Recognition – hope?

In Chongqing, Chengdu, Dalian, Shanghai, there are similar stories. Lijiang is particularly telling. “UNESCO placed old Lijiang on its World Heritage List, but a recent inspection mission attacked over-commercialization and loss of traditional community values.” Discontentment is not only voiced by direct stakeholders and outsiders; it is also expressed at the highest official levels. Xinhuait reported on an anti-corruption meeting on 5 April 2013, with the former prime minister: “Wen Jiabao stated (...) that some social contradictions have become relatively prominent. In addition to corruption, these problems could threaten the country’s development and stability if not properly handled (...). Unlawful, forced land expropriations and house demolitions are strictly banned, he said, adding that the administrative system needs to be reformed to dilute the power of some government departments.”

Leaders like Wen Jiabao can generate the necessary soft power to mobilise society. Further experiments with grassroots democracy could tap the ‘wisdom of crowds’ by giving a voice to social networks that are rich in social and cultural capital, and thus create a bottom-up dynamic in response to the project for a harmonious society. If there’s agency in nostalgia, it is worth looking at those neighbourhoods that feel, or felt, like harmonious places. There’s a tremendous wealth of practices that can inspire the imaging of harmonious communities.

Object of nostalgia – Inclusive Chineseness in Qinglong Xiaoqu 营盘小区

I lived in Xi’an from August 1999 until July 2001, as a student of Chinese and a teacher of English. At some point, I moved to a ground floor apartment next to the market in Qinglong Xiaoqu, together with two fellow students, historian Filippo Marsili and sociologist Antje Schöne. We gradually came to understand the mode of life that was both traditional and open to novelties. We experienced an inclusive Chineseness in a relatively harmonious community.

Above: July 2005, A weekly moment of togetherness at the opera house.
Inclusive Chineseness and conflict management

At several instances I experienced an openness towards alternative worldviews. Each time the bossier siffer on American fact food, or the retired railway engineer who found me a copy of Shangfeng Baby, or the many unexpected invitations for a drink and a talk. We became friendly with the laowou-stall owner too, whom we called shifu (master). His watar was a few years younger than us, and he was like a brother to the younger of the two shufis. One afternoon, they joined Filippo and myself for lunch. The niece asked us what we were doing in Xian, and I said jokingly: "we are part time teaching, part time students" (the term substituted the expected ‘student’). Laowou is the term with which foreigners are commonly addressed, often with a chuckle. She replied with unexpected seriousness: ‘to us, you are not lowest! We don’t call you that anymore. To us, you are two friends.’

One evening, Filippo and I were again sitting at the kousou-stall, enjoying dinner. The atmosphere suddenly turned awkward, when some customers, six bulks of the kind that are for hire, started trouble. After verbal insult and complaints about the bill, they became physical, violently pushing around the waiter. He was in no way a match for these big men, but refused to give in. It was hard to tell who the men really wanted to challenge: we were aware that it might be us, the two lowo. We were trying to determine the margin of the tolerable, and wondered what to do if it was crossed. A number of by-standers were in this zone, waiting for an interveal as well. Suddenly, the shifu stood up from behind his barreicade, reprimanded his waiter, slapped him (gently) in the face, and told him to take care of the barbecue. Then, he sat down at the bulleis table, shared a couple of laughs and invited them for another drink.

What to an outsider could look like a sheepish reaction, was to an impressive act of self-control. We regretted not having found a way to intervene ourselves, but the shifu’s reaction had likely been the best way to protect his waiter and his customers. He had positioned himself as the host, the waiter in a serving position, and the bulleis back in their position of guests. Because of the traditional kinship relationship, rather than boss-waite, there were no hard feelings. The waiter kept on working there; he hadn’t lost face, nor had the owner. But the bulleis never came back. Framing this scene by Confucian tradition ties in with Bourdieu’s concordance of habitus. But as a reaction to drunken misbehaviour, serenely discarding this bad energy away instead of confronting it, also reminds us of the application of Taoist principles.

Deconstructing a harmonious community

June 2009, the fields west of the temple are lit up all night. Within weeks, part of the hill is cut away by bulldozers. July 2007, increased traffic makes direct access from Qinglong Xaoqiu to the opera house impossible. Further down the road, there is a new pedestrian bridge. While dozens of neighboors are let down by the point to the Ming-dynasty roofs that are obligatory constructed on all buildings within the city wall to stress the historic importance of Xian. August 2009, the opera house has disappeared. At its previous location, high rise blocks dwarf remaining parts of the neighborhood. A wall seals off the northern entrance of the market, the southern part has shrunken to just a few meters, while another wall separates the remaining neighborhood from what are now construction sites. The gatekeeper of my former apartment tells me that most people are living in apartments on the Second Ring Road.

Walking through the remains of Qinglong Xiao, I notice a billboard with ten do’s and don’ts for ‘civilised citizens’. Love for the motherland, respect for teacher and study, believe in science, protection of public morals, and the fulfillment of the environment. The don’ts are spitting, swearing, urinating, destruction of greenery and – in the remains of a once walkable neigh- borehood – jaywalking. I wonder whether these guidelines really form the crystallization of Qinglong Xiaoqiu’s potential. The extinction of the environment through the demand of the insignificant; again Bourdieu comes to mind.

On my way to the temple, where meadows used to be, I see warehouses: ‘Western section Restaurant Utensils’ and ‘Western Section Furniture City’. Next to the temple, on the one meadow, two tiou practitioners seem undisturbed by the trucks that roar off and on behind them. Machines are destroying the meadow and obscure the ‘desire lines’ that year after year had been traced by local farmers and their cattle. The gatekeeper of the temple tells me about the construction of a park. After our brief conversation, he fills my flask with hot water and says goodbye. I ask him how the temple building is once embraced: ‘You are very close to us. Although you live far away, your heart is very close.’

At the intersection of the Second Ring Road and Xingxieng Street, hundreds of people are enjoying a warm summer evening on the banks of the ‘desire lines’. I ask them whether they still play together, and they confirm that we do so when the weather permits whether they can still give rhythm and structure to their community, that now lives scattered along the ring road.

Restore

After the campaign by Wen Jiaobao, the warning of former president Hu Jintao in January 2012 against a “strategic plot of Westernizing and dividng China” in “ideological and cultural fields”, provides another opportunity for dialogue. If there’s a breath of affair, the albatross of ability to share scholarship. China invested massively in museums and archaeological work, but perhaps underestimated the cultural robustness in some communities and ways of thinking. Research in this field can give a voice to people and highlight practices that generate valuable social and cultural capital. This can contribute to the cohesive, harmonious society, that is so much hoped for.

When I revisited the neighbourhood east of Qianmen Daru in April 2013, surprisingly, most inhabitants were still there. It seemed that the construction craze had come to a grinding halt. The once omnipresent chair character (格omo) was nowhere to be seen. I walked out of the neighbourhood and I did see one big character on a house: xiu (demolish), meaning ‘restore’. There is room now for architects like Wang Shu, who uses traditional techniques and materials to address contemporary challenges in urban planning.

When in the 1980s and 1990s, Confucianism was suggested as an alternative social basis, Jenner saw this “as a symptom of the depth of the crisis” and Tam characterized Confucian discourse as “psychologically and politically repressive.”

In reaction to cultural essentialism, isn’t it instead possible to prize the variety of Chinese value systems, and explore how they can strengthen social cohesion in a pluralistic society? Thick ethnographic description, with knowledge of Chinese value systems, can contribute to dialogue. Biel and Locke asked how ethnographers can effectively bring their material to technocrats and policy makers. According to Bourdieu, “collective mobilization cannot succeed without a minimum of concordance between the habitus of the mobilizing agents.” This assumption does not take into consideration what we observe social dynamics and frame the dialogue.

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Notes
5 Ely, B. 2009. ‘and continuity, the influences of Taoist philosophy and cultural practices on contemporary art practice’, p.47, University of Western Sydney Library, http://tinyurl.com/e4v0ct
11 Bourdieu, ibid., p.81
Indian federalism: the need to look beyond coalition politics

One of the major changes in Indian politics over the last decade and a half has been the ever rising relevance of certain regional parties – and thus states – in India’s political landscape. Many believe the development has strengthened Indian federalism. The fact that no national party – whether the BJP or Congress – is in a position to form a government on its own, is often cited as the primary reason for such a situation. It has aptly been stated in this context, that “Since 1996, regional parties have become indispensable in the formation of government at the national level. They have been important partners in the coalitions that came to power after 1996. Besides, numerical strength of the regional parties has considerably increased, with a sizable vote share being captured by regional parties.”

Tridivesh Singh Maini

This trend has increased even more over the past few years, with many believing that India’s federal character has grown to a degree where there is a serious need to make changes to the Indian Constitution. Those advocating a relook at the constitution recommend granting greater powers to state governments. Regional satraps, like Punjab Chief Minister Parkash Singh Badal, have been at the forefront in demanding such a reform. This line of thought has been prompted by the fact that state governments have begun to influence decisions even on issues pertaining to foreign policy. There is no doubt that state governments, headed by dynamic leaders, have been carrying out economic diplomacy with foreign governments ever since India embarked upon economic reforms.

While some believe that this increasing strength of state government denotes a strengthening of India’s federal character, others argue it has weakened New Delhi, and has the capability to harm India’s national interests. It has been argued in this context, that “this new spirit of federalism is quite misguided. These states have blocked the Union government from creating the National Counter Terrorism Centre (an issue that affects many states), have interfered in foreign affairs (as members of Parliament from Tamil Nadu and the West Bengal government have done) and have demanded greater fiscal room. These are issues that are beyond their competence.”

In addition to influencing policy decisions within coalition governments, allies even influence party decisions on issues such as the choice of Prime Ministerial candidate. Parties look to select an individual who is ‘acceptable’ to allies. There is no better example than how the BJP is being cautious in its projection of Narendra Modi as the party’s Prime Ministerial candidate for the 2014 elections, politics being the fact that certain allies such as the JD (U) are uncomfortable with Modi’s projection. Second, as a consequence of regional parties taking a strong stand on issues of relevance for their respective states, state units within national parties are compelled to do the same, and on many occasions are not on the same page as their leadership in New Delhi. Some strong examples of this point include how all parties in Tamil Nadu banded together to obtain amnesty for the killers of Rajiv Gandhi, and how majority pressure in Andhra Pradesh secured the creation of statehood for Telangana.

The focus here

While the above examples show the increasing power of regional leaders and state governments, this article focuses on two important issues that are, during discussions on federalism, most often relegated to the sidelines. Firstly, the text looks at how the numerical strength of a state, and the regional party representing the state, determines its potential impact on national politics. Secondly, while certain cantankerous allies take liberties in their relationships with national parties, states and regions must also at times conform to their senior partners in the coalition.

If one were to look at the first issue, while regional parties like DMK, AIADMK, TMK, SP (UP) and even BSP have a strong voice on most issues (with the first three even influencing issues pertaining to foreign policy), smaller regional parties, especially those from the North-East, carry less clout and are not able to influence issues pertaining to economic policy or foreign policy – unlike those from the Southern states and Bengal. In addition, states with larger numbers have a greater financial influence.

With regards to the second point, national parties often force regional allies to toe the line on specific issues. Two clear examples that emerge are the Indo-US Nuclear Deal and FDI in retail. The Shrimanakai Alki Dal, a key ally of the NDA, was in favour of both the initiatives; it was forced to back out at the last minute, because of pressure from the BJP.

Reactions to the problems above

First of all, there is a need for greater dialogue between the Prime Minister, other Central Ministers, and Chief Ministers across parties – and to not only focus on the big states. This practice has always helped. For example, the big difference between the handling of the Teesta River Water Treaty, which was scuttled, and the Ganges Treaty, which was successfully signed between New Delhi and Bangladesh in 1996, is that in the case of the latter, the West Bengal was involved already in the initial stages.

Second, there is a dire need to give greater importance to organisations such as the Inter-State Council, which was set up in 1996, for ensuring that differences between the centre and state can be amicably resolved. The last meeting of the council was held in 2006. It has very rightly been pointed out that, “The ISC’s poor status is further reflected in the fact that its meetings do not even have a full-time secretary.” In spite of repeated recommendations to strengthen the ISC and for it to meet more frequently, as a tool for dealing with issues between Delhi and the states, the government has not paid attention.

Third, federalism needs to be looked at from a broader perspective than politics. The current Congress-led UPA Government is perhaps to be faulted for not being able to differentiate between genuine federal demands, and unreasonable demands of cantankerous allies, but the BJP is no better on this account. It may have spoken of Federalism whilst out of power, but whilst in office its record was not particularly commendable. While, along with its partners, the BJP did criticise the UPA Government for failing to follow the NCTC, it did not consult Chief Ministers while in office. A prominent example being the Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA). This was one of the reasons for its break up with the DMK, which later joined the UPA. Some suggest that the opposition to NCTC was not out of any deep commitment to federalism, but a mere political calculation.

Conclusion

It imperative for sustained dialogue between the centre and states on economic and political issues that may lead to friction, and not to politicize these differences. Apart from this, it is equally important to not confuse the rise of a few powerful regional satraps, with the strengthening of federalism. True federalism would involve smaller states with lesser representation also having a voice in a policy making body, and not just understanding the viewpoint of states without the sole purpose of keeping alliances intact. Yet, while national parties need to be more sensitive to regional aspirations, it is important that regional leaders act in a mature manner and do not promote controversial politics with the centre for petty gains.

Tridivesh Singh Maini is a columnist and independent policy analyst

Notes

[16] The Newsletter | No. 64 | Summer 2013
[17] The Newsletter | No. 64 | Summer 2013
New for review


In German and Austrian ethnology, the idea of Southeast Asia as an area characterised by a striking quantity of socio-cultural commonalities dates back to the early years of the 20th century. At the same time, the imagination of other European and American scholars was captured by the overseas dependencies of their respective states.

Niels Mulder

Reviewed publication:

SUBSEQUENT to the Japanese occupying the area in 1942, the Allies established the South-East Asia Command to re-conquer it and ever since Southeast Asia as a particular entity was on the map. As a scholarly invention, it was inaugurated at the time of the war in Vietnam when the focus on erstwhile particular colonies became henceforward concentrated in Departments and Institutes of Southeast Asian Studies. Even so, and well into the 1970s, the comparative study of subjects within the Region developed at a slow pace.

As no serious student can break free from the area's baffling diversity, the debate on whether it is more than an accident of geography is with us up to this date. Simultaneously, the imagination of other European and American scholars was captured by the overseas dependencies of their respective states. Naturally, Reid's academic excellence prompted in many of us that feeling of being somehow connected to the Southeast Asian 'cultural body of Southeast Asians in their diversity. It was not helpful to recognise the grafting of external elements on overstatements and the idea of cultural imitation, and was expectedly, the subject matter of the diverse contributions to this collection is located within the broad expanse of Southeast Asia, even as the bulk of them stand on their own and is not necessarily Reid's in their approaches to the Region. It is Lieberman and Wang Gungwu's suggestions and Li Tana's research that connect best with Reid's work. Contrarily, Ann Kumar eloquently argues her reservations to seeing Southeast Asia-wide commonalities because of the absence of cultural and religious, linguistic, and political homogeneity. As a result, she draws the line between the Western Malayo-Polynesian area (Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines) and the highly diversified mainland rest.

Whereas I would have preferred to see more direct connections between Reid's reading of the Southeast Asian past and the work of the various authors, the compilation of their contributions has resulted in a festive, appetising smorgasbord that is still complemented with a 24-page appendix of the publications of the toast of the party—altogether, a most readable Festschrift indeed.

Niels Mulder recently published Situating Filipino Civilisation in Southeast Asia; Reflections and Observations. To celebrate the work of the various authors, the compilation of their contributions has resulted in a festive, appetising smorgasbord that is still complemented with a 24-page appendix of the publications of the toast of the party—altogether, a most readable Festschrift indeed.

Reviewed publication:

This book, started in 2002 as a PhD thesis at Leiden University, has grown into a voluminous treasure of field data covering the history, mythology, ritual geography, caste and religion, guth organisation and socio-economy—all treated in an anthropological framework. It is this holistic approach (reflecting the best traditions of the Leiden school of cultural anthropology) that determines the book's value, and reference to it should henceforward not be lacking in any serious publication, in whatever discipline, on Newar culture.

The core of this study, linking history, mythology, ritual and social system—and justifying its title—consists of detailed descriptions of two cults: the local Buddhist cult of Vajra Yogini (the goddess residing in the forest temple above Sankhu), believed to be the creator of the kingdom and first king of Sankhu, and the Svaishahi cult originating in Sankhu of which David Collin, in the Foreword of the book, mentions the fascinating practice (rote) “has spread out, not just to other Newar settlements, but ... to the whole of the Nepal speaking world ... today this includes Nepalis settled in the USA, UK and the Far East.” Local and global, inside and outside, closeness and distance, Buddhist and Hindu, Tantric, syncretist Newar and classical Vedic, caste based discrimination and modern democracy—contested in the field of study represent oppositions, dilemmas, contradictions, complementarities, dynamic interactions in various respects, presented from different angles. As an inhabitant of Sankhu the author, by experience, has internalized these dynamics himself. Therefore he was well placed to collect inside information from many sources.

In the light of tradition and modernity, there are in increasing measure threats to the socio-racial fabric that defines Sankhu as a Newar town and as a ‘ritual kingdom’, both from outside as well as from inside—and this is the case with most Newar towns.

Monograph of a Nepalese town

This monograph of a Nepalese town or ‘ritual kingdom’ in the Valley of Kathmandu, covers sixteen centuries – from the 6th century when the Mahaya Gum-vihara in the forest above Sankhu was first mentioned in an inscription, till present-day Sankhu as it appears from a socio-economic survey executed by the author himself. Shrestha has spared neither time nor effort to relate his own meticulously collected fieldwork data to all which is known from archeological, historical, anthropological and religious studies on the religion and culture of the Newar. The end result is a welcome enrichment of all the disciplines mentioned.

Sjøerd Zaanen
Graduate Opportunities in Brunei

The Academy of Brunei Studies
Universiti Brunei Darussalam

The Academy of Brunei Studies is Brunei’s main centre for humanities and social science research relating to Brunei and neighbouring regions of Borneo. Graduate studies are an important component of this research and there are currently forty local and international students at the Academy studying for MA by Research and Doctor of Philosophy degrees. The Academy is currently expanding its graduate programme and particularly encourages applicants in the following fields:

Development and Social Issues in Brunei; Brunei International Relations; Brunei History (pre-modern to modern); Ethnohistory; Brunei Socioeconomics; The National Concept of Malay Islamic Monarchy; Brunei Customs and Traditions; Brunei Material Culture; Brunei Literature; Islamic Law and Governance; Administration of Islamic family law in Brunei; Ethnicity in Brunei; Fishing and fisheries in Brunei (traditional and modern); Peace and Conflict Studies; Deviance and Crime; Migrant Workers in Brunei; Gender and society

Note: Comparative and multi-country studies that include Brunei are accepted in all fields

Scholarships
A limited number of scholarships are available to outstanding candidates

- Universiti Brunei Darussalam Graduate Research Scholarships for PhD study
  Benefits: A monthly allowance of B$1,500 (maximum of 3 years), return passage to Brunei from and back to home country, a one-time payment of B$3,000 for field research allowances. For more information: http://gsr.ubd.edu.bn/index.php/scholarship
- Brunei Darussalam Government Scholarships to Foreign Students to study for MA and PhD, for more information: http://www.mofat.gov.bn/

General enquiries, applications and entry requirements
Graduate Studies and Research Office: http://gsr.ubd.edu.bn/

Faculty Contact information
The Graduate Programme Leader is the usual first point of contact for anyone interested in pursuing MA or PhD research at the Academy of Brunei Studies. Please address your enquiries to Dr Stephen C Druce, Graduate Programme Leader, Academy of Brunei Studies, Universiti Brunei Darussalam, Tungku Link, Gadong BE 1410 Negara Brunei Darussalam Email: stephen.druce@ubd.edu.bn

in Nepal. Outside factors like land reforms, growing caste consciousness and democratisation have endangered the economical and social foundations (especially guthis) on which public rituals, traditional occupations and festivals depend. Inside factors like political oppositions and fragmentation and cultural indifference have led to the disappearance and neglect of much of the traditional heritage. But on the other hand, the opening up of the town, its improved links with Kathmandu (road connections) and the world (telephone and internet connection, foreign anthropologists, donor support, educational facilities) are creating new opportunities that are being increasingly exploited by the inhabitants of Sankhu. Unfortunately, educational and health facilities, and employment have not much improved in Sankhu, which encourages out-migration. Hope to stop this trend is vested in a better road connection with the mountainous hinterland (trade opportunities) and gradual integration of Sankhu in the Kathmandu metropole (public and private investments). Sankhu may have an added value as a future rural ‘green’ suburb of Kathmandu.

Of particular interest and a great help for scholars are the author’s description and explanation of Nepal eras, calendars, (lunar)months, full-moon days, fortnights (bright and dark halves), religiously important days, an inventory of inscriptions, a complete description of all deities and shrines in Sankhu, and the whole Sankhu (multi)annual ritual and festival cycles, a glossary and bibliography. It is also well illustrated with maps and (black and white) photos.

This book is about anthropological facts, structure and system. It is not about feelings and not about stories: the inhabitant’s joint excitement and joys, their quarrels and fights, friendship, enmity and jealousy, sorrow and mourning, servitude and rebelliousness. And yet, such facts also characterize the town as a community. In daily life, they criss-cross localities, transcend caste distinctions, political and economical divisions, and transgress conventions. And thus they transcend and transgress the anthropological structure but not the anthropological reality. Such issues, completing the story of Sankhu, are to be found in the books by the author’s wife Srilaxmi Shrestha, written in Nepal-bhasa. One of these books is translated as A Cry in the Wilderness, published in 2011 in Kathmandu by Vajra Publications.

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Walking on the edge: explorers in China’s borderlands

Each of the chapters here capture Western and Southwestern China at a time of great flux: the imperial order is ending, the Republican Era is rising, and just over the horizon looms World War II and the Communist takeover. Our explorers, captured in time as they are, know little of this. Instead, they are certain of their place in ‘civilisation’ and convinced that their efforts in recording new places, peoples, flora, and fauna will pave the way for not only the West to continue to grow, but also for the East to rise out of its undeveloped state. As Steven Harrell notes in his introduction to the collection, we are able to better “understand some of the intellectual and political characteristics of an age that already seems very foreign to those of us who tread the same ground only two or three generations later.” (p.5)

Jared Phillips

The legacy of the explorers mentioned here have helped to reconstruct Western and Southwestern China as a state capable of interacting in the new, post-war world. The book is destined to become a pivotal work in the study of Sani language and culture – would have presented a more complex and nuanced understanding of a larger contested region, especially with the opening of the railroad into Lhasa. Another region with little mention is the proverbial ‘holy grail’ for late 19th and early 20th century explorers and missionaries: Tibet. While Tibet’s capital city Lhasa does not nearly figure into the direct story of the borderlands, it cannot be denied that many of those moving about Yunnan, Sichuan, and Qinghai from 1880 to 1950 had originally arrived precisely to become the first to penetrate this adventurer’s holiest of holies.

