



< Theme: Afghanistan: Picking up the Pieces

Eight researchers assess what's lost, recovered, and revived of Afghanistan's cultural inheritance.

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NEWSLETTER

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Enhancing EU's Partnerships with Asia: Never the Twain Shall Meet?

Forum >

15 October 2001
Leiden,
The Netherlands

Adapting Kipling to a Globalized World

More than 100 years ago, in *The Ballad of East and West*, the British poet Kipling wrote a line of verse which would subsequently enter the English language almost as a cliché: "Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet."

Much has changed since then. Empires have crashed to the ground. The horror and upheaval of world wars - two very hot and one ice-cold - have come and gone. With the recent criminal acts in America we have, in a nightmarish way, come full circle: *The Ballad of East and West* is set in the vicious and war-torn Afghanistan of 1892.

But the biggest change of all, the change that has and is touching more lives than even the world wars did, is the phenomenon known as globalization.

Of course, there is nothing new about globalization. What is new about this 'second wave' of globalization is not the ideas which underpin it - belief in free trade, open markets, private ownership, property rights, and capitalism - but its scope, driven in large part by the technological progress that has been made in the intervening 100 years. Not only is globalization now reaching into a vastly greater number of countries, it is also reaching into vastly greater areas of our lives.

Increase in trade, coupled with the revolution that has taken place in transport, means the peoples of the world are coming into greater contact with each other than ever before.

In many cases (although sadly not all) this greater exposure to each other's cultures and societies has led to greater dialogue and understanding. It has even brought some semblance of stability and prosperity to areas where there was none before.

However, it would be naïve to say that globalization has been an unalloyed blessing. I am referring not just to the fact important though it is - that the globalization that has transformed the lives of many, has still left too many marooned in poverty. I am also noting the way that many of the problems governments now face have also globalized, in the sense that they do not respect national frontiers: international drugs trade, environmental degradation, global epidemics, cyber



Commissioner Chris Patten delivering the IIAS Annual Lecture in the Academy Building of Leiden University, 15 October 2001.

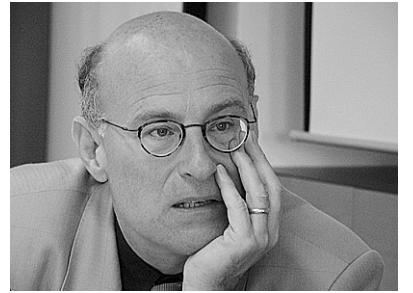
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After nearly nine years in print, we felt the Newsletter needed a facelift. We also took the opportunity to change the layout by dropping the regional designations and categorizing articles according to type. On a practical level, which perhaps more appropriately reflects the diversity of research being undertaken in Asian Studies, it was becoming increasingly more difficult to decide where to place certain articles that defied our regional structure – Asian art exhibitions worldwide, research on Asians living in Europe, how Arabs perceive Asians, and the Japanese automobile industry in Europe are but a few examples. We are also not shying away from looking at how current, and even political, events affect research. Koen De Ceuster, Stephan van Galen, Mark Meulenbeld, Kristy Phillips, and Guita Winkler of the Editorial Board launched the idea of making academic work in and on Afghanistan the focus of this issue's theme section. It would give researchers concerned with the region an opportunity to reach a broader audience to discuss, among other things, the impact of world events on their work. I later invited Ellen M. Raven (see p.16) to join the project, together with whom I worked many a late evening here at the IIAS up until the day we went to print. Her knowledge on the art and archaeology of Afghanistan and her dedication to the section profoundly influenced its eventual shape and character. On behalf of the editorial board as well as myself, I would like to thank Ellen for the incredible amount of inspiring energy and enthusiasm she lent to the undertaking. - **Tanja Chute**

A Word about the EC's New Document, Europe and Asia: A Strategic Framework for Enhanced Partnership

Director's
note >

The Commission has often stressed Asia's importance for the EU – whether economically, politically or culturally, or in relation to regional and global challenges such as poverty, environmental degradation, or democracy and human rights. However, it is difficult to deny that Europe's interest in Asia predominantly lies in the economic and political/strategic domains. For some time I have had the impression that everything not directly pertaining to these domains is considered subordinate to the Union's main interests: money and influence.