Despite these minor critiques, this work is excellent. By highlighting known and unknown explorers in new and insightful ways it opens a new world of study for experts and interested laymen alike. It successfully blends the histories of missionaries, botanists, and adventure-seekers into the story of multiple peoples and a nation at the precipice of great change. This work is a testament to the growth in interdisciplinary and international studies as scholars from multiple fields and nations give an erudite look at this crucial period of Chinese history. The book is destined to become part of the standard readings for students of modern China.

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Notes
1 See Mullaney, T.S. 2011. Coming to Terms With the Native: Ethnic Classification in Modern China, Berkeley: University of California Press

Reviewed publication:

THE WORK IS COMPRISED of eight essays exploring mainly Western figures in Southwest China (predominately located in Yunnan and Sichuan); they illustrate more concretely the intricacies and competitions in this nebulous place that is often overly romanticized by commentators and scholars alike. Conversely, and more than the subject of explorers are these ideas: notions of modernity, of nationalism, of cultural revival and commodification. While these are not unfamiliar themes to students of exploration and the great shifting of nations in Africa and Asia through the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries, we are only just beginning to see these applied to the study of dynastic China, or the Republican and Communist era. Modernity, never openly defined throughout the collection, is a pervasive theme and is hinged on the clash of American or European notions of civilization that are to be maintained while out in the hinterlands of Southwest China. Contested notions of nationalism, whether imagined or not, emerge as the essays chart the dawning of a new era in China, highlighting the tensions among not just Han groups, but also in the emerging minority groups. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, is the extent to which must, if not all of the authors in this volume, in ways in which their subjects have been or are being used by the current Chinese government (both local and provincial, and in some cases nationally) to resurrect a consumable cultural history.

Clashing styles: modernity and nationalism
The idea of modernization touched upon throughout the narratives of Joseph Rock (by Abin Yoshinga, et. al.) and Paul Vial (by Margaret Swain). In many ways, Rock serves as a trope for the stereotypical explorer – aloof to his Naxi workers, yet friendly when it suited him, capable of extreme largesse (by taking them to Europe or America) or of cultural stiffness, that is, giving of monetary gifts to his employees that were seen as pittance, if not outright insulting. Vial, in a less obvious way, was still intent on modernizing his beloved Sani. While he made enormous contributions to the study of Sani language and culture – contributions still relied upon today – and attempted to at least partially assimilate (wearing similar clothing, eating the local cuisine, etc), he was still firmly rooted in his European cosmology, by showcasing his difference he hoped reaping some material or spiritual reward for his efforts, not just outwardly in his work, but in internalizing the values that the Chinese state in both its forms was copying the West’s propensity for the classification of peoples in order to train them up into a new type of civilization. And, as recent scholarship has shown, it was indeed to Western modes of classifying minority groups and physical landscapes that the new leaders of China would turn as they attempted to build a state capable of interacting in the new, post-war world.

Notes
1 See Mullaney, T.S. 2011. Coming to Terms With the Native: Ethnic Classification in Modern China, Berkeley: University of California Press

Crockett Graham,着眼点 The West China Union University Museum (now Sichuan University Museum) and his works in the Sannongdu. As Jeff Hong-McClain (et. al) and Charles McDiarmid (et. al) attest, Graham’s work is experiencing a revival as its writings are translated and readily available throughout Sichuan, and the director of the Sichuan University Museum has declared that Graham’s contributions “will go down in history” (p.236) This is part of a larger trend throughout China right now, a trend that began during the 1980s and early 1990s, as China has been working to actively commodify both its past and its minority populations (mostly as the profits from national and international tourism have become increasingly apparent.) The legacy of the explorers mentioned here have helped to lay the foundation for this ethno- and anecho-tourism boom.

What about the other borders?
In light of this marvelous examination of the foundations of China’s tourist expansion, it is surprising to see two major omissions in the work. By narrowly limiting China’s borders to the familiar Yunnan-Sichuan corridor, we are left wondering what has happened in GanSu or QingHai, the great crossroads of Tibetan, Muslim, and Han cultures. Western missionaries and explorers were incredibly active in this region, a region vastly different in culture, geography, and ecology than the lowland regions discussed. The inclusion of these regions – perhaps a study of Robert Ekvall or Victor Pymire – would have presented a more complex and nuanced understanding of a larger contested region, especially with the opening of the railroad into Lhasa. Another region with little mention is the proverbial ‘holy grail’ for late 19th and early 20th century explorers and missionaries: Tibet. While Tibet’s capital city Lhasa does not nearly figure into the direct story of the borderlands, it cannot be denied that many of those moving about Yunnan, Sichuan, and QingHai from 1880 to 1950 had originally arrived precisely to become the first to penetrate this adventurer’s holiest of holies.
The ongoing story of Macao

In the late 15th century, Portugal’s age of discoveries inaugurated the contemporary world system that finds its form today in ‘globalization’, directly contributing to the establishment of mercantile empire, the rise of the nation-state, and the formation of the modern imaginary. In 1557 the Portuguese claimed Macao, the first (and ultimately, the last) European territory in Asia, which would serve mainly as a center for trade and Catholic missions into China. Macao joined the far-flung Portuguese colonies that traced the empire’s maritime explorations from the Azores and Madeira, to Senegal, Cape Verde, Guinea, Mozambique, Brazil, India, Malacca, Timor-Leste, and Nagasaki. Macao has effectively bookended the global era of the last half millennia and today the tiny city continues to play a rather remarkable role in the circulations of subjects, cultures, and capital through China.

Tim Simpson
Macao's ambiguous territory and sovereignty
Throughout the nearly 450 years that Portugal exercised some claim to Macao the city's sovereign status was opaque, and this strategic ambiguity was opportunistically exploited by both China and Portugal. When the Portuguese first settled in Macao, China did not formally yield power to the Europeans, and "there was no agreement whatsoever specifying the size of the territory and its boundaries". To some extent those unclear boundaries still exist today, especially in regards to the territorial rights to the seas that surround Macao and which are the site of the ongoing expansion of the city through large-scale land reclamation projects. Werner Breitung's geographical contribution to this Focus section highlights this territorial ambiguity. There is a lack of clear historical records regarding the exact administrative agreement forged between the Chinese and Portuguese in relation to Macao, and the territory never clearly belonged exclusively to one or the other power. Indeed what existed in Macao might best be understood as a unique form of shared sovereignty through which both Portugal and China extended limited authority over different dimensions of the city and its population. Cathryn Clayton refers to this status as Macao's "sort-of sovereignty", a designation she explores in her ethnographic contribution to the Focus.

Because of its informal definition, Macao's liminal identity proved useful to various state and non-state actors. Macao served as a conduit for not only commerce between Europe and China, but for China's illicit trade with Japan, which was otherwise forbidden by imperial edict. Not to be outdone, Britain also had interests in the enclave, which are discussed by historian Rogerio Puga in his contribution here.

Macao has been long known for tolerating vices that were forbidden in surrounding territories; such questionable commercial activities included smuggling, gambling, prostitution, opium production, and the coolie trade. Between 1850 and 1875, more than 70% of all Chinese indentured servants were recruited on the mainland and exported around the globe from Macao. After Mao Tse-Tung's ascension to power in the PRC, one of Macao's roles was to function as a business and financial conduit for the Communist Party. The city facilitated various partnerships between the Chinese left and right, the overseas Chinese diaspora and the world beyond the PRC. Due to the economic blockade of China by western powers in the 1950s, Macao became "the conduit for huge quantities of products that were indispensable to the survival of the Maoist regime: petrol, metals, automobiles, chemical products, etc., which were purchased by the People's Republic of China's representative in the territory, the Nam Kwong Consortium".

Macao's post-war role as a gold market likewise exploited the enclave's ambiguous status. Since Portugal refused to sign the post-war Bretton Woods Agreement, which tightly regulated the price of gold on the world market, Macao became a global hub for the gold trade. In 1948, the Miss Macao, a small seaplane transporting gold cargo between Hong Kong and Macao, became an historical footnote as the site of the first recorded air hijacking. From 1949 to 1973, 934 tons of gold were legally imported into Macao and presumably smuggled out again (though no official records document this process). "If all that bullion had stayed in Macao," mused Pina-Cabral, "the city would now be paved in gold." Visitors today to Macao's glittering megaresorts might not find that sentiment so far-fetched.
The contemporary transformation of Macao
Macao’s ongoing, dramatic economic transformation is motivated by the expansion of the casino tourism industry. Gambling has been legal in Macao since 1847, and traditionally operated as a monopoly concession granted by the government administration to a private entrepreneur in exchange for a percentage of the revenue. Hong Kong billionaire Stanley Ho held that monopoly for 40 years prior to Portugal’s return of the territory to China in 1999. After the handover the government liberalized the casino monopoly and opened it to investment by foreign gaming companies from North America, Australia, and Hong Kong, which have poured billions of dollars into the city. As a result, Macao has become the world’s most lucrative site of casino gaming revenue. By 2010 Macao’s casino revenue was quadruple that of Las Vegas, and Macao’s 2012 gaming revenue totaled $38 billion, an amount larger than was collectively generated by the entire commercial casino industry in the United States. The local government collects 40% of this revenue in gaming taxes. These enormous profits are driven by tourists; 28 million people visited Macao in 2012 alone, more than half of them from mainland China.

When Chinese workers can serve as the engine of such unprecedented economic growth and of fabulous personal wealth for foreign entrepreneurs operating out of a shabby exterior ex-colonial enclave – and do so not as producers but as consumers – we are surely witnessing one of the major “epochal shifts in the constative relationship of production to consumption, and hence of labor to capital”? Macao’s significance today, in the post-socialist transformation of historical stages of capital development and accumulation, from mercantilist maritime colonial expansion to neoliberal marketization. The spaces of the city have been endlessly reclaimed, reproduced, engineered, and commodified. For example, the same year that the labyrinthine city center of Macao, composed of old Portuguese government buildings, piazzas, and Catholic churches, was declared a UNESCO World Heritage site, investors broke ground nearby on a huge $154 million Fisherman’s Wharf featuring themed reproductions of a Roman Coliseum, Tang Dynasty Chinese architecture, buildings from Amsterdam, Lisbon, Cape Town, and Miami, and a simulated volcano.

The current construction trend tends towards an interiorized, encapsulated, and air-conditioned urbanism, as massive integrated resorts like Venetian Macao – the second largest building in the world – Sands-Cotai, and City of Dreams, constructed on reclaimed land between the islands of Coloane and Taipa, offer themed pseudo-metropolitan spaces in a completely privatized indoor locale. For its part, the Venetian includes the world’s largest casinos, 3000 hotel rooms, 350 retail shops, three indoor canals piled by Puccini-singing Filipinos gondoliers, a 15000 seat auditorium for concerts by Beyonce and the Black-Eyed Peas, 1.2 million square feet of conference facilities, a large clinic offering a patented form of dental reconstruction surgery, and an off-campus facility of the University of Macao. With residences, shopping, dining, entertainment, a waterway, and medical and educational facilities, the Venetian constitutes a city unto itself, an enclave within an enclave.

Urban phantasmagoria
Transnational investment has created a phantasmagoric cityscape of iconic glass towers and themed casino resorts that sit alongside colonial-era buildings and monuments. Macao is undergoing a period of remarkable development; however, ‘development’ implies temporal progress, and the term obscures how history essentially stands still in Macao. Spatial production, not linear temporal evolution, defines the city. Macao is a palimpsest on whose surface is written the various percentage of the population. The Macanese or ‘Sons of the Earth’, those unrepresented indigenous residents of Macao, and their disappearing Patuá (Macao Creole), are the subject of the contribution to this Focus by Elsbeth Larea.

Macao’s recent economic development has understandably been the catalyst for rapid growth of the local population, which increased by 27% between 2001 and 2011. With 552,503 people in a land mass of only 26.2 square km, Macao is now the most densely populated territory in the world. Significantly, 59% of the population was born outside of the city, including more than 107,000 non-resident workers currently living in the city on short term work permits as well as many first-generation immigrants from the mainland. More than half of the local workers are employed in service industries: casinos, hotels, restaurants, and retail. This largely temporary and transient population, with many members who have no enduring civil commitment to the city – along with the significant influence of the ubiquitous gaming industry on local politics – creates challenges for establishing a civil society and normalized everyday urban life for the heterogenous population. These topics are addressed respectively in the Focus contributions by Sonny Lo and Andy Fuller.

Macau’s unique qualities have prompted increased interest from scholars working in a variety of academic disciplines, many of which are represented in this section: History, Anthropology, Political Science, Performance Studies, Geography, Communication and Cultural Studies. Rounding out this Focus on Macao Studies is a contribution by eminent historian Roderich Ptak, who reviews a four-volume reference work recently published by the University of Macau, arguably the most comprehensive resource available for Portuguese literate scholars interested in the city.

Tim Simpson, guest editor of this Focus section, is Associate Professor of Communication and Associate Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, University of Macau. (tsimpson@umac.mo).

All images in this Focus section are courtesy of Tim Simpson, unless otherwise specified.

Notes
3 Ibid.
Macau in the eyes of a border scholar

Places are created by the interplay of people and geographical space. Their identity is shaped by these people and by geographical factors, which determine the opportunities, limitations and conditions for human place-making. Macau as a unique place is mainly defined by two geographical factors: the sea and the border to China. The significance of the sea is most apparent from the fact that about two thirds of the current land surface has been reclaimed from the sea. It is also apparent from the role of fishermen, seafarers and other maritime trades in Macau’s history, from the imaginary of the Praia Grande, bridges and the Guia Lighthouse, and from the cultural diversity of a former port city and colonial outpost.

Macau has always been a maritime and an international place.

The case of Macau is very illustrative for this new, more differentiated understanding of borders. Recent studies of this border city show how the meanings and functions of the border have constantly been constructed and reconstructed, negotiated and renegotiated by local and more distant actors, even if the border has not changed in space. The case of Macau also shows that the old fixation on international borders, as lines between sovereign countries, does not fit the reality of a world with globalised flows and graduated sovereignties. International borders can become localised by everyday practices of border-crossing and petty trade; and local borders can become internationalised when state control is enacted in train stations and airports or when the campus of the University of Macau is surrounded by a quasi-international border. Whether Macau’s border is, or ever was, an international border can be answered based on constitutional considerations and inter-state relations, but for the reality and the actual meaning of the border other categories such as permeability and identity are much more important. They can disclose not only the detailed and layered constituents, but also the dynamics of the border.

Ambiguity in space and character: history of Macau’s borders

When in 1557 the Portuguese were allowed to settle in Macau, it was not meant as a transfer of territory or sovereignty. Therefore, no treaty was signed to specify any boundaries. In practice, the Portuguese settled in the southwest of the Macau Peninsula between Penha Hill and Monte Fortress. Between this settlement and the long and narrow isthmus connecting the peninsula to the mainland were fields and small Chinese settlements. Macau was under the administration of Xiangshan, today Zhongshan, in Guangdong. While allowing the Portuguese to settle and conduct trade in Macau, the Chinese rulers upheld their claim of sovereignty over the whole area and the jurisdiction over the Chinese living there. The Portuguese had to pay a ground rent and customs taxes, and they were only allowed to exercise jurisdiction over matters within their own community. Based on a close liaison between the local mandarins and Macau’s Senate, sovereignty was shared more along ethnic lines than along geographical boundaries.

However, physical boundaries in space have also always existed. The first border structure in Macau was a wooden wall erected by the Portuguese. In 1573, the Chinese built a Barrier Gate, so they could cut off the peninsula from the mainland. In 1605, the Portuguese built a city wall about 2 km south of the Barrier Gate. None of the two structures was intended to delimit the territory of Macau, it was not meant as a transfer of territory or sovereignty. Therefore, no treaty was signed to specify any boundaries. In practice, the Portuguese settled in the southwest of the Macau Peninsula between Penha Hill and Monte Fortress. Between this settlement and the long and narrow isthmus connecting the peninsula to the mainland were fields and small Chinese settlements. Macau was under the administration of Xiangshan, today Zhongshan.

This was the time when other colonial powers, most notably the British, had established their presence in China with better conditions forcibly obtained from the weak Qing Government. In this environment, the Portuguese also raised demands, such as full sovereignty over Macau and territorial expansion. The notorious governor Ferreira do Amaral in the 1840s unilaterally closed the Chinese customs posts in the city, stopped paying the ground rent and levied taxes on the Chinese citizens of Macau. Furthermore, the Portuguese jurisdiction was extended to the whole area up to the Barrier Gate. Ferreira do Amaral is until today remembered by the Chinese as an evil colonialist.
His grand statue had to be removed and returned to Portugal before the handover in 1999. However, the key link between Macau and the border to China leading to the Barrier Gate, is still called Atamas de Ferreira do Amoré in Portuguese, in remembrance of the fact that this was where the governor was beheaded by angry Chinese. This name is acceptable because the Chinese name refers to the Barrier Gate, not to Ferreira do Amaral. Again, the boundary here is no longer so clearly defined, but even this opposing sets of memory share the same space, divided only by the mutually unfamiliar languages.

Territorial expansion also started during this time. Portugal seized the two islands of Taipa in 1851, Coloso in 1864 and Bdu Verde in 1890, and claimed Montanha (Big Hengqin), Dom João (Small Hengqin) and Ilha Verde in 1890, and claimed Montanha (Big Hengqin), Lapa (Wanzai), which lie to the west of the Inner Harbour. Their annexation promised to resolve the problem of the divided harbour and provide land, water supply and protection for the port. The Portuguese built houses and even a cemetery on these islands. In Montanha they reportedly also collected taxes. Chinese historians, however, emphasise the resistance by the Chinese on these islands against Portuguese occupation during the Qing dynasty and especially under Kuomintang rule.8

Sino-Portuguese negotiations to delineate the border were held in 1862, 1887, 1909 and 1928, but all of them failed. The 1887 agreement included the confirmation of “perpetual occupation and government of Macau by Portugal”, but this treaty has never been ratified by China.9 In 1979, after the Carnation Revolution, Portugal established diplomatic relations with the People’s Republic of China, which now formally recognized the claim of sovereignty.10 Both sides agreed to the formula “Chinese territory under Portuguese administration” – basically meaning that Portugal did not claim sovereignty over China, but China did not exercise it – but even then definition of territory and demarcation of boundaries were avoided. In the words of Cremer “neither the borders nor the questions of nationality, sovereignty and government have ever been as clearly defined as for other countries. Even the formula of ‘Chinese territory under Portuguese administration’ leaves the two parties to really clarify the status of Macau. Rather this formula confirms that Macau is unique and that it is difficult and perhaps not appropriate to define Macau in familiar legal terms”.11

While international relations were often difficult, local interactions with the surrounding Chinese districts were generally less complicated. Macau depended on the China trade and on food and water from the mainland. In 1887, Zhang Zhidong wrote: “merchants from the districts of Nanhai, Panyu, Xiamen and Shunde, exceeding tens of thousands, come and go between Macau and the province. They frequently set up livelihoods and establish businesses in both places, unrestrained by the borders, which causes excessive lawlessness among the people. Their endless traffic is like the weaving of cloth”.12

Such close interaction later facilitated political infiltration in both directions. Since both sides of the border benefitted strongly from contacts and supply from Macau. Sun himself was born in Macau’s hinterland and had close connections to the city. Inversely, during the Cultural Revolution in 1966, violent protests erupted also in Macau. They were met with much less opposition than in neighbouring Hong Kong. Despite the cold war, Macau was a centre of espionage and the border was a cold war border, but it did not represent the same ideological divide as the border of Hong Kong or the Iron Curtain in Europe.

From conflict to tacit agreement: post 1999 cross-border cooperation

When China retreated from ideology and opened up, cross-border contacts started to flourish. With the establishment of the Zhuhai Special Economic Zone in the 1980s and Macau’s handover in 1999, cross-border contacts and integration have grown further.

Politically, Macau became a Special Administrative Region of China, following the example of Hong Kong. While the sovereignty lies with the People’s Republic of China, a high degree of autonomy is guaranteed. Macau can join international organisations, and an army and an administration are set up, and issues its own currency. However, in external affairs - an arguably rather vague alternative – and the Central Government is not directly involved in the selection of leading officials, but in reality it determines the outcome. Therefore, sovereignty is respected, but it is still de facto shared and not very clear-cut.

Even the boundaries are still not clearly defined. In 1999, the Chinese State Council published a map and related text (Annex to Decree No. 275) to define the territory of Macau. The former, however, does not show any boundary, neither at sea nor at land, and the latter only states: “The area of the Macau SAR includes the Macau peninsula and the islands of Taipa and Colosane. The Northern Zone of the Macau SAR borders on the terrestrial area of Gorgonia in the City of Zhuhai in Guangdong province. To the south of the Arch of Barrier Gate the jurisdiction is exercised by the Macau SAR. The form of administration of the land between the front Tower of the Banner of the Gorgonia (Zhuhai) Frontier Post and the north of the Arch of Barrier Gate is maintained unchanged. The Macau SAR maintains its jurisdiction over the former Macau maritime area.”13 This carefully circumvents the two unclear issues: the so-called no-man’s land between the Gorgonia Frontier Post and the Barrier Gate, whose administration “is maintained unchanged”, whatever this means, and the so-called traditional waters, which have never been defined.

The issue of the no-man’s land became important with plans for new border control facilities, due to increased demand. A new checkpoint on the Zhuhai side opened in 1999, but the Macau counterpart could not expand without encroaching into the no-man’s land. Only after the handover of Macau could an agreement with the mainland be reached to lease 2.8 ha of land between the two checkpoints. The lease will expire after 50 years.

The issue of the maritime border is even more important in a city that has gained most of its land by reclamation. Macau and the surrounding Chinese islands have grown several times their original size. Maritime space is rapidly turned into land on both sides without any clear agreement as to who the sea actually belongs. Since the maritime border is fluid in any sense, the solidification of land also means a solidification of territorial claims. Therefore both sides have eagerly reclaimed land vis-a-vis each other, and the distance between them kept shrinking. The most extreme case of this can be observed around Ilha Verde (Green Island), which is now surrounded by reclaimed land of both jurisdictions. It is quite symbolic that this was later the place to turn competition into co-operation and set up a cross-border industrial zone.

Macau officials treated both the agreement on the no-man’s land and the industrial park as trial balloons for the bigger project of jointly developing Zhuhai-Hengqin Island, which is more than twice the size of Macau. Hengqin, less than 200 km away from Macau’s Taipa and Colosane Islands, is closer to Macau than to urban Zhuhai. Macau has always had an eye on Hengqin, but the mainland side did not want to appear belatedly accepting old Portuguese claims. Other more practical hindrances were military installations on that island, complicated land-use arrangements between Zhuhai and Shunde14 and unresolved issues of how to control access, how to define the legal status and what exactly to build on this land. Plans and works are now underway to build a business hub at an extremely vast scale, several leisure and tourism facilities and, as the first completed complex, the new campus of the University of Macau. This cross-border university campus symbolises and perpetuates a centuries-old tradition of shared sovereignty in Macau.

Permeability and meaning: the view from the ground

Border regimes are determined not only by inter-state relationships, but also by everyday practices of border communities and by the representation of borders in peoples’ minds. Since the early 1980s, the Macau-Zhuhai border became increasingly permeable for Macau residents and even tourists crossing the, proximity of Zhuhai to the Macau urban core and existing contacts especially with Zhongshan, border-crossing became a feature of Macau residents’ life. In 2002, the average Macau resident crossed the border around 40 times per year. The overall number of border crossings between Macau and the mainland reached 30 million in 2003, and surged to 63 million in 2004.15 The reason for this accelerated increase was the counter-flow of visitors from the mainland to Macau, which only really started in the early 2000s.

Although the immigration checks on both sides are very strict, the border is not really experienced as a barrier, but merely as an enigmatic, it still has a strong symbolic function. Interviews and surveys by the author16 have shown a strong sense of difference regarding places and people, which is symbolised by the border and the action of border-crossing. Despite the actual similarity in culture and national self-identification, most respondents would be opposed to the removal of border controls. The most common fears were a loss of security, excessive population growth and a more competitive labour market. Even a Chinese who recently moved to Macau in search of opportunities herself, said: “The security would be bad. Everyone could come if they want. Many poor Chinese people would come to Macau and search opportunities to become rich.” A recurrent theme in many of the more emotional statements was that of a “crowd of people” who would come. “It would cause an increase in crime, in behaviour or even diseases. Additionally, many interviewees saw the border as a symbol of Macau’s autonomy, which needs to be preserved: because of differences in identity and culture, because of the better political system or because of economic advantages.17

Even though the border is guaranteed to remain in place for 50 years following the handover, and changes in the actual border regime have been very gradual, the meaning and permeability of the border has changed significantly. The dynamics of change have been driven by both changes on the political level and local agency of border communities. The interplay of these two factors has had an impact. Throughout the history make Macau an intriguing study field for border studies.

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As you stroll through the exuberantly neon-drenched architectural massifs that line the streets of downtown Macau and Cotai in 2013, the city’s history of Portuguese rule may seem like a very distant memory. Fourteen years after the handover to Chinese administration and a decade after a change in the regulatory framework allowed a massive flow of foreign capital into the casino economy, the city’s orientation toward mainland China and its affinities with other ‘tourist utopias’ like Las Vegas and Dubai may seem to have overwhelmed all but the most superficial Iberian influences. But dig a little deeper, listen a little harder, and it is evident that two of the questions that provoked the most anxious debate among Macau residents in the waning years of Portuguese rule still resonate today: What is the nature of Macau’s difference from its Chinese neighbors? And to what extent is that difference attributable to the city’s history of Portuguese rule?

As the globe from Lisbon to Acapulco and had played host to scholars, poets and playwrights such as Matteo Ricci, Luis de Camões and Tang Xianzu, the city hosted a series of academic conferences and staged an impressive number of cultural events, all aimed at establishing Macau’s historical role as a precursor of globalization and as an imaginary city as a kind of heroic, subversive alternative to the ‘Anglophone hegemony’ of modernity that had relegated both Portugal and China to its margins.

Different from all other Chinese

Among the residents was a belief that this project had mixed results. Some Macau residents found the celebration of Macau’s early cosmopolitan stature to be a refreshing change from the usual view of Macau as a washed-up, second-rate Hong Kong. Others, who were suspicious of Macau’s ‘true’ identity, were more inclined to find that the conversation about what made Macau unlike other Chinese places was not convincing. As a result, it is most reasonable to see the attempts to create an identity project as the pithy expression of a morally bankrupt colonial administration. Yet the sheer volume of ink and concrete that were expended on the goal of convincing Macau residents that they were different from all other Chinese, because of their experience of an alien rule that was colonial, remains an important question, and the meaning of sovereignty (what was ‘sovereignty’), such as Macau’s past could be construed as ‘not colonial’?, of Chineseness (what was ‘Chineseness’, such that the Chinese in Macau were ‘different’?) and of the intersection between them.

The answer to these questions, and which was promoted in government-sponsored museums and publications, defined sovereignty in terms of military, political, economic and cultural supremacy; by this definition, the Portuguese had not been colonizers because they had never held such supremacy. They had not used force to wrest Macau from Ming control; the Portuguese settlement there had been the result of negotiation and compromise. For three hundred years, they had paid ground rent to the Chinese authorities in return for permission to maintain a settlement on the Macau peninsula; when requested, they had provided valuable military aid to the Ming and Qing governments; their representatives had performed the kowtow to the emperor and had accepted titles indicating that they had been incorporated into the imperial bureaucracy centered in Beijing. For three hundred years, they had governed only themselves, inside the walls of the city, while recognizing their total dependence on the emperor and his subjects for even the barest necessities like water and food. Indeed, on several occasions, at the first sign of Portuguese turbulence, the Chinese authorities had ordered all their subjects to evacuate the city, effectively starving the Portuguese into submission.

A ‘half-liberated area’

Yet, the argument went, this did not mean that the Portuguese had been mere vassals of the Chinese empire. Often, the Portuguese crown had acted as if it were supreme ruler of the territory. In 1856, for example, the Viceroy of Goa, acting on the assumption that he, not the Ming emperor, had jurisdiction over Macau, elevated its administrative status from a settlement (povoação) to a city (cidade). In 1846, Lisbon sent Governor Ferreira do Amaral to unilaterally assert Portugal’s formal sovereignty over the entire territory by refusing to recognize the authority of any Qing official within Macau’s borders, and claiming jurisdiction over land and people (Chinese as well as Portuguese) far beyond the existing city walls. And in 1887, Qing officials had been compelled to sign the Sino-Portuguese Treaty of Friendship and Commerce, which recognized “the perpetual occupation and government of Macau and its dependencies by Portugal”. But even then, the argument continued, when Portugal’s formal claim to sovereignty over Macau had apparently been recognized by international law, the Portuguese had never imposed their language, religion, political ideologies or educational standards upon the Chinese people under their rule. Thus the history of the Portuguese presence in Macau was presented as one of shared sovereignty, a ‘sort-of sovereignty’, in which the answer to the question ‘who’s in charge here?’ was entirely contextual and often deliberately ambiguous.

This historical narrative and this conception of the nature of Portuguese rule did not go unchallenged during the transition era. Some Macau residents maintained a more common-sense definition of colonialism as simply any foreign occupation of Chinese soil; they pointed to the structure of the city’s political system, which consistently advantaged Portuguese and Macau residents in the waning years of Portuguese rule still resonate today: What is the nature of Macau’s difference from its Chinese neighbors? And to what extent is that difference attributable to the city’s history of Portuguese rule?

Identitarian project

In the mid-1990s, with the knowledge that more than four centuries of Portuguese rule would be coming to a negotiated end in a few short years, the Portuguese administration mounted a massive campaign to convince Macau residents, 95% of whom identified as Chinese, that they could lay proud claim to an identity that made them different from all other Chinese people: an identity that had resulted from the 450-year history not of colonialism, but of a kind of shared sovereignty in terms of military, political, economic and cultural supremacy; by this definition, the Portuguese had not been colonizers because they had never held such supremacy. They had not used force to wrest Macau from Ming control; the Portuguese settlement there had been the result of negotiation and compromise. For three hundred years, they had paid ground rent to the Chinese authorities in return for permission to maintain a settlement on the Macau peninsula; when requested, they had provided valuable military aid to the Ming and Qing governments; their representatives had performed the kowtow to the emperor and had accepted titles indicating that they had been incorporated into the imperial bureaucracy centered in Beijing. For three hundred years, they had governed only themselves, inside the walls of the city, while recognizing their total dependence on the emperor and his subjects for even the barest necessities like water and food. Indeed, on several occasions, at the first sign of Portuguese turbulence, the Chinese authorities had ordered all their subjects to evacuate the city, effectively starving the Portuguese into submission.

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A prosperous post-handover future?

In the late 1990s, then, it seemed that in its attempt to make Macau and its history a source of pride for its residents, the Portuguese administration was fighting a losing battle. Many Chinese residents I spoke with had found some aspects of this project meaningful - the representation of Macau's past in the Macau Museum, for example, was remarkably popular, and I spoke with numerous people who worried that if the uniqueness of Macau's 'system' were not clearly defined and defended, the city would lose its autonomy and become little more than an appendage of neighboring Zhuhai. But for the most part, anger and impatience over the triad situation, the surge in violence must be due to gangsters from over the border in China, since Macau's own homegrown thugs were of a more gentlemanly type who would never resort to such ruthlessness. Even though many Macau residents actually agreed with some of these sentiments, the fact that they had been uttered out loud by some of the highest representatives of the state simply confirmed the view that the Portuguese government was an alien and illegitimate regime, and that the 'sort-of sovereignty' it was supposed to restore picturesque old buildings. (Photo by Cathryn Clayton, used by permission)

This time, however, the narrative seems to be meeting with more success. A survey done in 2007 showed that some 66% of Macau residents felt proud of being from Macau (compared to just 38% in 1999), the local Chinese-language newspaper, which before the handover had been a vocal critic of all things Portuguese, now runs articles extolling the 'charms of Europe' that can attract both tourists and residents to revitalize the older parts of the city. Now that Beijing has indicated that capitalizing on Macau's ties to the Lusophone world could benefit both the city and the entire Chinese nation, now that the local administration has made public security and well-being a priority, now that the frustrations with Portuguese rule have been replaced with new frustrations and realities; and now that the sleepy, small-town quality of life in Macau becomes increasingly difficult to find, it seems that many Macau residents have found new meaning in the once-discredited vision of how Macau's past could form the foundations for its future.
ICAS Book Prize 2013 Shortlists

The Reading Committees for the ICAS Book Prize (IBP) and the Reading Committee for the Best PhD have decided on their shortlists – with 5 books and 3 PhDs in each category. The awards ceremony will be held at ICAS 8 in Macao on 25 June 2013, and the results will be posted online shortly after, on www.icassecretariat.org

Humanities

Julia F. Andrews & Kuiyi Chen. 2012
The Art of Modern China
Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press

Jeffrey W. Cody, Nancy S. Steinhardt, & Tony Atkin. 2011
Chinese Architecture and the Beaux-Arts
Honolulu/Hong Kong: University of Hawai‘i Press/Hong Kong University Press

Michael Dillon. 2010
China: A Modern History
London/New York: I.B. Tauris

Paul A. van Dyke. 2011
Merchants of Canton and Macao. Politics and Strategies in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Trade
Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press

James McHugh. 2012
Sandalwood and Carrion. Smell in Indian Religion and Culture
Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press

Best PhD Humanities

C. Fred Blake. 2011
Burning Money: The Material Spirit of the Chinese Lifeworld
Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press

Dan Breznitz & Michael Murphy. 2011
Run of the Red Queen: Government, Innovation, Globalization, and Economic Growth in China
New Haven/London: Yale University Press

Miriam Kahn. 2011
Islam on the Move: The Tablighi Jama‘at in Southeast Asia
New Haven/London: Yale University Press

Farish A. Noor. 2012
Islam on the Move: The Tablighi Jama‘at in Southeast Asia
Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press

Johan Saravanamuttu. 2010
Malaysia’s Foreign Policy, the First Fifty Years: Alignment, Neutralism, Islamism
Singapore: ISEAS Publishing

Song Chen
Managing the Territories from Afar: The Imperial State and the Elites in Sichuan, 755-1279
(2011)

Ayseh Irani
Sacred Biography, Translation, and Conversion: The Nabivamsa of Saiyad Sultan and the Making of Bengali Islam, 1600-present
(2011)

Birgit Magdalena Tremmi
When Political Economies Meet: Spain, China and Japan in Manila, 1517-1644
(2012)

Social Sciences

Roberto Benedicto
Bright Lights, Gay Globality: Mobility, Class, and Gay Life in Twenty-first Century Manila
(2010)

Thomas Cliff
Oil and Water: Experiences of Being Han in 21st Century Korfa, Xinjiang
(2012)

Ayesha Irani
Sacred Biography, Translation, and Conversion: The Nabivamsa of Saiyad Sultan and the Making of Bengali Islam, 1600-present
(2011)

Birgit Magdalena Tremmi
When Political Economies Meet: Spain, China and Japan in Manila, 1517-1644
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When the Portuguese settled in Macau (c.1557), the enclave became the first western gateway into China. The Portuguese enjoyed a commercial monopoly in China until the East India Company (EIC) established direct commercial relations with China after the voyage of the *Macclesfield* (1700). Macau was also used by the British as their home until the founding of Hong Kong. As trade took place mainly in the factories of Canton during the autumn and winter months, until publication of Paul Van Dyke’s *The Canton Trade* (2005) the majority of the studies on the China Trade dealt mainly with Canton, as Macau was seen as a resort for the summer residence between trading seasons. The English trade rapidly surpassed the Portuguese trade, and the temporary residence of the supercargoes became essential to the economy of the city. The European presence in the Macau-Canton circuit gave way to a degree of cultural exchange of which Chinese Pidgin English is a symbol in China, its European ‘counterpart’ being *chinoiserie*.

In 1613 the EIC established a factory in Hirado (Japan), from where it tried, in vain, to establish direct trade with China until 1623. When in 1639 all catholics were expelled from Japan and the Nagasaki trade came to an end, the Portuguese learnt about the dangers brought by their Northern European competitors and tried, at all cost, to maintain their monopoly in China. Up to 1635 the oldest allies in Europe were rivals in Asia, and in that year they joined efforts to fight against the Dutch power. The Portuguese vicory of Goa and the chief supercargo of the EIC Surat factory signed a peace treaty, the Convention of Goa, and the former freighted the ship London from the EIC to take merchandise to Macau and bring back artillery, sailing under the English flag to deceive the Dutch. Once in Macau, the ship’s English supercargoes tried in vain to convince the Chinese authorities to give them similar privileges to those of the Portuguese. The latter decided they had to keep the European rivals under strong control and boycott any attempt of the English to trade. In 1637 John Weddell’s fleet tried to establish direct contact with Canton and was expelled by the Chinese and the Portuguese authorities, which warned Goa and Lisbon about the great danger of such visits for Macau and the Portuguese interests in China. Up to 1700 several ships tried to establish direct trade with China, but without any success. While eastern EIC factories sent ships to Macau as part of their local strategy, most of the time without the knowledge of the London directors, in Europe the Company used diplomacy to convince Portuguese kings to allow English ships to stop and trade at Macau, a strategy that did not succeed as Lisbon also defended the interests of Macau and its monopoly in China. Episodes such as the one involving the Centurion, the first British ship of war to arrive in China (1742), show that the British, like the Portuguese, tried their best to succeed when it came to defending their trade.

**A walled peninsula**

By the end of the seventeenth century it became more and more difficult for the English to trade in Amoy and Formosa, so in 1689 the EIC decided to send the Macclesfield to Canton. Its crew was the first to be received by the Canton authorities /merchants, who were obviously looking for new commercial partners. The success marked the beginning of a new era for Western trade in China. After 1700 the British no longer needed the Portuguese to contact the Chinese merchants, and the Macau authorities were forced to gradually adapt to a new context: the arrival of Western competitors and the development of the Canton Trade System. If the British trade took place in Canton, the interests of the EIC were also looked after in Macau through the economic relations with local traders and the Portuguese authorities during the spring and summer months. By 1750 half of the ships that arrived at the Pearl River delta were British. Macau was a support platform for and an extension of the Canton market, and from an early stage the Sino-Chinese city had several uses for the British, such as: the only permanent gateway into China where ships would find a pilot to travel to Canton, a linguist and a permission to continue their voyage; a meeting place for crews; a destination of much of the EIC’s China correspondence; a place where ships were repaired and repaired; a place to translate Chinese documents, gather information about Canton, and trade (illegal merchandise); a ‘neutral’ refuge while problems in Canton were solved; a place of residence, rest, recovery and learning about the Chinese culture and language(s) for traders, travellers and missionaries.

For the Chinese authorities, Macau – a walled peninsula – was a strategic place to control all foreigners. In case of emergency in Canton, the British would move to the enclave, as happened during the conflicts of the Bombay ship *Lady Hughes* (1784) and the opium crisis in the early 1800s. Besides being a contact space between China and the West, the city served as a neutral place where the Europeans...
were confined and solved their own problems, releasing the Chinese authorities from the burden of having to deal with foreigners. A walled city, Macau functioned as a laboratorium for the Canton trade, where the Chinese authorities isolated and controlled Westerners while doing business with them. Before the creation of the Canton factories, the Luso-Chinese enclave had an important role when it came to control and keeping barbarians away from mainland China. The Chinese administration allowed the Portuguese to settle in a walled peninsula that could be easily controlled, and later drove the English and other foreigners there to be ‘ruled’ by the Portuguese. The city was therefore very important for the control of all Westerners between the trading seasons.

Anglo-Portuguese alliance
The enclave was vital for the EIC’s interests in China. In the second half of the 18th century the conflicts between the supercargoes and the Portuguese authorities increased as the British fought for greater freedom to develop their commercial interests, being forced to respect the Chinese law in Canton, and the Portuguese law in Macau. The British were continuously forced to fight for their interests in China, and Lord Macartney’s embassy (1793) was a part of this struggle to conquer better trading conditions. Once again, Britain looked to Macau as a desired territory, and it was also in the city that independent traders such as the Beale brothers and Jardine Matheson settled in the late 1770s to challenge the EIC’s monopoly until 1834. The Anglophone community influenced and enriched the social, economic and cultural life of nineteenth-century Macau, while the founding of Hong Kong, the signing of the Nanjing Treaty and the opening of the five Chinese ports transformed the Western way of life in the Sino-Portuguese enclave as well as its regional and international importance. The Anglo-Portuguese alliance, the oldest in the Western world, gradually extended to the Far East, where relations between old allies were shaped by the diplomacy of both Crowns, by the interests of local and Western merchants, and the Portuguese and Chinese laws. Luso-English relations in Macau were also influenced by the imperial policies (edicts), and the Portuguese often used the will and law of the Chinese as an excuse to defend their privileged status in China. Macau also worked as a decompression chamber for Westerners who arrived in China, and for Chinese who left mainland China and had a quick glimpse at how Europeans lived. Therefore, the history of the Gem of the Orient – as Sir John Bowring, one of the first Hong Kong governors, called Macau in his Sonnet to Macao – can only be studied based on multi-archival research, both Western and Eastern, and approached like a kaleidoscopic and complex reality, with local, regional and (inter)national dimensions.

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The voice on the postcolonial stage

Macanese or Macaense, regarded as the ‘sunset creole’ people of Macau, comprise a mere 5% of the ex-colony’s population. This article offers insight into the cultural, political and structural changes, within the postcolonial context, of Dóci Papiçoam di Macau – the sole theatre group performing in a ‘critically endangered’ creole language: Patuá.

Maria Elisabeta Larrea Y Eusébio

IN ONE ROOM, a middle-aged and well-dressed man murmurs his lines while animately waving his hands in the air. His serious expression contrasts the devaluation and importance he invests in his endeavor. In another room, a mirror reflects a brush stroke on an actor’s face, who sits still in her chair while checking carefully that her makeup is applied perfectly. Laughter echoes along the hallway. One can always find a joke around the corner, or someone gulping down a chichote while avoiding the crumbs that fall on his costume. The backstage amplifier transmits an announcement by the director in Portuguese, Cantones, and English. Representing different generations and ethnicities, the actors and crew speak various languages yet achieve the rapport of an extended family.

The Macanese, an epithet for the mestizo individuals who resulted from intermarriage among the Portuguese colonizers and their ostensible Chinese subjects, are Macau’s indigenous Eurasian residents. However, not quite an ethnic group and not exactly a nationality, the actual definition of Macanese is notoriously ambiguous. Generally having an element of Portuguese heredity, they are a bilingual (or even trilingual) cultural group, fluent mostly in Portuguese, Cantones, and/or English. The Macanese traditionally distinguished themselves from other ethnic communities through their specific combination of religious customs, gastronomy and a Portuguese-based creole language, Patuá.

This language of Macao was first borrowed from papel criarots of Malaca and then later influenced by Cantones, English and Spanish elements, and particularly by the Indian Canarim, a language of Goa. Known also as Lingao rhorea (women’s language) and papel Cristim di Macao [Christian Language of Macao], learning this language requires some level of group belongingness and knowledge passed down orally across generations. Today spoken fluently by only a handful of people, Patuá has been enlisted as a ‘critically endangered’ language by UNESCO.

The Macanese in Macau

Though the Macanese comprise only 5% of the local Macau population, the overwhelming majority of the Macanese population is actually outside of Macau and scattered around the world, in the United States, Australia, Canada, Portugal, and Brazil. Two major Macanese diaspora events contributed to this dispersion. The first was the 121 incident in Macau, a state turmoil in 1966 resulting from a deadly confrontation between Portuguese authorities and Chinese locals that created political instability for the Macanese, and resulted in their emigration. The second diaspora was prompted by the signing of the Sino-Luso joint Declaration in 1987, declaring that Macau’s days under Portuguese administration would be numbered. Most Macanese studies show that to this day, the majority of the Macanese in Macau toppled over 11,000, whereas in 2001, the number of residents with Portuguese descent dropped to around 7,000. These two major phases of ethnic identity crisis gave rise to the establishment of a number of Cosei di Macau (i.e., Macanese associations) around the world. In 1993, the first Encontro Doci Comunidade Macauense with over 600 representatives of Macanese clubs and associations worldwide, gathered in Macau with the aim of reinforcing the group’s cultural identity and preparing the Macanese community for the transformation of sovereignty. Since then, the Encontro would be held every three years, where the Macanese community members indulge in Patuá plays, parties, and traditional cuisine.

Macau, a small territory that initially held just 8 km² of landmass situated at the estuary of the Pearl River at Southern China, has been a site of contact, communication, and controversy between the East and the West for over four centuries; in the past two decades it has been transformed into an international city of glamour and prosperity. With the establishment of the Macau S.A.R. government in 1999, the preference for official languages and cultural manifestations shifted to that of the new administrative powers. Once claimed to be the true ‘sons of Macau’ who aimed to integrate themselves culturally with the colonial population, the Macanese are now facing cultural infusion from the ex-colonized. Pushed to the periphery of the public sector and coveted government positions, the Macanese who once sought affiliation with Portugal are now ironically being considered for possible enlisting as the 57th officially-recognized ethnic group of Greater China. Although the Macau S.A.R. government aims to promote Macau as a place of harmony among diverse cultures, national identification and pedagogical strategies have subsequently shifted to more overt identification with People’s Republic of China. Meanwhile, the Macanese have proclaimed the importance of their existence by presenting themselves as the ‘difference’ Macau possesses after the handover, compared to other Chinese cities, through the iconic creole image of their Eurasian culture.

The revival of Patuá theatre

Doci Papiçam di Macau, literally the Sweet Language of Macau, is a theatrical company largely composed of amateur thespians from the Macanese community. It is the sole theatre group using this endangered language in theatrical performances, or recites, with themes including social and political criticism, and gossip and folk-tales that circulate throughout the daily discourse of the Macanese community. In 2012, the Patuá theatre was included in the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Macau, marking its importance on the global platform. Having been in the audience of this annual performance since 2001, and a member of the backstage crew of Doci Papiçam di Macau since 2007, I have been an active participant-observer in the group. My own cultural identity as a Macanese with Chinese, Portuguese, and Basque heritage has facilitated my interest and involvement. The core membership of the group remains restricted to Macanese, yet in recent years, the company has further incorporated the use of Chinese and Portuguese language in their performances, extending their collaboration with local theatrical groups, and performing not only with Macanese amateurs, but also Chinese and Portuguese individuals.

I first watched Doci’s performances at the Culture Centre of Macau in 2001 when my parents brought me along to the show. My mother, a fourth-generation Macanese, wanted to savour her childhood memories that these performances evoked – a reminder of her grandmother’s language as well as the colonial era that was filled with Macanese and Portuguese tunes. Only at that moment did I realize that I actually understood the language, without having heard it spoken explicitly before. It was then that I came to know certain phrases or words that my Macanese relatives spoke were actually Patuá and not formal Portuguese.

I first approached the group as a documentary filmmaker. Though I was greeted with friendly smiles, I knew I was being observed. Finally, the question came up in Patuá, “Vôs sâm fila di quem?” (Who are you the daughter of?). This was the open door allowing me into the group. The ambiguous boundaries that delineate Macanese identity are often formed by tracing the family histories of its members. I immediately identified myself and they were able to connect their family ties to mine. However, it was not until the following year when I became a member of the backstage crew did I receive the ‘family-like’ treatment. Once I joined the group sarcastic comments became more pronounced, since to be one of us, one needs to know how to joke around and not take it personally, i.e., like many families do. Alfredo Ritché, an actor in the theatre group since 2001, recalls his first encounter of Patuá at the age of six, characterizing it as “a means of communication between amigas [female friends] and it is always about jokes, in a jolly atmosphere and manner, between people that were closely acquainted. But despite that, in those times, Patuá was not outspoken.”

Above: Theatrical piece Qui Paimalâv, performed by various generations of Macanese actors, 2011. (Photo courtesy of Leomar Rosario)
In my doctoral thesis project, I am interested in the ways Cultural contexts and functions of the creole theatre

Although these two performances were highlighted for in-depth analysis, I have also analyzed the emergent themes of all of the performances between 1993 and 2011. In the years prior to the handover, cultural attributes and themes relating to the nation of Portugal are most obvious; for instance Old Piolétero (1993) commented on the Portuguese president, Portuguese consulate and Governor of Macau, Momo Beto Vai Sogao (Big brother go to Portugal) (1994) dealt with issues of Macanese immigrating to Portugal, and Sinoq Tivo Gelote (Portugal, the great land) (1996), is a story set in Portugal that featured Macanese immigrants who, despite their loyalty and longing to the motherland, would find themselves estranged by the locals and thus realize that their roots were in Macau. Yet, after the handover, issues concerning the nation of Portugal are absent and stories have been comparatively more localized. Family encounters such as Pàpi I Jero (Father is screwed) (2000) and Mama-sogra Jô Chega (Mother-in-law is arriving) (2003) were prevalent, as well as stories dealing with local social issues including health care, discussed in Cuzo Docto (‘What’s up Doc?’) (2007), the gambling industry in Sorti Díco (‘Sweet luck’) (2008), legal and political issues portrayed in Lutrodos Chaspids (Right, Mr. Counselor) (2009), and finally the administrative, political and social issues discussed in Qui Pondehdo (‘What Pandemonium’) (2011).

In the colonial era, the Macanese were hierarchically subordinated to the Portuguese but enjoyed superior social status when compared with the Chinese. Yet, in the plays of the postcolonial era, the Macanese are portrayed as clearly subordinate to the Chinese. One example was in Qui Pondehdo (2007), set at a fictional hospital in Macau, with Macanese characters who must answer to Chinese authorities who are portrayed in distinct outfits and pronounced accents. Another example would be that of Qui Pondehdo (2011), which was set in a fictional casino that uses China’s national emblem – the Panda – as its mascot. In one scene, the main characters Duarte, Martinho and Calvo to serve the American CEO of the casino and a Chinese government official, submissively suffering their excessive and abusive demands.

When I analyzed the two respective performances, Old Piolétero (1993) and Qui Pondehdo (2011), I noticed various shifts in performance patterns. First, there was a change in language patterns. In Old Piolètero (1993), 99% of the lines were delivered in Patuá whereas only 1% included Cantonese and Macanese. The difference in the 2011 performance was pronounced, with 61% of the dialogue in Patuá, and the rest in English (26%), Portuguese (25%), Chinese (10%) and others (1%).

Second, the themes or subjects of the plays have also shifted from the inclusion of Portugal to specifically local matters. The fact of decreased positional power is fundamental to the status quo of the minority in the transitional period, thus in the last years of the colonial era, there were fears of loss of identity and social status. After the sovereignty was signed, many Macanese realized that ‘they could claim no collective existence in the law.’

The question of national belongingness raised much anxiety and fear. The Macanese sang the Portuguese anthem as their anthem, raised the Portuguese flag as their flag, yet they identified Macau as their land. Though they were entitled to Portuguese nationality and a Portuguese passport, when the time came, as their land no longer flew their flag, fears of their future increased. In Old Piolètero (1993), the existential problematic of Macanese subjectivity in relation to Portugal was breached.

Patua in the new millennium

As a creole language, Patuá, had various functions in the colonial era. It served as a key to class distinctions, where people who spoke the creole or ‘broken Portuguese’, were regarded as less educated, belonging to the lower class. The creole was also utilized to establish the theatre groups, functioning as a means of expressing discontent and sarcasm that were rejected by the colonial regime. With the change in Macau’s sovereignty, the functions of Patuá have been diversified and strengthened. They possess historical value and allow the creoles to trace their origins and reinforce their cultural roots.

Patuá plays also function as an annual reunion site for the community to gather, reinforcing the existence of their creole identity. The theoretical performances also serve as a means of cultural identification for the Macanese community in the new administrative environment, allowing them to present their identity to the other.

Patuá and the contents of recits were built upon folktales and family lives of the Macanese community in the colonial era; however, as globalization leads to dilution of traditional practices, as well as an identity crisis that followed the termination of Portuguese administration, the meanings of recits have evolved to experience, where the importance of the contents are taken over by sentiments and identity reinforcements. But the symbolic value of Patuá for the Macanese community persists. As Miguel de Senna Fernandes suggests, “The significance of Patuá drama is to express Macanese state of mind. For instance, in what language do we think? This is significant for cultural identity. After the sovereignty, we think or speak. If we have to use a language to represent ourselves, it will definitely be Patuá, our Creole language.”

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Reinterpreting Macao’s society, politics, and economy

Since Macao’s administration was returned from Portugal to the People’s Republic of China (PRC) on 20 December 1999, little attempt has been made to reinterpret or revisit the triangular relationships between the society, politics, and economy of the Macao Special Administrative Region (MSAR). This article reinterprets the MSAR’s dialectical processes of both development and underdevelopment.

Sonny Lo

MACAO’S ECONOMY has been developing quickly with tremendous growth in the casino sector. However, this casino-driven economic development has generated a largely dependent (if not materialistic and egotistic) middle class, whose members depend on economic prosperity and social stability to such an extent that they have shed away from political activism. As a result, political discontent is not yet a force in Macao; some of them have selected their casino representatives in the direct elections held for the Legislative Assembly. Simultaneously, the MSAR society has seen a contradictory development, with not only more pro-government groups supported by the administration, both financially through subsidies and politically, but also with more young, independent local and pro-democracy groups who are opposed to the patron-clientelist politics of Macao. The casino capitalism, which has stimulated the worsening income gap between rich and poor, has also presented a materialistic element to development of the MSAR civil society. Overall, the patronage political system of Macao, where the ruling elites benefit their own friends and supporters through a complex web of pro-government interest groups, including labor unions, women’s organizations and neighborhood associations, has stifled democratic transformation. Although the MSAR government decided to introduce two additional directly elected seats to the legislature in the 2013 elections, Macao has been characterized by political underdevelopment, economic dependency on casino capitalism and constrained social civil society.

The dependent casino capitalism and its impact on politics and society

Macao’s dependency on casinos has been obvious since 2002, when the casino franchises were internationalized so that foreign direct investment from Australia, America and Hong Kong would prompt the modernization of the local operators. Although the foreign investors have not participated in local politics and elections, the local Macao interest groups have actively participated in the Legislative Assembly’s elections since 2005. The Macao casino sector needs to select its representatives into the local legislature, articulating its collective and individual interest’s interests.

Socially, the dependent casino economy has tremendous implications for social equity, mobility and wealth. The affluent middle class in Macao has stemmed from the flourishing casino industry, which remains beneficial to all its employees, like croupiers and managers, and which has stimulated the rapid growth of other tertiary sectors, including hotel, retail and catering industries. However, the social and economic benefits have influenced mostly the tens of thousands of casino industry employees, but have not trickled down to the entire working-class, who are confronted daily with the rapid import of foreign and mainland labourers. The gap between rich and poor has widened since 2002 as a result. Although social mobility can be seen among the young and the embryonic middle-class citizens who are climbing up the social ladder through the casino sector, many other citizens find it difficult to sustain the increasingly high cost of living in Macao. Although the Macao government has relied on the annual distribution of cash subsidies to citizens as a form of safety valve to sustain the increasingly high cost of living in Macao. Although the Macao government has relied on the annual distribution of cash subsidies to citizens as a form of safety valve to pre-empt the discontent of the have-nots, the question is whether such ‘candles’ have to be distributed to citizens annually as an official state intervention, or as a de facto policy, so as to generate a feeling of calmness and satisfaction among the Macao populace. In other words, Macao’s casino capitalism has generated great benefits of development, notably employment and a general increase in living standards, but it has also triggered the contradictory tendencies of perpetuating social inequity, a wealth gap and the gulf between the social classes.

Political dependence and patronage participation

While the Macao economy is one-sidedly dependent on casino capitalism, its political elites have to maintain the patronage system in order to maintain stability and legitimacy. This patronage system has been arguably exacerbated by the economic dependence on casino capitalism. Since casino capitalists have played a crucial role in sustaining Macao’s economic growth, they need to secure the cooperation of other capitalists, notably land developers and big business people, so that land development can facilitate casino prosperity. At the same time, the Macao elites have understood the importance of forging an alliance with these powerful capitalist-class leaders, their financial influence and political dominance in Macao government. Thus, they can easily influence the government’s policies toward property development, casino growth, transportation, infrastructure projects, the import of labour, and taxation. The patronage system, as a result, has been common and serious in Macao, for its complexity and decisive impact on politics and society.

Accountability of the Macao government remains limited as long as the socio-political picture is not so pessimistic as conventional wisdom may assume. The younger generation of leaders in the pro-establishment forces is more educated and perhaps more open-minded than their predecessors. However, it is possible that the injection of young blood, together with their new ideas, may eventually bring about the fragmentation of pro-establishment interest groups. Although patronage politics is common and serious in Macao, generational change may lead to more lively internal political discourse and debates within the pro-establishment camp.

Conclusion

Overall, Macao’s dependence on casino capitalism and its acme–inherited integration of the society into the polity–do not bode well for political development in the short run. Casino capitalism has provided more employment for ordinary people, but it has an inherently class nature that benefits the conservative segment of the middle class and enriches the already influential capitalist class, including the land developers, casino operators, and other big business people. Casino capitalism has also sustained the income gap between rich and poor, a phenomenon mitigated by the government’s interventionist policy of providing annual subsidies to all the people of Macao. Indeed, the Macao government has taken more social measures, such as improvement of social welfare and acceleration in the building of housing units, so as to contain any possible societal discontent. Still, the compressed nature of the society with minimal political space for the increasing aspirations of the middle-class liberal democrats and the relatively alienated proletariat means that political discontent is only contained, but not tackled at the root causes. Composing the problem of simmering political discontent is the perpetuation of the patronage system in Macao’s politics. The establishment elites remain politically influential. So long as Macao enjoys the fruits of casino capitalism, socio-political stability is maintained at the cost of political underdevelopment. Accountability of the Macao government remains limited as long as the middle-class liberal democrats and the dispossessed proletariat are politically marginalized with voices largely excluded in the policy-making processes. Sadly, under the circumstances of dependent casino capitalism and partially integrated socio-political system, the status quo appears to be the ‘best’ mode of political development. If economic fluctuations suddenly take place in Macao due to regional or global economic crisis, the socio-political impacts on Macao would perhaps be totally unprecedented. In order to pre-empt any possible socio-political crisis resulting from a sudden economic downturn, the Macao ruling elites may have to ponder a more proactive strategy of economic and political development, including how to minimize their dependence on casino capitalism, how to lift the imbalance of patronage to embrace the politically deprived middle-class liberal democrats and local proletariat, and how to strike a fine balance between dependent casino capitalism and more social welfare for the people of Macao.

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Walking in Macao

I look down from the window of my 29th floor apartment and below I see Macau’s typical urban density. The rooftops of apartment buildings are in varying degrees of repair: some rusting, some new, some have potted plants and half-hearted attempts at establishing small, green, private spaces. Sometimes, when there are fireworks displays at Macau Tower, occupants hold night-time picnics. On other occasions, the occupants slowly practice their tai chi or casual but systematic stretching and beating of their limbs and torso. Many rooftops have illegal structures that residents have built in order to create additional territory. Occupants claim extra space inch-by-inch; and these structures – cages on balconies or even additional building floors – may affect the integrity of the apartment building’s structure.

Andy Fuller

THE APARTMENT BUILDINGS are so densely packed that one barely sees the movement of pedestrians and vehicles on the narrow streets. “The ordinary practitioners of the city live ‘down below’, below the thresholds at which visibility begins”, writes Michel de Certeau. The streets are home to comic retail shops, Chinese cafes and noodle shops, small retail electronic stores, barbershops and food stands. The streets’ landmarks are a McDonald’s restaurant, a Parkshop supermarket and a Ma Temple; and at the other end lies the large Ponte 16 Casino, which also holds a Sofitel hotel. Along the street are workshops in which men and women make industrial equipment – long and thick metal cords undulate on concrete floors. There is a welder who has adorned his workshop with metal representations of male and female sexual organs. Loud pop music reverberates from a sign in front of this exit: no waiting, no congregating. The maids apparently should be moved on. From a sign in front of this exit: no waiting, no congregating. The maids apparently should be moved on. From a sign in front of this exit: no waiting, no congregating. The maids apparently should be moved on.

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Walking is perhaps the ideal means of practising one’s tactics against the strategies of the city’s designers, administrators, and police. Moving through the city on foot allows for the practitioner to divert her route spontaneously, quickly and disorderly – subverting the imposed structure of a city’s main thoroughfares. Walking allows for a sensory engagement with urban life: “ah, the neighbours are home and they are cooking”; “ah, such-and-such song is popular here in this home or in this shop”. Walking facilitates a break between the outer and public domains of urban life to those of the inner and private spaces, which are breached regularly. The serious walker of urban life is the flâneur: a Baudelairean and Benjaminian figure of early 20th century Paris. But the flâneur is now ubiquitous and flânerie is practiced in numerous ways. Macau is a remarkably mobile locale, a tiny node of intersecting routes and trajectories that hosted 28 million visitors last year. Therefore, Macau’s archetypal flâneur is perhaps the tourist from mainland China: gawking at the Ruins of Saint Paul, photographing the Grand Lisboa, and ‘squeezing’ the cards at a baccarat table. But such practices seem of limited critical engagement with the urban environment: routes are pre-determined by flag-waving tour guides. Private buses transport tourists from one casino to another; from one landmark to the next.

Buses in Macau are also marked by the frequent Tagalog chatter, conducted over mobile phones or face to face with friends and other passengers. The bus is a space that takes on a dual function: going somewhere (getting to work) and providing a meeting space, networking opportunity. Passengers conclave each other and share the pleasures and laughter with one another.

Walking is perhaps the ideal means of practising one’s tactics against the strategies of the city’s designers, administrators, and police. Moving through the city on foot allows for the practitioner to divert her route spontaneously, quickly and disorderly – subverting the imposed structure of a city’s main thoroughfares. Walking allows for a sensory engagement with urban life: “ah, the neighbours are home and they are cooking”; “ah, such-and-such song is popular here in this home or in this shop”. Walking facilitates a break between the outer and public domains of urban life to those of the inner and private spaces, which are breached regularly. The serious walker of urban life is the flâneur: a Baudelairean and Benjaminian figure of early 20th century Paris. But the flâneur is now ubiquitous and flânerie is practiced in numerous ways. Macau is a remarkably mobile locale, a tiny node of intersecting routes and trajectories that hosted 28 million visitors last year. Therefore, Macau’s archetypal flâneur is perhaps the tourist from mainland China: gawking at the Ruins of Saint Paul, photographing the Grand Lisboa, and ‘squeezing’ the cards at a baccarat table. But such practices seem of limited critical engagement with the urban environment: routes are pre-determined by flag-waving tour guides. Private buses transport tourists from one casino to another; from one landmark to the next.

A city’s strategic sense is shaped by the planners, architects, engineers, and police. In Macau wealthy local developers and transnational gaming companies often directly dictate land-use decisions. Much of the newly-constructed cityscape consists of faux interior neighbourhoods copied from other cities: St. Mark’s Square in the Venetian Resort and Lisbon under a glass atrium at MGM. These are privatized spaces with a pseudo-public ambiance. These operations of strategic power that are articulated onto the city’s built environment are subject to the tactics of the city’s users, those that bring urban life into being. Through walking one writes a path into the city, into the urban infrastructure. Through writing and re-writing one’s frequently trodden paths one becomes a local, known to others for no other quality except for the frequency of their use of a particular part of the city. And, “the city” is made up of these countless fragmentary trajectories, written by each city user, city maker, city walker.

Looking down at dense and urban Macau from the curious perspective of a high-rise apartment one feels the pull of an “Oriental fall” – a desire to be a part of the crowds below and to walk in the narrow streets where people may be lost and absorbed in the textures, smells and sounds that make up everyday urban life.

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Notes
3. Highmore, B. 2006, p.16
4. De Certeau, 1984, p.103
In short, this is the first major alphabetically/thematically arranged Portuguese-language compendium on diverse aspects of Macau's past and present. It carries entries related to local and international institutions, administrative and political themes, international treaties involving the territory, besides articles on Macau's exchange with other locations, on key enterprises, the biographies of men and women associated with Macau and other colonies, on temples and social institutions, trade and commerce, shipping, port facilities and communication more generally, on other infrastructural issues, geographical phenomena and the adjacent islands/regions around the Macau peninsula, on linguistic, educational and cultural aspects in the broadest sense, on the medical sector and hospitals, on Macau's tourist industry and services, daily life and ethnic traditions, historical sources, sports, exhibitions, festivities, and dozens of other things. There is a total of circa 800 entries by circa 120 authors. The entries differ in length – from half a column to several tens of pages, depending on the importance of the topic and the weight of the sources consulted in each case. As to the latter, all entries provide lists of relevant modern and primary texts, in diverse languages. Some entries also contain useful illustrations and tables.

Contributors

Work on the DITEMA started more than a decade ago. Already in 1998, before China took over the administration of Macau, António Rodrigues Baptista pushed the idea of compiling a major dictionary of this kind. The early contributions written at that point were rather short; those added later years are usually longer. In the course of time several of the original texts had to be translated into Portuguese. All this involved complex editorial questions many of which had to be solved by Leonor de Diz de Seabra who became the chief coordinator of the project in 2000, as Maria Antónia Espandinha (editora executiva) explains in her short introduction (vol. 1). Especially during the later stages of the editorial process many entries underwent revision, which was achieved through the assistance of Rui Manuel Loureiro, Wu Zhiliang and others, all specialists in the field of Macau Studies. Eventually publication became necessary with the support of many helping hands; the Fundação para a Cooperação e Desenvolvimento de Macau, one may add, functioning as ‘patron’ of the DITEMA.

The entry on Encíclopedias sobre Macau – this is one of many excellent contributions provided by Jin Guoping – lists several earlier handbooks and thematic dictionaries of a similar kind, yet very different in nature. Such works already began appearing in the 1990s, but they are all in Chinese, with only two exceptions, one in English and one in German. Moreover, most of these encyclopaedic publications do not carry separate bibliographical references under each entry. The Chinese compendium, it is also true, were mostly designed to serve the needs of non-specialized Chinese readers, including politicians and businessmen. They often contain many biographies of Chinese individuals, Chinese firms and Chinese institutions associated with Macau and/or Hong Kong, while they are less strong and less informative in all matters involving the non-Chinese side. By contrast, the DITEMA mostly seems to address a learned Western (or Iberian) readership and scholars specialized in Macau Studies. This implies a very balanced approach and, where possible, citations from and references to sources in various languages. One other feature of the relevant entries is that they usually list Chinese characters of important names and terms, along with their local Cantonese transcriptions and/or the corresponding Pininy or Wade-Giles versions, evidently in accordance with traditional conventions and individual preferences. Not everyone may like this liberal arrangement, but it makes sense from the viewpoint of different academic disciplines which have a share in Macau Studies.

In the context of a short and general review, it would not be very opportune, perhaps even inappropriate, to single out individual entries for an elaborate discussion. Suffice it to say that the quality of most pieces is excellent, that they contain an enormous amount of condensed information, and that what one searches for is usually easily found. There are, for example, long lists of Portuguese and Chinese office holders, which can be located rather quickly under their respective headings. Such information is very valuable for historians, who are not familiar with Chinese language material on Macau’s past. Other entries introduce constitutional and administrative issues that are often difficult to encounter in “ordinary” Western works. The same may be said of certain economic and educational themes.

In many cases contributors to thematic encyclopaedias are known for their publications in a particular field of study. This also applies to the DITEMA. Rogério Miguel Puga, for example, has produced a large number of finely-researched scholarly works on the British and Macau; nearly all related entries in the present compendium bear his signature. Readers interested in such themes will be very grateful for Puga’s insightful articles, although one ought not overemphasize the Anglophone presence in this city, because we all know that both the British and Americans often treated Macau inadequately. Another author who comes out with a set of highly-specialized entries is Rui D’Ávila Lourido. Lourido has mostly been working on the earlier history of Macau, trying to base himself on both European and selected Chinese sources; again, this can be seen from his many contributions to the DITEMA. The two long entries entitled Produtos alimentares e Produtos medicinais e aromáticos, both by Lourido, are particularly rich in information and very useful, indeed. Alfredo Gomes Dias provides several entries related to political treaties and different events of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. António Graça de Abreu sketches the life of Manuel Teneza, one of Macau’s most popular historians. And of course, Abreu has also written the brief entry on D. Frei Alexandre de Gouveia. Anabela Nunes Moniz needs to be mentioned as well; there are dozens of articles by her, on various topics, such as Macau’s temples. These are all interesting pieces, just as the many contributions by José Manuel Rosa Maderia. Rui Manuel Loureiro mostly took care of early Iusso-Chinese contacts – as expected. But one also encounters some ‘unexpected dimensions’, for example, the entry entitled Expanção, by Jôbo V. B. Guedes. Here many additional entries could be cited, each with excellent data and a highly informative character; the general impression of all these short articles, there can be no doubt, is very positive.

Treasure box

Notwithstanding, a dictionary of this calibre is never totally free of formal errors, spelling rulings, and certain contradictions. But it would not be elegant to publish a list of such shortcomings, or to point out what might be missing in terms of separate articles and themes. Rather, one should congratulate the editors and the University of Macau for bringing out this ambitious collection after so many years of investigation. The DITEMA, I may say in conclusion, is a remarkable treasure box full of valuable deposits, a wonderful academic tool that many scholars and teachers will enjoy consulting. Or, to put it differently, it is a work that libraries with a focus on the Far East, as well as private individuals interested in South China and Euro-Chinese relations more generally, should have on their shelves.

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While many of the world’s major religions have been subjected to scholarly scrutiny, Sikhism, the world’s fifth largest religion, was not brought into discussion on a global scale until quite recently. The book Sikhism by Doris Jakobsh is, therefore, a timely and welcome addition to the literature on world religions.

Karuna Sharma


In a rapidly globalising world, world religions and their followers are confronted with a variety of challenges. Relocation of people, issues related with cultural values and practices and assertion of religious identities in the diasporas around the world, and the growing inter-connectedness between the home and abroad have rendered the articulation and practice of religions more complex than ever before. Internet and cyberspace have generated and made accessible an enormous amount of information of various sorts on religious ideas and practices. The online literature, mostly created in the diasporas by people far removed from places where their faiths originated, adds to the complexities in understanding the nature and characteristics of religions. Under such circumstances, studying religions in their historical political and economic contexts assumes considerable significance.

In the book, which is a part of the Dimensions of Asian Spirituality series of the University of Hawai’i Press, the author traces the origin and development of the Sikh religion from the fifteenth century to the present. She analyses the aspects of the Sikh religious tradition and social formation in India and abroad. The book underscores the heterogeneity of tradition and ideology within Sikhism and challenges the scholarship that views Sikhism as a homogeneous religion. The author says that the lived realities of the Sikhs in India are quite different from the representations of a homogeneous Sikhism in the literature.

Sikhism: ideologies and attributes

In a brief introduction, the author narrates how her interest in Sikhism developed and illustrates this by citing episodes from her personal encounters with Sikhism and the Sikh community in India. Her experiences of an ideologically and socially heterogeneous Sikh community and the harmonious relationship that existed among its various components as well as between them and the others, such as Hindus and Muslims, notwithstanding some occasional conflicts and clashes, forms the context of this study. The following six chapters deal with various sets of issues related with the Sikh religion and community.

Chapter one discusses the variety of written primary texts, highlighting the richness of information they contain, and also questions the reliability of some primary texts, such as janamsakhis or the collections of hagiographic anecdotes on the lives of the gurus, as sources for historical reconstruction of the Sikh religion and community. The author, nevertheless, makes use of this genre of primary texts. In chapter two, the author describes the historical development of Sikhism in India from the time of Guru Nanak to the present day and underscores certain institutional changes that took place over the period of time. The author shows how various branches of Sikhism evolved from a creed based on love and devotion to the formless Akal Purakh (eternal being) to the Sikh Khalsa with militaristic attributes and emphasis on five Ks (kesh: uncut hair; kanga: comb; kirpan: short sword or dagger; kachh: steel bracelet; etc). The author also discusses the internal contestations and the ensuing development of various sects and sub-sects within Sikhism.

In chapter three, the author discusses Sikh beliefs, institutions, and rituals that govern human lives from birth to death and cremation. Monothemism is central to Sikh philosophy and obtaining liberation from the cycle of birth and rebirth is the ultimate objective of every Sikh no matter which school of thought he or she belonged to. The gurus prescribed a direct path of liberation through the discipline of nam simran. Like Hinduism, in the Sikh philosophy-mythology human life is divided into five stages. The gurus, especially Nanak, emphasized that the salvation is to be achieved while living the life of a householder and not of an ascetic. Gurudwara played a significant role in the daily lives of the Sikhs and it was central to the religious, social, and even political activities. Attempts were also made in the early twentieth century to organize and control the gurdwaras through the institutions of Shri mani, Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee and Shri mani Akal Dal (political outfits) and much emphasis was given to initiation into the Khalsa order and the maintenance of Sikh identity.

The author then turns to examine the norms of society in chapter four. The issues of equality so central to Sikh teachings are analysed with particular reference to gender and caste roles. The author highlights the ambiguity with regard to the role of women in the development of Sikh tradition as well as their position in an otherwise egalitarian tradition. Caste, similarly, is anathema to Sikhism. Despite all assertions against the caste system, the Hindu caste rules such as endogamy and not sharing meals with lower caste groups have somewhat continued in Sikhism even until today. The gurus, according to the author, opposed the spiritual ramifications of caste, but accepted it as a form of social organization. The Mazhabi (sweepers) and Ravidasi (skimmers and tanners) Sikhs have experienced and continue to experience the worst prejudice and in many cases are not even permitted to enter the gurdwaras. Caste distinction continues to inform social hierarchies in the diasporic communities as well, and caste rules regarding marriage and meals are followed in the Sikh diasporas around the world.

In chapter five, the author examines the contexts and stages in the formation of Sikh diasporas in the UK, Canada, and the US. Here, she examines the challenges of migration in the performance of rituals and practices. Gurdwaras play a varied role as a centre of communal worship, as schools for Punjabi language and religious learning, and as meeting places for elderly Sikhs, or women and youth groups.

A heterogeneous tradition

The diversity of Sikh religious tradition and multiplicity of sects within Sikhism are discussed in chapter six. The author describes the Nanaksar Sikhs, and Akand Kirtani Jatha. The book concludes with a brief analysis of the nature of the Sikh tradition in the age of internet and the problems of representation of the religion in online media accessible to public.

Jakobsh’ Sikhism is a major study of a world religion from a global perspective. It offers a fine analysis of the internal contestations within the Sikh religious tradition and offers a perspective that contradicts the view that considers Sikhism as a monolithic religion and Sikhs as an egalitarian homogeneous community. The book has a strong message and will stimulate further investigation of its various ideological, social and political dimensions and, I am sure, it will be useful for both academic and students of world religions.

Karuna Sharma is a former IAS Affiliated Fellow.

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The history of women’s emancipation in Indonesia has come a long way. In fact, young underprivileged women have already had a taste of education since the early 1900s with the first established school for girls set up in Central Java by Kartini. Most Indonesians are well aware of the struggle of this women’s rights champion in the midst of the patriarchal world around her. Brought up by a feudal aristocratic family, Kartini managed to break down the wall that hindered young women to empower themselves with formal education and to escape from their fate of entering into an arranged marriage in their early teen years. However, not many know what is going on inside the gates of pesantrens in Java where young girls and female teachers negotiate their public persona amidst their conservative notions of women’s roles.

Hanny Savitri Hartono

Reviewed publication:

IT IS IN THIS LIGHT that this book serves its purpose. Eka Srimulyani seeks to fill a void of knowledge on how Muslim women, especially nyais (the wife or daughter of a kiai, the head of a pesantren) empower themselves with education, Islamic as well as mainstream, and as a consequence move between two worlds – private and public. This is not to say that they encounter no obstacles along the way, but these women have achieved tremendous milestones which could never have happened prior to Kartini’s era.

Based on her fieldwork in Jombang, East Java between 2003 and 2004, Srimulyani starts her narrative with a brief account of pesantren, traditional Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia, particularly those in Java. She purposefully frames her research within the agency of the nyai due to the lack of studies focusing on women in pesantren. Most of the studies on Islamic educational institutions thus far have been devoted to enquire about kiai, their leadership, traditions and intellectual transmissions. Women from pesantren tend to be absent from the academic discourse although they play a significant part in this establishment and beyond. Srimulyani concludes that this trend is largely influenced by “the patriarchal nature of pesantren leadership” in which a male descendant is the most likely replacement for a kiai when he passes away or is no longer in power. This is especially true not only in Java and Aceh but also in different parts of the Islamic world. The contribution made by the nyai in empowering young girls through education and leadership in pesantrens seemed trivial and insignificant, thus not worth investigating. However, with the recent social change in women’s engagement in the public arena, Srimulyani is inspired to investigate how these women deal with the issue of negotiating public spaces amidst the domestically bound Javanese traditional women’s roles. She points out that the social life of women who live, study and work in a pesantren cannot be compared to other Muslim women in Indonesia who live outside this institution, due to the unique cultural norms and principles embodied by the establishment and its members. Hence such study is necessary and long overdue.

This ethnographic text reveals the history, journeys and both the public and private lives of three chosen nyai from different generations by tracing back their paths. Srimulyani intentionally selected these women to cover a span of history from the early 1900s to the present. Her core argument is that despite the fact that patriarchal traditions are learned through kiai lunying and practiced in the pesantren, these women can transcend the boundaries of the institution and assume public responsibilities not only in their pesantren but also in their community.

Srimulyani introduces the concept of santri ibuism, which derives from the notions of pengyejozetan and ibiu, to describe the status of nyai. Pengyejozetan pertains to a process in which Javanese women from a privileged middle-class background, assume power in the Western sense because of their class status. In this manner a woman embodies power because of her husband’s status. Her social standing within the household and outside the home is greatly determined by her husband’s notability. Whereas ibiuism applies to a situation in which a woman accepts her role as a mother who takes care of her family, group members and country without expecting any reward, power or prestige in return. These Javanese ideals of womanhood were embraced and promoted by Suharto’s New Order regime without any consideration of the existing vast diversity of cultures within the country. Srimulyani sees that these concepts are embedded in the nyai as they are mothers of their own children, ‘mothers’ for their pupils in the pesantren and they can also exercise their power to manage the boarding school, especially in matters that relate to their female students, through their engagement as a pesantren leader in their own right and/or as a kiai’s wife.

What strikes a chord in this body of knowledge is the reality of having kiai lunying as the moral compass and teaching material used in the majority of pesantren under the wing of the Nahdlatul Ulama (the biggest traditionalist Muslim organisation in Indonesia). These textbooks contain interpretations of Islam not only from the Qur’an and the hadiths, but they are also fully charged with local cultural and traditional understandings that lead them to separate women’s and men’s roles in two very separate boxes, and place public and private spheres in the opposite continuum. Hence it is not too much to say that these nyai deserve all the credit since these women have weathered the predicaments they faced.

The value of this book lies in the richness of its narratives describing the history and public and private lives of the female leaders of traditional Islamic institutions in East Java that have barely been touched before. As a female Muslim of Indonesian descent who has no pesantren background, the book opens my eyes and provides me with a deeper understanding on what is going on behind the ‘closed doors’ of pesantren in East Java. One thing makes me wonder though: Will the future female leaders of pesantrens encounter fewer frictions since there has been a new movement to critically analyse and improve the kiai lunying for its patriarchal notions?

Hanny Savitri Hartono. (Vitri_ui@yahoo.com)

Notes

Below: Girls at a pesantren in Jakarta, at an assembly to meet U.S. Embassy Chargé d’Affaires Kristen Bauer. (Photo reproduced under a creative commons license, courtesy flickr.com)
Cambodian bronze

In 2006, a woman digging in her garden unearthed seven ancient Buddhist bronzes in Sdaeung Chey village, Cheung Prey district, Kampom Pang Province in Cambodia. Rather than selling them on the black market, she did the proper thing and gave them to the Cambodian National Museum. They appeared to date back to the sixth and seventh centuries and although they displayed different styles and seemed to have come from different backgrounds they formed a unique group that had been in the same spot in the ground for centuries. They are by no means the only ancient bronze artifacts still to be found in the ground, or that have been unearthed in recent times, but needless to say, they do not all end up in the museum in Phnom Penh or other public venues.

Dick van der Meij

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Consuming empire in wartime Japan

Kenneth Ruoff has chosen a fascinating motif to study how the Japanese consumed empire, how they collaborated with their leadership in solidifying imperial myths, and how this contributed to justifying domestic order as well as expansion abroad. The celebration in 1940, of the 2600th anniversary of the mythical founding of Japan, undoubtedly represents a peak of imperial propaganda but has not been studied much. This “climactic moment for the ‘unbroken imperial line’ (banse ni ikkei)” ideology (p.1), as Ruoff puts it, is one of those numerous events of tremendous significance in history that in post-war scholarship of Japan’s modern history have been overshadowed by the major political events of this era: the rise of Manchukuo in 1932, the second Sino-Japanese War (1937-45), the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour in 1941, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, etc. We owe much to Ruoff for studying this event and the spectacle that was created to celebrate the anniversary of the assumed enthronement of Emperor Jimmu in 660 BC.


But Ruoff does much more than this. His analysis of the ideological sum and societal impact of the celebrations – with a clear focus on the wartime connection and insights into how these myths were infused with life and put into practice on different levels of society. Using four typical examples (historiography, mass culture, tourism, diaspora) and stretching the spatial range from Japan proper to Korea, Manchuria, and Japanese communities in the Americas, Ruoff manages to base his study on an unusually rich body of sources; they include political essays, maps, postcards, guidebooks, flags, songs and other materials that do not often feature in conventional works of historiography.

Touring empire, serving the throne
Ruoff clarifies early on his distance to the core message of imperial mythmaking, namely the historicity of the mythical emperor Jimmu who, as he puts it plainly “never existed” (p.1). It is only fair to admit that the military and political leadership did not invent this myth in the 1930s or 1940s, but merely activated and instrumentalized traditional beliefs and ideas on the given occasion. Many of the ideological ingredients of the imperial anniversary celebration of 1940 had in fact been around for several decades as national myths and must have been studied by Carol Gluck in her seminal book on Meiji ideology more than 25 years ago.

Ruoff’s study, however, is less concerned with the political-intellectual history of the mythmaking and ideology than with analysing its practice. His preferred term is ‘consumption’, by which he means nothing more than the active and willing participation of ordinary Japanese in the commodification of imperial Japan’s central myth of bansei ikkei. Ruoff identifies pilgrimages to allegedly holy sites of the Japanese nation as central to this endeavour and it is therefore unsurprising that ‘tourism’ features as the most prominent way of consuming empire in his well-researched study. In fact, the actual anniversary celebrations are dealt with by his chapter on a few occasions whereas three out of six chapters focus on Japanese travelling to and at ‘sacred’ sites.

The first chapter studies how historians collaborated in the preparation of the anniversary celebrations and thereby helped to scholarly legitimize an otherwise rather obviously political project. While a number of studies of prominent Japanese historians involved in different wartime projects have appeared in English over the past decades, Ruoff is more interested in popular historians and the mutually reinforcing and dependent relationship between ideology and capitalism. “Wartime nationalism”, he writes, “intensified consumption, which in turn hyped nationalism.” (p.4) The following chapter studies volunteer labour service which mobilized millions of Japanese ‘volunteers’ in preparation of the anniversary celebrations. This chapter is the key to Ruoff’s claim that the anniversary was no unilateral top-down propaganda event, but in fact a series of activities stretching over some years around 1940 and involving mass participation, most of which was voluntary, as Ruoff claims.

Chapters three to five then shift the focus to what Ruoff calls “imperial tourism”, with a focus on heritage sites in Japan, Korea, and Manchuria. On the one hand, Ruoff emphasizes that the massive success of wartime tourism suggests that wartime Japan was no “dark valley” of continuous and widespread suffering for most Japanese people, on the other hand, however, he sees “authentic (nationalism)/military/fascism” (p.7) at the driving force behind the promotion of travel as “self-administered citizenship training” (pp.12, 145). To what extent “imperial tourism”, often promoted and organized by the Japan Tourist Bureau (JTB), was in fact coerced remains unclear. Ruoff’s implied similarities with Italian Dolopivo and German Kraft durch Freude programmes – which themselves differed quite fundamentally – reveal the disparity rather than commonality of the three cases. Not the least of these differences appears to be linkages with welfare programmes in the former case and comparisons to the Japanese case in which commercial aspects seem to have outplayed the potential ideological character of tourism. The closing chapter then turns to the inclusion of Japanese diaspora and the anniversary celebrations of the Congress of Overseas Brethren in November 1940.

The axis of comparison: how fascist was Japan?
The width and diversity of the materials Ruoff managed to uncover is impressive and his skillful interweaving of historiographical argumentation and anecdotal evidence makes his book a very pleasant read. His basic thesis of stressing a mutually enforcing relationship between imperial propaganda, tourism, and consumption is convincing. However, there are also some problems; for example, when he frequently transcends the scope of Japanese history to place his findings in a larger context of comparisons between Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and wartime Japan. Although Ruoff explicitly states that “[t]he value of the book does not rest on proving that fascism trumps all other concepts for understanding wartime Japan” (p.20), it is in fact very similar analysis that Ruoff returns to throughout his study – with rather limited success. The parallels he likes to draw between German Nazism, Italian Fascism, and Japanese imperial propaganda surrounding the celebrations of 1940 appear constructed and misleading, at best, and are sometimes faulty. His consistent mistakes with German names and organisations (Leni Riefenstahl, not Riefenstahl, Heinrich, not Heinrich Himmler; Bund Deutscher Mädel, not Mädchens), which contrast unduly with his command over the Japanese materials, help little to strengthen his argument.

The main problems in this comparison are, however, not spelling mistakes. Apart from a very brief reference to the intellectual historian Maruyama Masao (who is only one of many Japanese scholars who have worked extensively on the problem of comparative fascism), there is no serious engagement with theoretical literature on fascism in a Japanese or global perspective. It is sufficient to discover a few – assumed – parallels in mass movement activism and organisation between the Nazis and the Japanese to employ the label fascism? And what exactly does “the label tell us? Are all ‘fascist’ regimes of the same ilk, or are there different fascist systems of power? How do democratic or non-fascist totalitarian regimes influence, organise, or manipulate masses?” Ruoff’s case could have been more convincing had he either devoted some more space to discussing fascism as a potentially meaningful analytic concept or to studying events of similar size and significance as the 2600th Japanese imperial anniversary in Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy. Only, as far as we know, there were none. And this, in fact, points at a unique feature of ‘fascist’ Japan that Ruoff, contrary to his own claims, accidently discloses in a rather compelling way. In his conclusion, Ruoff correctly states that “[i]n Japan there has been no explicit, official attempt to repudiate the imperial myths, continuances that were employed during the past century and a half toward racist, imperialist, and sexist ends.” (p.188) This discomforting observation provides an important lead to seeing differences between Japan’s case and the oft-quoted problem of “coming to terms with the past”, namely the past itself. By the time the Nazis came to power, Japan’s empire was already stable; it had long annexed territory, possessed colonies, and secured a strong foothold on the Chinese mainland including the puppet-state of Manchukuo.

In other words, in the years leading up to the anniversary in 1940, the Japanese had experienced several decades of imperial propaganda, the shaping of imperial myths, and mass activation for the sake of empire. Imperial symbolization and mass mobilization was not new and could, relatively easily, be stimulated. Unlike the German and Italian cases, it was not failed political figures and convicted criminals who transformed the state into a fascist prison. In Japan, it was military leaders who had won wars and had successfully contributed to the expansion of the empire – victors, not losers. All these differences, not assumed fascist commonality, appear more relevant to understanding why and how imperial myths worked in Japan, and why they peaked when they did.

A practical inconvenience for the reader of this stimulating and important study is the publisher’s decision not to include a bibliography, nor even a select bibliography. Maybe Ruoff was persuaded to agree to this deal as a trade-off for including more than a dozen full-colour prints of imperial propaganda materials that impressively visualize how the government, military, but also companies, tried to exploit the anniversary for their own purposes. They add to the pleasure of reading this insightful study that, as Ruoff’s previous monograph, has also appeared in Japanese translation. Despite the above-mentioned caveats, both versions deserve many readers.

Torsten Weber, German Institute for Japanese Studies DIJ, Tokyo. (weber@diijtokyo.org)

Notes
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China experiments

Post-Mao China has long been viewed by many as a case of economic development without political liberalization. While more than three decades’ market-oriented economic reforms have transformed China into the second largest economy in the world, the process of political democratization has never seemed to fully take off. In China Experiments, Florini, Lai, and Tan challenge this conventional wisdom by treating China’s political trajectory as a slow-motion, bumpy transformation of authoritarianism – regulated, and often led, by the Communist Party of China (CPC) since 1978. Arguing that political change in China is much deeper and more extensive than is commonly recognized, the authors decide not to focus on policies and political initiatives from Beijing, but rather to look for hints from the myriad of local experiments.

Junpeng Li

Reviewed publication:

Since 2000, the China Center for Comparative Politics and Economics at the CPC’s Central Compilation and Translation Bureau (CCCI) has administered a biennial awards program for best practice in local governance innovation (the award has been solely administered by the CCCI since 2009). This book largely draws its empirical evidence from the cases of the winners.

There have been a large number of inquiries into the democratic future of China, which can be categorized into four speculative directions, as summarized by the authors: authoritarian resilience, collapse, democratic evolution, and bumpy authoritarianization. Beyond the selected localities, the authors present two speculative directions, as summarized by the authors: modernization and going through a process of administrative rationalization.

Traditionally, government organized and directed the reform process. Today, both the central government and local governments are seeking to protect the rights and interests of workers. This is because the local government has introduced semi-competitive elections for representatives to the county party congresses in 2003, and quite a few incumbent leaders lost the elections. In Qianxi County, Hebei Province, the Women’s Federation set up direct elections to the Women’s Congress, which opened up new channels for women to play a role in the political process.

As a check and balance to state power, civil society organizations have been slow in China under tight state control. However, after examining the ways in which local governments are engaging with those organizations, the authors reveal a fluid space for negotiation and partnership. In Shanghai, the government realized that it could no longer provide social services all by itself and needed to collaborate with local NGOs. The Changzhou Road Municipal Office of Putuo District set up an NGO service center, which walks a fine line among providing assistance to NGOs, purchasing services from the NGOs, and making sure that these organizations operate under its watch. Traditionally, government organized non-governmental organizations (GONGOs) have functioned as a branch of the government to govern, rather than serve, their constituencies. The situation is subtly changing in China, as shown in the cases of the Quanzhou City Federation of Trade Unions in Fujian Province and the Yewu City Legal Rights Defense Association in Zhejiang Province. For the former, the GONGO worked with private sector workers, improved their living standards, and increased their political participation. For the latter, the GONGO aimed at working with the government to defend the workers’ rights.

After a close look at the local experiments, the authors devote a chapter to the implementation of similar policies at the national stage. Based on the discussion of the case of the national regulations on ‘Open Government Information’, the authors discuss the difficulties in the scaling-up efforts, such as the tension between openness and secrecy, the lack of citizen awareness, the lack of truly autonomous civic organizations, and weak enforcement. While significant progress does exist in certain arenas, the resistance makes China’s democratic transition a daunting task.

Probably due to its co-authorship, there is a bit of repetition throughout the text. Some cases, such as environmental NGOs, could have been explored with more depth. Statements like “the trade unions have also received the government’s financial support and are thus better equipped to protect the rights and interests of workers” (p. 113) left me confused. My biggest complaint, in fact, is the book’s lack of deeper analysis. While the authors make it very clear that they are not interested in predicting China’s political future, it did frustrate me to keep reading statements such as “[it is] unclear what might happen in the future” (p. 159) and “all of the predictions for China’s political future have a degree of plausibility” (pp. 168-169). The analysis typically stops here without digging deeper to compare and decipher the possible paths forward.

While warning that the local experiments may have a spillover effect, the authors fail to tell us the likelihood of such an effect, under what conditions the effect would be significant, and what the unintended consequences would mean for China and the world. They tell us that thus far the CPC has done a fairly good job at “absorbing politics by administration”, but I wonder how sustainable the strategy will be and whether administration can entirely replace policies, which are both left underexplored. In addition, with the exception of the first chapter, the book rarely engages with the existing literature, which may contribute to its thin analysis. Notwithstanding the drawbacks, overall, this is still a highly informative and well-written book, and without a doubt provides many insights into the thorny issue of “socialism with Chinese characteristics”. Filled with illuminating cases, this original and provocative book will become an essential resource for those working in the field of Chinese politics.

Junpeng Li, Columbus University. (jpl3023@gmail.com)

Notes
1 This review was written in 2012 – prior to Xi Jinping becoming the President of China.
In 2001, Singapore’s Internal Security Department arrested Singaporean Muslims involved in the regional terrorist organisation Jemaah Islamiyah, which state politicians considered a very serious threat to the country’s security and its multicultural orientations.1 The SMI project followed thereafter.

Overt institutions and overt power: mosques as youth development agencies
Here, I discuss how MUIS officials executed power successfully, but not without limitations, in their role as mosque administrators working to shape mosques into youth development agencies. Youths have been targeted for change because they comprise a large base amongst Singapore Malays, a community which the state considers to present challenges to its modernisation wave, amongst other imperatives.2

Most Muslims in Singapore are Malays. MUIS has turned to the Young Muslim Wings in mosques to implement its vision for youth (SMI, 2006). These programmes, which are themselves overt and fixed and official jurisdiction areas within the larger mosque structure, MUIS reported the need to craft various detailed programmes to shape young people. It outlined various Roles and Responsibilities of Youth Workers.3

To plan, coordinate and conduct outreach programmes to out-of-mosque youths, e.g., connecting with and befriending youths found at neighbourhood street soccer courts, in void decks, coffee shops and other areas in the vicinity of the mosques. To manage, and where necessary, conduct training and development programmes for in-mosque youths to produce the multiplier effect so that more could be involved in youth outreach work. These include leadership, management and organizational skills development training.

MUIS defined ‘out-of-mosque’ youths as those who do not wish to attend mosque programmes and those, such as delinquents, who need ‘intervention programmes’. In-mosque ‘Muslims’, however, are ‘mosque customers’ or those already taping mosque facilities and participating in their programmes, volunteers and activists.4 Thus, MUIS officers were in effect presenting mosque official with a set of labs for converting Malays into different overt categories, introducing a differentiated hierarchy to be applied depending on the attitudes and actions that the targets for change display.5 He has argued that those who create (modern) definitions entrench their power position as experts.6

Indeed, MUIS earned itself a measure of success in teaching young Muslims state-friendly behaviour. In 2010, the Minister-in-charge of Muslim Affairs revealed that mosques have evolved from being places of worship into places that offer social programmes and services.6 Yacob Ibrahim announced that “[w]ith MUIS’ assistance, 31 mosques have created family prayer rooms and special spaces for youth display.” He thanked mosque leaders and volunteers for sharing MUIS’s vision of mosques [. . .] to benefit Singapore as a whole.7 However, this assessment of success was not shared by all Muslim community leaders. One influential teacher warned, first in 2008 and then in 2009, that mosques are “borrowing heavily from corporate culture” and that “. . . religious organisations – mosque centres or social clubs . . .”8 He also alleged that “[some Muslims] even dare to compromise [principles of Islam], just to be accepted as being ‘progressive and modern’,” alluding to the SMI project. He re-introduced these comments on his Facebook page in 2013. Thus, MUIS’s strategies of bureaucratising mosques have seen only a partial success. Modernity’s power, exercised through overt means, privileges domination, goal-orientated and a quantitative assessment of success that invites opposition from those with different visions. Overt strategies of power can limit success.

Covert power: exercising a more balanced power distribution
In the context of ethnographic presentation below, I illustrate how moderns can operate within modern institutions like mosques, but draw covert power from them. Overt strategists of power are “borrowing heavily from corporate culture” and that “. . . religious organisations – mosque centres or social clubs . . .”9

Places can be sites of power contestation, exemplifying different visions. Overt strategies of power can limit success. Youths have been targeted for change because they comprise a large base amongst Singapore Malays, a community which the state considers to present challenges to its modernisation wave, amongst other imperatives.10

Conclusion: mosques and their covert power potential
A place, which is a physical structure, can be overtly shaped to reflect desired ideologies; it can also covertly shape the thoughts and actions of people. The design of religious buildings can evoke or enhance feelings described as religious, just as the engravings, colours, orientations and shapes are able to produce different experiences of space. Religious buildings, like mosques, are “borrowing heavily from corporate culture” and that “. . . religious organisations – mosque centres or social clubs . . .”11

I illustrate how moderns can still operate within modern institutions like mosques, but draw covert power from them. Covert strategists of power are “borrowing heavily from corporate culture” and that “. . . religious organisations – mosque centres or social clubs . . .”12

Rizwana Abdul Azeez

Notes

5 Ibid., p. 56-57
12 Ibid., p. 56-57

News from Asia

Mosques in Singapore: tapping overt and covert power
Rizwana Abdul Azeez

‘Place’ and power
Places can be sites of power contestation, exemplifying agents’ power relations vis-à-vis each other, especially when contenders view sites as means to disseminate desired ideologies to target audiences. ‘Place’ refers to institutions that are modern in so far as agents – state representatives, for example – exert energy on amorphous, undefined spaces yet to be shaped by human agency, to transform them into specific goal-oriented places, for example, capital cities or other specialised zones of activity. In Singapore, since 2005, state-associated Muslim bureaucrats began shaping mosques to be, other than places of worship, places where Muslim youths can be socially engineered into accepting particular modern attitudes. These youths were envisaged to be state-friendly, or “productive” and “successful” members of Singapore society.

I will present anthropological observations on Singapore’s Muslims’ modernity-embracing strategies of power, specifically focusing on the officials associated with Majlis Ugama Islam Singapura (MUIS), Singapore’s highest official Islamic organisation, and their social engineering targets—youths and teachers. I argue that where these officials have approached the mosque as a place to apply modernity’s overt strategies of power, they have attempted to dominate others. Such overt strategies, however, do not necessarily confer long-lasting success as the second and contrasting ethnographic account shows. Where the same moderns have turned their attention to covert spaces in mosques and their accompanying covert power, differences between modern viewpoints and those of their detractors, including traditionalists, have been smoothed out.

The two accounts below, of the attempts by MUIS to instil modern attitudes and practices amongst Muslims, are a part of the Singapore Muslim Identity (SMI) programme launched in 2003. The state wishes to educate Muslims to accept ‘correct’ readings of Islam – to be ‘progressive’, and ‘reflecting the modernisation wave’, amongst other imperatives.1

The articles in the ‘News from Asia’ pages were compiled and edited by Lee Hock Guan and Ten Leu-Juin, from our partner institution, the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore.

If you would like to contribute to this section in a future issue, please send your submission to iias_iase@siseas.edu.sg

References


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News from Asia

News from Asia

News from Asia
The BOOK TELLS THE STORY of one of the greatest archaeo-
logical discoveries ever made in Southeast Asia: a ship that
sank in the Gelasa Strait between Bangka and Belitung Island,
Indonesia, on its way to java. The ship, soon to be
called the Batu Hitam, probably sank sometime between
830 and 840. It is one of the oldest shipwrecks yet found in
Southeast Asia, but this is not the reason that this discovery
has made an enormous impact on our understanding of ancient
history. The site’s importance stems from two factors, one
obvious, the other more subtle but no less revolutionary.
The aspect of the discovery that needs no expertise to appreciate
is the extraordinary richness of the ship’s cargo, whether
evaluated in monetary or aesthetic terms. The fact that has
aroused the greatest interest among historians is that the ship
was built somewhere in the northwestern Indian Ocean.

The shipwreck was found in 1998 and excavated over the
next two years. Some artefacts from the site were exhibited
in Singapore’s Asian Civilisations Museum in 2005. In February
2011 an exhibition jointly curated by Singapore’s National
Heritage Board and the Smithsonian Institution opened at
the ArtScience Museum, at which time this book was issued.

Controversy has arisen over this project due to the fact that
the excavation was done by a private firm under license from
the Indonesian government. A UNESCO convention calls upon
signatory countries to forbid private financing of underwater
heritage research, based on the assumption that such funding
inevitably means that scholarly procedures will be neglected.
Others point out the fact that without private funding, the
shipwreck would have been lost and the vessel destroyed.
The Asian Civilisations Museum of Singapore sponsored a
conference on maritime archaeology in June 2011, attended
by representatives of private companies and Southeast
Asian government archaeologists, to air these issues; the
proceedings have been published.

The volume that is the subject of this review presents a wide
range of scholarship on the ship, its cargo, and its historical
context. Shipwrecked contains essays showing how much
information has been gleaned from the site, which would
not have been acquired had the site been salvaged by
methods associated with treasure hunters, who are rightly
condemned. The most stunning items in the ship from an
artistic viewpoint are Chinese-made gold artefacts of imperial
quality and style. These were no ordinary trade items.

They must have been meant as diplomatic gifts for a king.
The vast bulk of the cargo, however, was probably not
meant for royalty. Chinese ceramics constituted almost 99% of
65,000 items recovered from the site, of which 55,000 are
mass-produced bowls from kilns near Changsha. This statistic
has made a major impact on our understanding of the past.
It requires that the history of mass production be rewritten.

The shipwreck’s location, however, was not on the normal
route to the Western Indian Ocean from the South China Sea.
If the ship were heading for the Indian Ocean, she would have
to enter it via the Sunda Strait, and there is “no reliable evidence
that the Sunda Straits were ever used in early times.” This was
the period of the great Javanese kingdom of Mataram, which
constructed such major monuments as Borobudur.

It can be argued that the ship was heading for a Javanese port.
This discovery underlines the fact that the northwest Indian
Ocean, Indonesia, and China were closely linked by an ancient
network of trade and communication by the ninth century.

The ship itself is a dhow, made in a fashion traditionally
employed over a broad swath of coastal territory from Oman
to the Persian Gulf, and in the Indian Ocean. It was
built somewhere in the northwestern Indian Ocean.

The ship’s cargo included a large number of Chinese
wares, as well as green wares from Guangdong and Guangxi.
Professor Wang Gungwu in his introduction says that the
ship was probably on its way to the north Java coast.

Where was the ship bound? One theory is that it was
returning to the western Indian Ocean, possibly to Oman. The
shipwreck’s location, however, was not on the normal
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employed over a broad swath of coastal territory from Oman
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built somewhere in the northwestern Indian Ocean.
In IN general, while there are many local explanations for the emergence of prenatal sex selection, a more solid interpretation is that the focus points to the combination of three factors: supply, demand and fertility decline. The supply dimension pertains to the introduction of affordable prenatal diagnostic techniques such as ultrasonography, which allow parents to opt for abortion according to the gender of the fetus.

The demand factor corresponds to the biased gender valuation system, usually manifested by a strong preference for sons over daughters. The preference for male offspring is clearly linked to the preponderance of the patrilinage kinship system and to living arrangements, farm labour, inheritance systems, and support to the elderly. The third factor pertains to the declining fertility level since the proportion of parents with no son automatically increases when the average number of children reduces.1

In Vietnam, it was only after the diffusion of the modern ultrasound technology in the country in 2005 that there was a rise in the sex ratio at birth – from 105 male births per 100 female births, to 112 today. As it is elsewhere, the sex ratio at birth in Vietnam tends to be higher among the higher socioeconomic groups and for higher order births. But what is more striking in Vietnam is the very unequal distribution of birth masculinity across the country: some regions such as the Central Highlands still have sex ratio levels close to national average, while the masculinity of birth is more pronounced in the Red River Delta (Table 1). In fact, some rural areas of the Red River Delta exhibit elevated levels of sex ratios at birth, above 120 male births per 100 female births.

A preference for sons

What is the exact influence of the ‘demand factor’, i.e., the intensity of the preference for sons across Vietnam? The actual need for sons might be an important determinant of observed regional differentials in sex ratios. In the minority inhabited mountainous areas, the frequency of sex selective abortions may have been inhibited because fertility is slightly higher and modern technology less accessible. In contrast, the lowland areas near the border with China and the Mekong delta region have relatively moderate fertility levels and a dense network of small towns and cities with many private healthcare clinics. As such, in these areas the supply factor and fertility decline may not explain much of the observed variations in prenatal sex selection. Son preference, which has been noted by anthropological studies of gender arrangements in Vietnamese families and by demographic surveys about the ideal Vietnamese family composition, is probably the main cause for these differentials. However, anthropological studies cannot provide a complete and measurable picture of the situation across the country because the studies are based on provinces close to Hanoi, an area much more influenced by Chinese Confucian traditions than the rest of the country. There are also no comparable anthropological studies on gender systems in other parts of Vietnam. More generally, qualitative studies fail to provide any measurable indicator of the actual intensity of son preference.

Absence of a son

For this reason, we decided to closely examine the fertility behaviour of Vietnamese couples and to look in particular at the impact of the absence of a son on family formation. The rich sample from the 2009 census (3.7 million households) provides an adequate dataset for exploring several dimensions of family systems. We observed that families that failed to have a son after two live births were indeed more likely to have a third child than families that already had a son. This variation is a clear testimony to the desire for a male offspring felt by many Vietnamese couples. Looking at estimates of son preference (see table below), we can confirm that the absence of a son has a sizeable impact on reproductivity behaviour: it increases on average the probability of having another child by almost 60% in Vietnam. Yet, this son preference appears significantly larger in the Red River Delta, where childless women are 2.6 times more likely to go for another pregnancy than other women.

How is the preference for sons linked to family patterns and the strength of ‘patricular’ values? If we follow David Haines’s hypothesis,2 which stressed the unique position of kinship in Vietnam as a niche of influence, we should expect to see traces of both East and Southeast Asian patterns. Using the same 2009 census dataset, we examined the post-marriage arrangements of children in order to differentiate between strictly patrilinial systems – when married sons and their wives often co-reside with their parents for a few years or more after marriage – and more bilateral or uxorilocal systems – in which married daughters and their husbands may also stay with their parents. The proportion of sons among co-residing married children served as a simple indicator of the strength of patrilineal and patriclatrical practices (see table below). This analysis leads us to realize the vast gap between the strictly patrilinial North and the rest of Vietnam. Some provinces in Central Vietnam are even characterized by an equal share of sons and daughters residing with their parents after marriage. This is a typical ‘Southeast Asian’ feature, but it remains mostly undocumented by most anthropological research on contemporary Vietnamese society.

The Cham bias towards girls

The Cham population in the Binh Thuan province in central Vietnam is an interesting example of a mix influence kinship pattern. The Cham now represents only 12% of the population in this area, but it used to be the dominant group till the beginning of the 19th century. The majority of the Cham practice the Bön religion, which combines Muslim, Hindu and Buddhist influences. In their villages, most of the newlywed couples reside with the wife’s family until they can afford to build new houses. According to the elders, “the tradition here is that the woman gets married to the man, not the other way around”. It is the future bride who initiate the marriage. “In addition, the youngest daughter in Cham families takes on the same responsibilities as the eldest son in Kinh families of the Red River Delta region. Commonly, youngest daughters and their husbands will reside with their parents and take care of them until they die and then inherit the ‘main house’, where the family altar is, to take responsibility for ancestor worship. In such situations, the last daughter will therefore inherit most of the family properties: house, animals, possessions, and farmland.

Thus, we find in this area, marked features of gender preference, but biased this time towards girls. For instance, it is considered essential to have at least one daughter, preferably as the first child. It is seen as an ‘insurance’ and it reduces the pressure on the gender of future children. Interviewed mothers and fathers with only sons attest to being teased by friends and family during parties for not having daughters. However, many mentioned a solution to the absence of a female offspring: adopting a girl – usually a niece from the wife’s family clan – who “can inherit property and take care of [them]”. These daughters are either legally adopted and raised by the couple, or designated in a testament as recipient of the main house for worshipping. “I have many nieces and nieces-in-law so I don’t have a concrete plan, but when I get older, I will consider whom I will give everything to”, explained the father of 3 sons in An Phuoc village.

Another interesting feature of this society relates to the terminology used to designate grandparents and grandchildren in the Vietnamese language: ‘ nominate the wife’s family and ‘ nominate the mother’s family. For instance, the family name is only transmitted from father to son, clan leaders are exclusively men and while ancestor worship is performed for family members in the wife’s lineage, it is the husband who is in fact in charge of the rituals.

Gender and family systems

This brief exploration of Cham society’s situation has many implications. First, from a strictly methodological viewpoint, it shows that demographic information in the form of census micro-data can be exploited for in-depth analysis of gender and family systems, complementing anthropological sources and providing a somewhat unique systematic mapping of regional differentials. Second, son preference is indeed not at all uniform in its manifestation across Vietnam as the situation in Ninh Thuan illustrates. The close correspondence between kinship patterns, gender systems and sex imbalances demonstrates the deep-rooted character of sex selection, and could suggest that there may be other patrilineal societies where prenatale sex selection may emerge in the future when other conditions are met, especially after a decline in fertility.

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Christophe Z. Guilmoto is senior fellow in Demography at INED/CEPID in Paris and currently at the National University of Singapore.

Notes


Regional characteristics of Vietnam’s macro-regions

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Macro-regions</th>
<th>Sex ratio at birth</th>
<th>Sonpreference in fertility behaviour</th>
<th>Patrilateral co-residence</th>
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<tr>
<td>Red River Delta</td>
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<td>North and South Central coastal areas</td>
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<td>Central Highlands</td>
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<td>Southest</td>
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<tr>
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<td>110.6</td>
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Urban métissage in 1920s Saigon – or the origins of Vietnam's public culture of contestation

In April 2013 PHILIPPE PEYCAM presented his new book: *The Birth of Vietnamese Political Journalism: Saigon 1916-30* at a ‘Leiden Southeast Asia Seminar’, a cooperation of the KITLV (Royal Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Leiden), the Programme in South and Southeast Asian Languages and Cultures, and the Department of Cultural Anthropology and Development Sociology, Leiden University.

Colonial urbanism as represented by Saigon in the first decades of the twentieth century saw the emergence of new socially, economically and culturally determined categories among the Vietnamese, a pre-condition for the development of an original culture of public political diversity. The new formation brought about by French colonization are well known: the imposition of a Western-style centralized state apparatus, the introduction of French/Western education, the opening of southern Vietnamese society to the global commercial economy – all converging in Saigon, the colonial metropolis. Shaped into a contradictory maze of restrictions and opportunities, hierarchies and discourses of representation in the colonial city, new forms of individual consciousness arose among many urbanized Vietnamese, and with it, new practices of collective socialization, particularly with the development of voluntary associations and fraternities (hội hiệp). This latter development amounted to the final sociological stage conditioning the burgeoning of an original culture of public political contestation founded on the practice of open rational enquiry, somewhat comparable with the practice of open rational enquiry, somewhat comparable with the practice of open rational enquiry, somewhat comparable to the open political diversity rooted in Public sphere of eighteenth century’s Europe as described by Habermas.1

Yet, it was when Saigon’s ‘bourgeois’ free press was being reduced to under the role of newspapers to that of institutions of mass mobilization serving objectives beyond public politics. This choice, privileging collective liberation at the expense of individual (‘bourgeois’) free expression, has since been invoked by post-colonial Communist rulers and historians of Vietnam to justify the subsequent political grip on the Vietnamese population by one-party rule. Indeed, the 1920s ended with the concomitant affirmation of a (still) vibrant urban public political sphere and one fought underground for the mobilization of a mainly rural population. This latter trend was first experienced in southern Vietnam after 1926, with the sudden rise of the politico-religious Cao Đài phenomenon, a prelude to the implantation of Communist bases a couple of years later. Eventually, these developments condemned Saigon’s public political diversity to its marginalization and its final suppression in 1975.


2 Colonial ‘humanism’ is described as an attempt to link the objective interests of the colonized and the colonizers in a progressive evolution directed by an enlightened and partially accountable, technocratic, colonial state. See Wilder, G. 2005. The French Imperial State-Drop. 42. 1972. Véronique Degroot, archaeologist at the École Française d’Extrême-Orient in Jakarta.

Volume 1, Unearthing Southeast Asia’s Past, deals with the development of complex societies in Southeast Asia from the Neolithic until the later historic period. The authors present data from recent excavations as well as new analyses of previous finds, with a focus on cultural exchange and interactions with the natural environment.

Volume 2, Materializing Southeast Asia’s Past, contains articles on historical and anthropological archaeology, epigraphy and art history. The interpretations of art and material culture offer new understandings of classical Hindu and Buddhist cultures of Southeast Asia and their relationship to the region’s medieval cultures.

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The Shanghai Alleyway House: A Vanishing Urban Vernacular


As a nineteenth-century commercial development, the alleyway house was a hybrid of the traditional Chinese courtyard house and the Western terraced one. Unique to Shanghai, the alleyway house was a space where the blurring of the boundaries of public and private life created a vibrant social community. In recent years, however, the city’s rapid redevelopment has meant that the alleyway house is being destroyed. This book seeks to understand the house in terms of the lifestyle it engendered for those who called it home, whilst also looking to the future of the alleyway house.

Based on groundwork research, this book examines the Shanghai alleyway house in light of the complex history of the city, especially during the colonial era. It also explores the history of urban form (and governance) in China in order to question how the Eastern and Western traditions combined in Shanghai to produce a unique and dynamic housing typology. Construction techniques and different alleyway house sub-genres are examined, as is the way of life they enabled, including some of the side-effects of alleyway house life, such as the literature it inspired, both foreign and local, as well as the portrayal of life in the laneways as seen in films set in the city.

The book ends by posing the question: what next for the alleyway house? Does it even have a future, and if so, what lies ahead for this rapidly vanishing typology? This interdisciplinary book will be welcomed by students and scholars of Chinese studies, architecture and urban development, as well as history and literature.

Gregory Bracken is an Instructor and Researcher at the Delft School of Design and a Research Fellow at the International Institute of Asian Studies, both in the Netherlands.

Notes

2 Colonial ‘humanism’ is described as an attempt to link the objective interests of the colonized and the colonizers in a progressive evolution directed by an enlightened and partially accountable, technocratic, colonial state. See Wilder, G. 2005. The French Imperial State-Drop. 42. 1972.


IIAS new publications
The Challenge of Studying Digital Asia: An Introduction to Asiascape: Digital Asia

Florian Schneider

In August and September 2012, the Internet was awash with Chinese, Taiwanese, and Japanese discussions over a set of islands that the governments of all three nations lay claim to. The dispute has been a recurring issue in East Asian regional relations, but over the past decade more and more people have become ‘switched on’ to this seemingly classic-realist international relations topic through new information and communication technologies (ICTs).

As millions of bloggers and ‘twople’ followed the actions of activists and politicians, and as nationalist protests spilled into the streets in China and Japan, one post on the Chinese micro-blogging service Weibo inspired particularly heated discussions. Yet the post did not come from a politician or from an activist. It did not call for the burning of more flags, for boycotts of foreign goods, or for decisive military intervention. The post was a calligraphy that promoted the friendship between the people of China and Japan, and it had been sent by the Japanese pony star Sela Aoi.

With the speed that arguably only digital communication allows, the calligraphy travelled across the region, reaching over 13 million people. It received more than 140,000 comments - many derogatory, but many also critically discussing the conflict, as well as the meaning of national identity in 21st century East Asia.

This example is symptomatic of the challenges that established academic disciplines face as they explore developments in an increasingly interlinked region such as Asia. The ubiquity of digital ICT fuels processes that have always been complex and dynamic, but it has arguably never before facilitated such shaped politics, economics, culture, and society to such a degree today.

Other examples from the region abound: In South Korea, online computer games have become so popular that individual matches are broadcast on prime-time television in Japan, and Taiwan, election campaigns are accompanied by online activism in the form of twitter and blogging, which in turn has inspired Taiwanese and South Korean politicians to integrate new media content into their campaigns. In India, the government is building a controversial digital biometric database that will include personal information on more than a billion citizens, allowing for unprecedented experiments in e-governance. The People’s Republic of China now has more than a billion citizens, allowing for unprecedented experiments in mass communication. The People’s Republic of China now has more netizens than the European Union has citizens, prompting many politicians and public figures now maintain their own digital networks with constituents and fans, and ICT companies are eagerly looking to these growing markets to test technological innovations.

What is needed to understand these processes is innovative, transdisciplinary research that has the courage to take the complexity of the information age seriously, and that does not shy away from exploring the diverse realities in which this complexity plays out. Asiascape: Digital Asia provides a forum for such research. Its contributions examine what impact new technologies, new channels of communication, and the unprecedented convergence of media formats have in the Asian context.

New Journal Asiascape: Digital Asia – Call for Manuscripts

With its peer-reviewed in-depth analyses, Asiascape: Digital Asia will keep readers abreast of such developments in the cyber cultures and digital networks of Asia. It will further provide book reviews, specifically aiming to introduce non-Asian related works and scholar to the area-studies community, and research on Asia to the larger field of digital media and communication studies. In addition, Asiascape: Digital Asia reviews relevant conferences, and includes a digital media review, which focuses on digital platforms and media products from Asia, such as blog and twitter services, social media websites, video sharing services, games, digital tools, etc.

If you are a scholarly conducting research on the digital processes that shape Asia, and if your focus lies with the social sciences, media and communication studies, information and computer sciences, or area studies, then we invite you to consider Asiascape: Digital Asia as the outlet for your work. The journal will launch in early 2014, and will be published bi-annually. More information is available in our call-for-papers downloadable from our website: www.asiascape.org/resources/唿DSAs---Call-for-Papers.pdf

A version of this article first appeared as a blog-post on www.asiascape.org/dias.html on 25 March 2013. The online version gives access to a large number of web links to further information.

First Issue 2014

Launching in early 2014, the bi-annual academic journal Asiascape: Digital Asia explores the political, social, and cultural impact of digital media in Asia. Bringing together interconnected and multi-disciplinary research from the social sciences, arts, media and communication studies, information and computer sciences, and area studies, the journal examines the role that information, communication, and digital technologies play in Asian societies, as well as in intra-regional and transnational dynamics.

Editor

Florian Schneider

Leiden University

The Netherlands

Reviews Editor

Eric Sautedé

University of Saint Joseph

Macau

About Asiascape

Established in October 2007 by Prof. Chris Goto-Jones, Asiascape aims to build a new international research coalition in the rapidly emerging fields of cyberculture (New Media, Convergence Culture, Video Games and other related media, such as fan-cultural and animesama (Anime and Manga), especially as they relate to (or originate from) East Asia. Asiascape sponsors a series of ‘state of the field’ events (lectures, conferences, competitions, exhibitions) and disseminates research using new and old media, including our website www.asiascape.org.

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About Asiascape: Digital Asia

Florian Schneider

Leiden University

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ASIA-PACIFIC JOURNAL: JAPAN FOCUS

Free Downloadable Course Readers

Laura E. Hein


The topics of other volumes currently in preparation include: Japan and the American-led Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, Ethnic Minorities and Japan, Globalization and Japanese Popular Culture: Mixing It Up, Japanese Intellectual Currents and other related media, such as fan-cultural and animesama (Anime and Manga), especially as they relate to (or originate from) East Asia. Asiascape sponsors a series of ‘state of the field’ events (lectures, conferences, competitions, exhibitions) and disseminates research using new and old media, including our website www.asiascape.org.

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The Board

The Editorial Board for this project consists of Mark Caprio, Rikkyo University; Lonny Carlife, University of Hawaii; Parks Coble, University of Nebraska; Sabine Fröstl, Utrecht University; A. Tom Grunfeld, Empire State College; Mark Selden, APJ-Japan Focus; Stephen Vlastos, University of Iowa.

Contributions

If you are interested in creating a volume yourself, wish to participate as a reviewer and editor, have suggestions for new topics, or want to discuss another aspect of this project, please contact Laura Hein at l-hein@northwestern.edu. Although the course readers are free, we welcome donations to support the journal and this initiative; to contribute, please note the red button ‘Sustaining APJ’ on the left side of the APJ homepage (www.japanfocus.org).

Laura E. Hein (Northwestern University, PhD Wisconsin, 1998) specializes in the history of Japan in the 20th century and its international relations. She also has a strong interest in problems of remembrance and public memory. (l-hein@northwestern.edu)
**Announcements continued**

**IIAS WINTER PROGRAMME IN ASIAN STUDIES**

**Macau Winter School: Urban Hybridity in the Post-Colonial Age**
A PhD masterclass organised by IIAS and the University of Macau

**The 2013 Winter School**

The Macau Winter School will explore and investigate new theoretical paradigms of postcolonial urban hybridity, which are informed by experiences emanating from various contexts in Asia and beyond.

It will be led by three world-renowned scholars in the fields of colonial studies: Prof. Akhil Gupta (UCLA), the Profs. Engseng Ho (Duke University) and Prof. Michael Herzfeld (Harvard University). Research specialists from various institutional, biographical and national backgrounds will interact and exchange with participants on an intensive and interactive experience.

This programme will focus on two interconnected themes: the theoretical issue of postcolonial hybridity and the descriptive analytical problems presented by Asian cities. The first theme has been applied to the analysis of the nation-state by Michael Herzfeld and the analysis of the lived experiences of postcolonial and crypto-colonial societies using a comparative approach to urban communities in Asia and Europe. Historian and Anthropologist Engseng Ho has, for his part, reflected on interstitial connections between imperial and diasporic formations, as they are found in mainland ports-cities like Macau.

The five days of interactive training will follow the lines of former IIAS Summer Schools. The invited participants will be asked to critically assess their individual work through discussions led by the co-conveners. The session will close with a one-day conference, when selected participants will present their revised papers. The event will also feature outside scholars in the fields of postcolonial hybridity and Macau studies.

For more information on this and other IIAS Masterclasses: [www.iias.nl/masterclasses/urban-hybridity-post-colonial-age](http://www.iias.nl/masterclasses/urban-hybridity-post-colonial-age) or [www.masterclasses.asia](http://www.masterclasses.asia)

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**NETWORK**

**IIAS PhD platform and discussion group at LinkedIn**

IIAS FACILITATES a national PhD discussion group on LinkedIn to help PhD researchers in Asian Studies and their supervisors in the Netherlands to establish contact, start discussions, as well as to disseminate information about relevant courses, lectures or, for example, international visitors (research fellows, visiting professors), etc.

The IIAS PhD discussion group forms part of the 'National Platform for Asia Related PhD Research in The Netherlands'. In January 2012, IIAS conducted a review of PhD research on Asia in the Netherlands (with a humanities and social sciences focus) and this led to the identification of more than 250 projects being carried out all over the country. Most striking was the enormous range of subjects studied, and the large number of Dutch universities, research schools and institutes involved.

Subsequent discussions indicated that PhD researchers in the field of Asian Studies at different organisations rarely know of each other's work, even when the respective PhD subjects cover a similar region and/or discipline, and co-operation could benefit both parties. This has prompted IIAS to set up the LinkedIn PhD platform with the aim to facilitate and stimulate contacts and interaction between researchers in Asian Studies.

**Please join**

We welcome all comments and recommendations, posted on this site; that will help to build the platform into a useful tool for anyone conducting PhD research in Asian Studies in the Netherlands.

Go to [www.iias.nl/phdplatform](http://www.iias.nl/phdplatform) or visit [www.linkedin.com](http://www.linkedin.com) and enter 'IIAS PhD Platform' in the search box. A comparable Facebook discussion site has been set up at: [www.facebook.com/phdplatform](http://www.facebook.com/phdplatform)

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**CONFERENCE**

**Framing ‘Asian Studies’: Geopolitics, Institutions and Networks**

**Date:** 18-19 Nov 2013, **Venue:** Leiden, The Netherlands

IIAS and the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (lSEAS, Singapore) will be organising a conference in Leiden that aims to examine and critically reflect on the ‘social framing’ of Asian studies.

The conference is being prepared by IIAS lSEAS fellow Dr. Albert Tzeng. Selected papers from the conference will be published in a joint IIAS lSEAS volume.

Asian studies, whether broadly defined as the production and dissemination of scholarly knowledge about Asia, or narrowly limited to the institutionalised field of study labeled as such, has constantly been framed by a changing geopolitical context. The colonial roots of ‘Oriental’ or Asiatic scholarship, the war-driven migration of Asian scholars and the dispersion of their expertise, and the Cold War American investment in both social sciences in East Asia and Asian studies at home, are just a few examples. In recent decades, we further witnessed the rising scholarly interest on Japan, China and India following their growing political-economic significance, as well as the emergence of various ‘alternative discourses’ and ‘inter-Asia dialogue’ as attempts of intellectual decolonization.

The conference will focus on four main themes:

- The influence of geopolitical factors on how knowledge about Asia is produced and disseminated;
- The role of various institutions in promoting and directing Asian studies;
- The outlook of various knowledge networks;
- Critiques on the power structure underlying the observed patterns of knowledge production and dissemination of Asian studies.

The call for papers is closed. Limited seats are available for attendees. Registration is required. Please contact Martina van den Haak if you would like to attend: M.C.van.den.Haak@iias.nl

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**WEBSITE**

**IIAS Global Agenda**

Submit your event to our online events calendar

IIAS OFFERS THIRD PARTIES the opportunity to disseminate information about their own Asia-related events, research fellowships, grants or job opportunities through the IIAS website.

We invite you to create your own account at [www.iias.nl/events](http://www.iias.nl/events) and upload your information to our Global Agenda.
New Fudan European Centre for Modern and Comparative China at the University of Copenhagen, Denmark

ON 15 AND 16 APRIL, the Fudan European Centre for Modern and Comparative China Studies was inaugurated at the University of Copenhagen. The first of its kind in Europe, the Centre will focus on researching the interaction between China and Europe and will aim to strengthen the cooperation between the two with research in areas such as welfare, environment, governance and government, politics and economy.

The Centre is located at NIAS - Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, Department of Political Science at University of Copenhagen's Social Science Campus. NIAS Director Geir Helgesen will be director of the Centre, while Fudan European Centre Director Professor Liu Chunrong will be Deputy Director.

Two-way research
According to Geir Helgesen, the foundation of the Centre is the very notion of two-way research and an important part of the collaboration is for the Centre to advance projects that compare developments in China and Europe.

The emphasis of the research will initially be within the Social Sciences with a bridge to the Humanities, although there are already incipient links with colleagues within the Natural Sciences.

Commenting on the inauguration of the Centre, Professor Ralf Hemmingsen, Rector of the University of Copenhagen, says: “At University of Copenhagen, we have focused strategically on Asia research for several years. The new Centre will strengthen the University’s research considerably and give us a prominent position in Europe on this large and highly important field. Danish research has a good position in China, but China is expanding fast and we need to be able to keep up and to develop new initiatives within areas including the Social Sciences and Humanities.”

ON SITE: € 150
Early bird € 100
Regular € 125
On-site € 150
Discount for PhD students: € 25

The conference aims to examine Asian pre-modern cities through three major thematic strands, covering a wide geographic expanse throughout Asia (from Pakistan to Japan) and a time depth of cultural development across five millennia (from the Bronze Age through 14th century Angkor to 18th century East Asia).

The three main themes to be explored are: a) processes of urban development; b) urban economy; and c) social fabric of the city (more information on the IAS website).

The conference provides a multi-disciplinary forum, and includes lectures by key note speakers and parallel sessions on specific themes.

The provisional list of key note speakers:

- Professor John Bintliff, Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University
- Professor Roland Fletcher, Department of Archaeology, University of Sydney
- Professor Jacques Gaucher, Directeur de la Mission Archéologique française à Angkor Thom (EFEO)
- Professor John Miksic, Head Archaeology Unit, Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre
- Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (IIAS), Singapore
- Professor Norman Yoffee, Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University

Information and registration:

www.ias.nl/event/patterns-early-asian-urbanism

Chinese ambassador Li Ruiyu at the opening of the Centre

Conference and opening ceremony
The inauguration was marked and celebrated over two days, starting with a one-day conference entitled 'Creative spaces – Seeking the Dynamics of China’s Development.' At the conference renowned scholars from Fudan University and the University of Copenhagen presented their research on China’s well known and urgent challenges. Also present was Dr. Paul Rabin from the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS), who participated in the conference as a discussant.

On the second day the official opening ceremony was held with speeches by the Danish Minister for Research, Innovation and Higher Education, Morten Østergaard, the Ambassador of China to Denmark, Mr. Li Ruiyu, Vice-President of Fudan University, Prof. Lin Shangli, and the Rector of the University of Copenhagen, Prof. Ralf Hemmingsen. Present was also the new Secretary General of the Nordic Council of Ministers, Dagfinn Harbø, who has deep interests in China, as well as representatives from Danish and international academia, media and business environment.

IIAS and NIAS recently cemented their long-standing relationship by signing a Memorandum of Understanding aimed at the strengthening of contacts and cooperation. More information can be found at http://nias.ku.dk/
Asian Cities: Colonial to Global
Leiden, 23-25 April 2013
Gregory Bracken

THE ‘ASIAN CITIES: COLONIAL TO GLOBAL’ seminar took place in Leiden in April this year. It was the fifth annual seminar organised by the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) and the Architecture Faculty at the Technical University of Delft. Part of the IIAS’s ‘Postcolonial Global City’ research programme, this seminar examined how some of the cities of South and East Asia have made the successful segue from nodes in formerly colonial networks to global cities in their own right.

The seminar received an unusually high number of applicants. Originally intended as a two-day event (with about 16 papers), it had to be increased to three days, and 27 papers. Due to the usual attrition, some of those selected were unable to attend, but their papers are still being considered for the publication that is planned as an outcome of the event.

The standard of the papers was high, and, even more excitingly, the bringing together of different disciplines resulted in a very dynamic interaction. There were a number of architects and urbanists, of course, but also papers by geographers, political scientists and those affiliated with the arts, all of whom sought to examine conditions on the ground in Asia’s cities to see how networks laid down during the era of nineteenth-century colonial expansion (and earlier) have given certain cities in the region a global edge.

The papers were clustered together under a number of themes, namely, Postcolonialism, Networks (transport and history), Architecture, and Urban Governance, and they covered a wide range of territory - from Mumbai in India to New Songdo City in Korea. Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Burma/Myanmar were also featured, as were Singapore, Indonesia, Vietnam, Malaysia, Hong Kong and China. Asia was particularly well-represented with papers dealing with Hong Kong, Macau, and Shanghai, as well as places we are beginning to hear more about, like Shenzhen and Dongguan, and even some about which we hear relatively little, such as Qingdao.

The seminar was structured so that there was plenty of time for participants and audience members to discuss the various presentations. As an interdisciplinary snapshot of ongoing research this event is invaluable in bringing people up to date with cutting edge research. What is most valuable about this interaction is also the fact that people from different disciplines gain insight into their own work from seeing how other disciplines are dealing with the same or related topics.

Book publication
The seminar culminated in a plenary session, where the various strands of the papers were drawn together, the better to make them fit with one another for the next stage of the project: the book publication. The themes and sub-themes that emerged over the course of the three days, as well as the resonances that can be discerned across many of the papers, have all been brought together into what has become, in effect, a first peer review, and this should help the participants rework their papers to better fit the book’s research trajectory. Judging by the two-year turnaround we have been able to achieve for previous publications, we are in hope that these fascinating findings will be available to the reading public in the spring of 2015.

In the meantime, there is next year’s seminar to look forward to. This will take place in the spring of 2014, at the Architecture Faculty of TU Delft, and will examine the topic of Tropical Modernism in architecture. Even more importantly, it will seek to explore how this movement has influenced the postcolonial world.

For further information on this and all Postcolonial Global City events, visit the IIAS website.
IIAS outreach

HISTORICAL CONNECTION

Delft – Jingdezhen

THE HISTORICAL CONNECTION between Delft and Jingdezhen can be traced back to the beginning of the VOC trade in Asia, when Chinese blue and white porcelain started to appear in Holland, following an incident in the Strait of Malacca some 400 years ago.

At that time, the city of Jingdezhen in the southern Chinese province Jiangxi had already for more than 200 years been the purveyor of the highest quality of Chinese blue and white porcelain to the imperial court. In Delft, the city’s extensive pottery industry was just taking shape, following the immigration of a number of Antwerp potters who were fleeing Spanish rule in their own country at the end of the 16th century.

On 25 February 1603 at the entrance to the Strait of Malacca, a Dutch ship conquered the Portuguese carrack (a type of sailing ship), the Santa Catharina, and seized its cargo, consisting in part of large quantities of blue and white porcelain from China. These wares were sold at high prices upon their arrival in the Netherlands, and launched the large-scaled Dutch import of porcelain from China.

For more information go to www.prinsenhof-delft.nl and ikhouvanblauw.nl

Delft Jingdezhen 400-year cultural exchange programme

THE RECENT RENEWAL of contact and cooperation between Delft and Jingdezhen is largely due to the efforts of the Dutch artist Adriaan Rees. This independent artist and sculptor, trained at the renowned Gerrit Rietveld Academie (Rietveld School of Art & Design), currently lives in Jingdezhen.

Adriaan Rees: “For the past fourteen years I have been visiting Jingdezhen in China. During that time the dynamics of the city and its people took hold of me. Nowadays I even live in Jingdezhen and for the past seven years I have run my own studio there. At the request of the Government of Jingdezhen, in 2006 I made my first attempt to initiate contact with the city of Delft in the Netherlands. In the years that followed I made connections between mayors, City Council Members, civil servants and artists and designers in Jingdezhen and Delft. In 2010 both cities signed a ‘Memorandum of Understanding’ (MoU) for future cooperation and after that they officially became Sister Cities. I now work for the city of Delft as the project leader for the Artists in Residence project and the Museum Exchange.

In my own art the relationship between man and his surroundings are of primary importance. It is a necessity for me to travel and to work in new places all over the world. In these circumstances it is essential to work with other visual artists and artists working in other disciplines. The Artists in Residence project between Delft and Jingdezhen fits perfectly into this picture. Through the exchange of artists, designers and knowledge, a renewal and innovation could take place in the ceramics in both cities.

Approximately 400 years ago the first contact took place between Jingdezhen and Delft. Because of the exchange programme the contact has been renewed. Artists and designers like Jianguang Li, Pepijn van den Nieuwenhijl, Wu Li Ya, Pauline Wiertz, Tieneke van Gilis, Chris Dagradi, Hugo Kaagman, Adrie Huisman, Wendy Sterunks en Zhang Ling Jun made wonderful works and proposals during their work period in Jingdezhen and Delft, with great result and impact.

And it is just a beginning. More artists will follow and more collaboration will be made between the museums and the educational institutes in both cities. It is now up to everyone to develop these contacts and also reap its benefits!”

For more information go to www.adriaanrees.nl

RENEWED CONTACT

Upcoming Lectures

‘Shipments and Sherds’ and ‘Carrack Porcelain from Jingdezhen’

IN THE CONTEXT of the exhibition, two lectures are scheduled for Saturday 6 July 2013. In her lecture ‘Shipments and Sherds’, Christine van der Pijl-Ketel will give an overview of the types of porcelain that were produced for the Dutch market and how these were transported by the VOC to the Netherlands at the beginning of the 17th century. The second lecture on carrack porcelain from Jingdezhen will be delivered by Professor Jang Jun Xiong (Associate Director and Researcher of Jingdezhen Municipal Ceramics and the Jingdezhen Ceramic Archaeological Research Institute).

Christine van der Pijl-Ketel conducted research on the Chinese porcelains salvaged from a Dutch VOC shipwreck, and was editor of The Ceramic Load of the ‘Witte Leeuw’, sunk in 1613 at St. Helene, published by the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam. She is currently researching the Chinese export porcelain known as ‘kraak ware’, exported at the beginning of the 17th century, and is presently working on her PhD at the Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University.
My visit to IIAS in Leiden, from August 2010 to August 2011, was based on the cooperation signed by IIAS and the Taiwanese Ministry of Education many years ago. I was told by Manon Osseweijer, the previous Deputy Director of IIAS, that I had been the last ‘European Chair of Chinese Studies’; as of 2011 the position became known as the ‘Taiwan Chair of Chinese Studies’.

Dennis Cheng

I HAD VISITED EUROPE a few times previously – Italy, Germany and Hungary – but never the Netherlands. This was the second time I had visited an international academic institution focusing on Asian studies; the first had been ARL (Asia Research Institute) at the National University of Singapore, where I served as a senior visiting research fellow from 2007-2008. Following the terms of the contract, the Taiwan MOE provided me a stipend, while IIAS provided me a quiet and favorable environment for research, as well as adequate material support in every aspect.

Serving as an international research hub for academic exchanges, IIAS recruits new visitors and research fellows from time to time. It was very fruitful for me to know different people from different places through various activities, including brown bag lectures, seminars, drinks and lunch gatherings. By the time I arrived, Professor Philippe Peycam had just reported to duty to serve as the Director of IIAS, and learnt from the Institute’s webpage and Newsletters that IIAS would start concentrating on the research and promotion of the study of cultural heritage under the leadership of Philippe. Being an expert on Zhoushi (Yijing, The Book of Changes), which is an ancient Chinese political and philosophical Scripture, as well as a fundamental and theoretical classic for Chinese cultures and religions, I understood that this was what I could contribute to the study on Asian cultural heritage in terms of both material and immaterial aspects.

In my presentation at the ‘IIAS Fellow Seminar’ I gave a brief introduction on “Two types of cosmology in ancient Chinese thought: philosophies of the ‘Taiyi shengshui’ and the ‘Yijing’, The Book of Changes), which is an ancient Chinese political and philosophical Scripture, as well as a fundamental and theoretical classic for Chinese cultures and religions, I understood that this was what I could contribute to the study on Asian cultural heritage in terms of both material and immaterial aspects.

My purpose was to build a bridge between the German and the French hermeneutic traditions and the Chinese tradition from a global view. I admired IIAS’s academic orientation in the field of cultural heritage, focusing more on issues like urbanization, policy and governance, preservation of heritage and education. Obviously emphasizing the long existence of Asian spiritual traditions and working more into the historical and philosophical aspects should be something I could specifically contribute to IIAS. I hope my efforts were somewhat useful in providing IIAS a certain uniqueness on the study of cultural heritage.

The IIAS visit gave me chances to acquire a lot from personal exchanges, and I am glad that until now I am still in close contact with a few scholars (say Professor Funayama Toru from Kyoto University who is a renowned scholar on Buddhism in Medieval Age Asia) and the PhD students I met at IIAS. I even had a chance to successfully recommend the student Mr. Ren’s Krijgsman of Leiden University during his application to the PhD studentship at Oxford University. In Chinese we use the term yuanfen (fate, destiny) to describe the occasional yet meaningful gathering of people, and for sure all kinds of gatherings need an instigator (either a person or an institution) to bring people together, to create new outcomes, and this is exactly what IIAS successfully achieved. Quite different from the disciplines of natural sciences, in humanities and social sciences, conference rooms and discussion panels are our ‘laboratories’, while all the chemical changes happen in the minds of the attendants. What can be more helpful and meaningful to visitors than to create an active and friendly atmosphere for research and discussions?

My one year visit in Leiden also provided me a chance to know the Netherlands. Visiting Museums with the Annual Museum Card was my most enjoyable pastime during my visit. The Mauritshuis, the Rijksmuseum and the Van Gogh Museum are among my favorites. Before my visit, I had not yet had a chance to taste the European paintings and observe the subtle techniques, as well as the fantastic thoughts embedded within the materials. One by one I carefully looked into the details of these paintings; I started to recognize the creative characteristics of the great works by Johannes Vermeer, Rembrandt, Van Gogh and other artists and sensed the differences between the Dutch paintings and the Chinese ink paintings. Isn’t it also an interesting topic to compare the oriental artistic traditions with the European traditions on the study of cultural heritage?

The Netherlands is a country famous for its water – canals, maritime, navigation technology. According to the philosophy of Zhuoyu, ‘water’ is the imagery of ‘flowing’, which contains the abstract meaning of ‘time’, ‘changes’ and ‘danger’. Combining these meanings we can deduce a new metaphorical meaning: ‘changes’. This implies the promotion from an old status to a new level of life. Life is full of miracles, and my visit to IIAS at Leiden University in the Netherlands was no doubt a unique one. I hope someday I will have the chance to revisit IIAS, and to contribute my research outcomes, especially on the study of culture and cultural heritage.

Professor Cheng Kat Hung Dennis taught at the National Taiwan University for 26 years. Since recently he is Professor of Cultural History at the Hong Kong Institute of Education. He was appointed ‘European Chair of Chinese Studies’ at Leiden University (2010-2011), ‘Senior Visiting Research Fellow’ at the National University of Singapore (2007-2008), and was Visiting Scholar at the University of Washington (at Seattle, 1994-1995). He served as the principal investigator of Excellent Projects supported by the Ministry of Education, and conducted collaborative research projects with international scholars from East Asia and North America. He has published 5 books, 12 edited volumes and more than 50 journal articles. (dkhcheng@ied.edu.hk)
Asian Cities

WITH A SPECIAL EYE on contemporary developments, the Asian Cities cluster aims to explore the longstanding Asian urban heritage in context, with a focus on the Asian cities ‘in context’ and beyond traditional periods and regions. Through an international knowledge-network of experts, cities and research institutes, this cluster seeks to encourage social scientists and scholars in the humanities to interact with contemporary actors including architects, artists, planners and architects, educators, and policy makers. By bringing together science and practice, AIAS aims to create a platform for scholars and urban practitioners focusing on Asian cities ‘in context’ and beyond traditional western norms of knowledge.

Asian Borders Research Network

The Asian Borders Research Network focuses particularly on the border regions between South Asia, Central and Southeast Asia. A conference is organised every two years in one of these border regions, in co-operation with a local partner. This network is an international network on Asian cities. Its investigations into the interactions within the Asian region as well as Asia’s projection into the world, past and present trends are addressed. The cluster aims to expand the understanding of “authenticity,” “national heritage,” and “shared heritage”, associated with architecture and monumental archaeology to translate a maximum of 6 official Japanese publications of the series known as “Senshi no Kiroku” (Military Records) of the Japanese Army during the period of 1941-1945.

Asian Heritages

THE ASIAN HERITAGES CLUSTER explores the notion of heritage as it has evolved from a European-originated concept with a focus on environmental archaeology to incorporate a broader diversity of cultural forms and values. This includes the contested distinctions of “tangible” and “intangible” heritages, and the importance of cultural heritage in defining one’s own identity or identities via-vis those of others. The cluster addresses the variety of definitions associated with heritage and their implications for social agency. It aims to engage with a broad range of concepts including the issues of “authenticity,” “national heritage,” and “shared heritage”, and, more generally, issues pertaining to the political economy of heritage. It will also critically address the dangers involved in the commodification of perceived endangered local cultures, heritages, including languages, religious practices, crafts and products, as well as intangible cultural heritage.

PROJECTS AND NETWORKS

The Postcolonial Global City

This cluster focuses on the Postcolonial cities of South, East and Southeast Asia, and how some of them have made these successful steps from new cities in formerly colonial networks to global cities in their own right. Intended to be an interdisciplinary research enterprise, the Postcolonial Global City has, thanks to events such as seminars and lectures, brought together not just architects and urbanists, but also people from other disciplines, such as geographers, sociologists and political scientists, as well as historians, linguists and anyone else interested in this project. A key factor in the research is architectural typology. Architecture is examined to see how it can create identity and ethos and how in the post-colonial world, building typologies have been superceded by the building office, the skyscraper and the shopping centre, all of which are rapidly altering the older urban fabric of the city. The research programme organises a seminar every spring, the 2013 seminar Asian Cities: Cultures of Global Asia.

Asian Borders Research Network

The Asian Borders Research Network is designed to study the effects of geopolitical energy security on the one hand, and policy to increase energy efficiency and estimating the prospects for the exploitation of renewable energy resources on the other. The New Joint Research Project is called “Reconceiving the Postcolonial City: Energy Programme Asia”, which seeks to understand how the energy systems of cities in Asia have changed over time, and the implications of these changes for urban energy systems and urban planning. The programme is designed to study the effects of global geopolitics on city design and city governance, and its investigations into the interactions between local and global, urban and international, and the role of language, as well as issues of environmental and sustainability.

Coordinator: Greg Bracken (gregory@ctiliever.com)

UrbAn Knowledge NetworK Asia (UkNA)

Consisting of over 100 researchers from 13 institutes in Europe, China, India and the United States, the Urban Knowledge Network Asia (UKNA) represents the largest academic international network on Asian cities. UKNA’s objective is to nurture contextualised and policy-relevant knowledge on Asian cities. This will be achieved via research staff exchanges and targeted case study based research, focusing on three key areas: heritage, housing and the environment. The programme is funded by a grant awarded by the EU, and runs from April 2012 until April 2016. IAS is the coordinating partner institute in the network and administrator of the programme.

Partners are: Ambedkar University; Beijing University of Technology’s College of Architecture and Urban Planning; CEPT University; China Academy of Urban Planning and Design; TU Delft Faculty of Architecture; Ecole Nationale Supérieure d’Architecture Paris-Belleville; Hong Kong University’s School of Architecture; Indian Institute of Human Settlements; International Institute for Asian Studies; Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences’ Centre for Urban and Rural Development; National University of Singapore’s School of Architecture; University College London’s Development Planning Unit; University of Macau’s Faculty of Social Sciences; University of Maastricht; University of Southern California’s Sot Price School of Public Policy. Strategic partners are: Asia Research Institute (ARI) of the National University of Singapore; Graduate Institute of Building and Planning (GTUBP) of National Taiwan University. Coordinators: Paul Rob (p.c.rob@iias.nl) & Simone Bijlard (j.f.t.lijlard@iias.nl)

Jatrophia Research & Knowledge Network (JARAK)

IASS has incorporated into the new network known as JARAK, the Jatropha Research and Knowledge Network in collaboration with a sustainable jatropha production in Indonesia. Jatropha is crop that seems very promising: it can be used as a clean non-fossil diesel fuel and it can provide new income sources in marginal areas that will grow the crop. Coordinator: Dr. Jacqueline Vis (j.a.vis@hum.leidenuniv.nl).

Sensi Sosho

This project is funded and coordinated by the Philippines Cortes Foundation. The aim is to translate a maximum of 6 official Japanese publications of the series known as “Senshi no Kiroku” into the English language. From 1966 until 1980, the Ministry of Defense in Tokyo published a series of 102 numbered volumes on the war in Asia and in the Pacific. Around 1985 a few additional unnumbered volumes were published. This project focuses specifically on the volumes 6 of these volumes which are relevant to the study of Japanese attack and the subsequent occupation of the Netherlands Indies in the period of 1941-1945. Coordinator: Jan Bongenaar (j.bongenaar@iias.nl)

Asian Heritages

THE ASIAN HERITAGES CLUSTER explores the notion of heritage as it has evolved from a European-originated concept with a focus on environmental archaeology to incorporate a broader diversity of cultural forms and values. This includes the contested distinctions of “tangible” and “intangible” heritages, and the importance of cultural heritage in defining one’s own identity or identities via-vis those of others. The cluster addresses the variety of definitions associated with heritage and their implications for social agency. It aims to engage with a broad range of concepts including the issues of “authenticity,” “national heritage,” and “shared heritage”, and, more generally, issues pertaining to the political economy of heritage. It will also critically address the dangers involved in the commodification of perceived endangered local cultures, heritages, including languages, religious practices, crafts and products, as well as intangible cultural heritage.

Coordinator: Takako Kondo (t.kondo@hum.leidenuniv.nl)

IIAS research projects

IIAS research is carried out within a number of thematic clusters in phase with contemporary Asian currents – all built around the notion of social agency. The aim of this approach is to cultivate synergies and coherence between people and projects to and generate more interaction with Asian societies. IIAS also welcomes research for the open cluster, so as not to exclude potentially significant and interesting topics.

Global Asia

THE GLOBAL ASIA CLUSTER addresses contemporary issues related to transnational interactions within the Asian region as well as Asia’s projection into the world. This cluster seeks to bring together social scientists and scholars in the humanities to interact with contemporary actors including artists, activists, planners and architects, educators, and policy makers. By bringing together science and practice, AIAS aims to create a platform for scholars and urban practitioners focusing on Asian cities ‘in context’ and beyond traditional western norms of knowledge.

PROJECTS AND NETWORKS

Translating [Japanese] Contemporary Art

This project explores the translation of ‘Japanese contemporary art’ in art and critical and theoretical discourses from the late 1980s in the realms of English and Japanese languages, including artists’ own critical writings as a slower pace and subject of (local) translation rather than art historical study and the intentions to explore the possibility of multiple and subversive reading of Japanese contemporary art in order to establish various models for transculturality in contemporary art.

Coordinator: Takako Kondo (t.kondo@hum.leidenuniv.nl)

ABIA South and Southeast Asian Art and Archaeology Index

The ABIA project is a global network of scholars co-operating on a bibliographic database of publications covering South and Southeast Asian art and archaeology. Partners are the India Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, New Delhi, India, and the Postgraduate Institute of Archaeology, University of Kelaniya, Sri Lanka. The database is freely accessible at www.abia.net. Extracts are available as a series of bibliographies, published by Brill. In December 2012 IAS and Brill Publishers agreed that Brill will take over the ABIA Netherlands office as an in-house digital bibliographic project, starting from 15 March 2013. The first year will be a pilot year for anchoring the ABIA work in Leiden in a new setting. This phase will continue to receive co-funding from IAS and the J. Gonda Foundation.

Coordinators: Ellen Raven (e.m.raven@iias.nl) & Gerda Theunis-de Beer (g.a.m.theuns@iias.nl)

Open Cluster

PROJECTS AND NETWORKS

Aging in Asia and Europe

During the 21st century it is projected that there will be more than one billion people aged 60 and over, with this figure climbing to nearly two billion by 2050, three-quarters of whom will live in Asia. In 2013, one in five elderly people in Asia will be 80 years or older, and it is expected that this will rise to one in four by 2035. Longevity and increasing life expectancy are among the most important demographic trends affecting every country in Asia and Europe, and in the future in other regions. The challenge for policymakers is to ensure that older people’s needs are met while simultaneously implementing welfare reform policies. Growing aging populations and an increasing emphasis on quality of life and personal well-being are evident in the Asia-Pacific region, where policies and programs are emerging to address these issues. This cluster will co-fund a research network on aging and health that will explore the impacts of aging on health and wellbeing in diverse cultural settings across Asia and Europe.

Coordinator: Carla Risseeuw (c.de.rieseuw@iias.nl)

IIAS Asia and the Postcolonial Global City: Asian Heritages
Tom Hoogervorst
Challenging notions of pre-modern cultural contact across the Bay of Bengal

SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA have been intermittently in contact for the past three millennia. My present research at the IIAS, facilitated by a Gonda Foundation grant, enables me to explore new perspectives on interethnic relations between these two regions. More specifically, I am investigating the extent to which historical linguistics is able to challenge our perspectives on the so-called ‘Indianisation’ of Southeast Asia, a now-controversial term shaped by paradigms of civilisational hierarchy and other trends of colonial thought. By moving beyond the oft-described role of Sanskrit as a vehicle of Indian culture, I focus on the poorly understood function of vernacular South Asian languages – both Indo-Aryan and Dravidian – and their associated speech communities in the complex social events that led to the transmission of Indian culture to ancient Southeast Asia. The lexical data that form the basis of this study are analysed in conjunction with the latest insights from archaeology and history.

These interdisciplinary ambitions inevitably entail keeping track of multiple academic disciplines, all entitled to their own conventions and methodologies. In this regard, the dynamic academic environment of IIAS has enabled me to pursue my goals much more efficiently. What is the quickest way to separate ‘pure’ Sanskrit words from ungrammatical forms (apabhramśa)? Put the words on a list and email it to my colleague who examines Nepalese Śaiva manuscripts. What is the best place to obtain much-needed insights in Indo-Aryan historical phonology? At the coffee machine, while having a chat with a fellow Gonda-scholar who specialises in several ancient Indo-European languages whose very names elude all but an arcane few. How can we make linguistic technicalities more palatable to an audience of non-linguists? Discuss the topic with the researcher next-door who studies cultural heritage and textile artisanship.

Due in part to these considerable advantages, my research at the IIAS has thus far enabled me to detect an ancient non-Sanskrit substrate in the languages of insular Southeast Asia. Unlike the better known Sanskrit element in this region – mostly restricted to ‘high’ cultural contexts such as religion, architecture and literature – the encountered loanwords often refer to practical matters in the domains of agriculture, metallurgy and trade. Other insights gained through my focus on a tool to reconstruct cultural contact fall beyond the pre-modern scope of the present study. That being said, serendipitous encounters of New Indo-Aryan (Hindi, Bengali, etc.) and especially Tamil loanwords into Malay, Javanese and related languages beg for a renewed interest in the more recent role of the Bay of Bengal as a zone of interaction. The trans-Asianic networks that form the core of my research persisted into the colonial epoch of Indian Ocean history, influenced it, and eventually outlived it.

WE ARE PARTICULARLY interested in researchers focusing on one of the Institute’s three thematic clusters: ‘Asian Cities’, ‘Asian Heritages’, and ‘Global Asia’. However, some positions will be reserved for outstanding projects in any area outside of those listed.

Asian Cities
The Asian Cities cluster deals with cities and urban cultures with related issues of flows of ideas and goods, cosmopolitanism, méttisage and connectivity, framing the existence of vibrant “civil societies” and political urban microcultures. It also deals with such issues as urban development in the light of the diversity of urban societies.

Asian Heritages
This cluster concentrates on the critical investigation of the politics of cultural heritage, and explores the notion of heritage as it has evolved from a Europe-originated concept associated with architecture and monumental archaeology to incorporate a broader diversity of cultural forms and values.

Global Asia
The Global Asia cluster addresses Asia’s role in the various globalisation processes. It examines examples of and issues related to multiple, transnational intra-Asian interactions as well as Asia’s projection in the world. Historical experiences as well as more contemporary trends are addressed.

Research projects that can contribute to new, historically contextualised, multidisciplinary knowledge, with the capacity of translating this into social and policy relevant initiatives, will be privileged.

For information on the research clusters and application form go to: www.iias.nl
A pavilion for Asian art in the new Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

After a prolonged period of extensive renovation, the Rijksmuseum reopened its doors to the public in April with a redesigned interior and brand new displays. The main building now presents a chronological overview of Dutch art and history, with attention being paid at various intervals to objects that were produced for international trade, such as export lacquer ware or Delftware and porcelain from China and Japan. A separate, newly built pavilion houses the main collection of Asian art.

Menno Fitski, Anna Slaczka & William Southworth

The Indian and Indonesian collections are displayed on the upper floor of the two-tiered pavilion. This section of the pavilion is provided with windows that allow daylight to enter. The atmosphere is one of simplicity and clarity (inset image left), contiguous with the vision of the architects and the nature of the Asian art collection.

Many of the objects on display were collected by the Society of Friends of Asian Art, founded in 1918, and are on long term loan to the Rijksmuseum. The aim of the Society was not to try and create a full overview of Asian art, but rather to focus on the acquisition of a select group of objects that exemplified a particular region, style, type or period. As a result, the collection may well include only a single, but particularly fine, example of a certain object type. Thus, rather than arranging objects thematically, an order based on place of origin allows the visitor to get an impression of the aesthetics and stylistic elements that are relevant to the various regions of Asia.

The visitor to get an impression of the aesthetics and stylistic elements that are relevant to the various regions of Asia.

India and Indonesia

The Indian and Indonesian collections are displayed on the upper floor of the two-tiered pavilion. This section of the pavilion is provided with windows that allow daylight to enter. The choice was a natural one, as the artifacts primarily consist of bronze and stone statues that benefit from being viewed in natural light.

Almost all the sculptures displayed here have a religious function and significance: they are either cult images made to be used in worship at a temple or domestic shrine, or of bronze and stone statues that benefit from being viewed in natural light. The presence of metal within an object of fired clay suggests that the group was not produced using moulds, but were modelled by hand around a nucleus of plant material as a parade, evoking a caravan travelling the Silk Route. Now, they are arranged in formation, more akin to the way they are found in burial sites. Research has led to the conclusion that the Shiva group was early-20th century Japanese art and the Rijksmuseum has been extremely fortunate to be the beneficiary of a most generous gift from two collectors of that period. Jan Dees and René van der Star have donated over 130 pieces of exquisite Taisho-period textiles that give a comprehensive overview of the various techniques, types and styles.

A good example of a myth travelling east is the story of the goddess Durga killing the buffalo demon (Durga Mahishasuramardini), represented in the pavilion by an image from Bengal and another from East Java.

A number of true masterpieces were already bought during the first twenty years of the Society. Among them, the monumental dancing Shiva (h. 154 cm; ca. 1100 CE), purchased in 1939 from the Paris dealer C.T. Joos. One of the largest Chola bronzes ever made, it is now displayed as the centrepiece of the upper floor gallery. Also worth mentioning is the stone sculpture of a celestial nymph (aparaś), originating from the well-known Lakshmana temple in Khajuraho. Shiva, Pradeep (consecrated 954 CE), which was bought in 1934. The window behind allows sunlight to play on the lacework-like details of the sculpture.

The Indian section is dominated by a stone sculpture from Central Java (ca. 800-930), comprising perhaps the finest collection of this region and date in the Netherlands and perhaps in any museum outside Indonesia. The display includes five monumental sculptures carved freely from volcanic stone: two kala or monster heads, placed high above the doorway and window overlooking the stairs; two makara; and a statue of the bodhisattva Manjushri. These sculptures were sent to the Society in 1933 from the former Archaeological Service of the Netherlands East Indies and are a testament to the close personal ties between the two institutions and the involvement of several key members of the society in the restoration and reconstruction of Hindu-Buddhist temple remains on Java.

Other important statues and artefacts from Indonesia have been gradually added to this collection as a result of private donations and purchases. Foremost among these are a series of statuettes made of bronze, silver and gold, including a superb silver image of the Buddhist deity Vajrasattva. The South Indian art collection was recently enriched with the purchase of a bronze Somaikanda group (late Chola period, ca. 1100). This composition highlights another aspect of Shiva, one that contrasts with that of the violent dancer. Shiva is shown surrounded by his family: his wife Uma and their child Skanda, the god of war. Fine decorative arts in ivory, metal and glass also flourished in South and Southeast Asia. These, together with a number of ritual objects, can be seen among the artefacts from China and Japan in the ‘treasure room’ downstairs.

China and Japan

The natural focal point that the Shiva provides for the Indian collection was absent for the selection of Japanese sculptures. Although it counted some fine pieces, the existing group was one of tranquil Buddhas and bodhisattvas with serene expressions and poses – the characteristics that tend to dominate the visitor’s view of Japanese Buddhist sculpture. More dynamic deities were very much under-represented and a 2007 purchase set out to remedy this with the purchase of a pair of 14th-century temple guardian figures, which now form one of the highlights of the display on the lower floor section of the Pavilion (main image above).

A line of sculpture accentuates a long display case that during the opening months houses a selection of kimono. Over the past years, various acquisitions have thus complemented existing groups within the collection. Some additions, however, have opened up new, unrepresented areas. One such field was early-20th century Japanese art and the Rijksmuseum has been extremely fortunate to be the beneficiary of a most generous gift from two collectors of that period. Jan Dees and René van der Star have donated over 130 pieces of exquisite Taisho-period textiles that give a comprehensive overview of the various techniques, types and styles.

Menno Fitski is Curator of East Asian Art; Anna Slaczka is Curator of South Asian Art; William Southworth is Curator for Southeast Asian Art.

Notes