By Wim Stokhof

This preference is already clearly demonstrated on the first page of the EC's first communication *Towards a New Asia Strategy* published in 1994: "by the year 2000 one billion Asians will have significant consumer spending power and of these, 400 million will have average disposable incomes as high, if not higher, than their European or US contemporaries" (1994:1). Somewhat further on it is stated that "the Union needs as a matter of urgency to strengthen its economic presence in Asia in order to maintain its leading role in the world economy. This increase of the relative weight of Asia in the world economy will considerably reinforce the political weight of this region on the intellectual political scene. To keep Europe in its major role on the world stage, it is imperative to take account of the emergence of these new Asian Powers" (1994:1).

In the recently published document by the Commission, entitled *Europe and Asia: A Strategic Framework for Enhanced Partnership* (2001), we find the same approach to Asia. The core objective of this document, which can be considered the overall strategic framework for Europe's relations with

Asia in the coming decade, is defined as follows: "Strengthening the EU's political and economic presence across the region (i.e. Asia), and raising it to a level commensurate with the growing weight of an enlarged EU" (2001:2).

In my opinion, this straightforward definition clearly illustrates the quintessence of the Commission's Asia Strategy; it seems to be drafted from a Euro-centric point of view – the economic and political/strategic interests of the Union prevail. Other dimensions – for instance, the cultural domain – are once again not mentioned at all.

In order to achieve its core objective, the Commission formulated a set of six general objectives and priorities. Unfortunately, the paper is very brief in explaining the core objective per se or the relationship between it and the set of general objectives considered to be instrumental in achieving the central aim: strengthening the EU's political and economic presence across the region, etc. In fact, this set of objectives very much resembles a shopping list, or a list of good intentions, to please as many readers (Europeans and Asians) as possible. The selection criteria, or even their cohesion, for that matter, are not always obvious and, sometimes, they seem only partly compatible with the core objective, and at other times even counterproductive. The six general objectives have been actualized into "concrete action points" defined by the specific conditions of the four pertinent sub-regions (South Africa, Southeast Asia, Northeast Asia and Australasia [sic]) and of the region as a whole.

On this page is a list of the six general objectives and priorities; each

objective is followed by what the EC calls 'concrete action points' in the political, economic and social dimensions. They are intended to be relevant for the region as a whole.

As I said, the proposed instruments to implement the general objectives to achieve the core objective do not always seem the most appropriate. For instance, enhancing the Union's economic and political presence in the region will not in certain countries easily combine with the Union's intention to lobby for human rights and good governance.

Promoting the use of the Euro internationally while, at the same time, promoting the development of less prosperous countries of the region will probably raise some questions in Asian quarters; the same can be said about the Commission's intention to try to safeguard the global environment together with its Asian partners.

With respect to the sub-regions, the Commission's definition of Asia – defined as an area extending from Afghanistan to Japan and from China to New Zealand, plus all points in between – is quite controversial. The inclusion of Australia and New Zealand is unusual. I agree with David Camroux (*EIAS Bulletin* 5 (10/11):4) that the EC's proposal to invite those two countries to become Asian Members will only dilute the ASEAN process. I do not agree with him that South Asia should be excluded – the subcontinent's problems will undoubtedly complicate the ASEM process, but a billion Asians can not be ignored.

Actually, we would have expected a more elaborate and overall balanced

vision from the Commission on Asia-Europe relations. On their position in a tripolar world, more reflections on such an extremely complex and diverse region as Asia is, on the relations between the states, considered to belong to Asia and their growing interdependence.

Without going into the many more points that need to be made, positive as well as negative ones, I'll restrict myself to two further important observations:

The first concerns ASEAN (the Association of Southeast Asian Nations). In the Commission's recent communication, India, Japan, and China are given special emphasis; however, the Southeast Asian countries are lumped together. I sense a tendency in Brussels to underestimate the use of bilateral relations between the EU and the individual Southeast Asian countries, and, indeed, even a certain doubt about the efficaciousness of the regional groupings/regional multi-lateral constructions ASEAN or ARF (ASEAN Regional Forum). At the moment, ASEAN can not realistically be expected to play a crucial role in shaping a new regional order. Its member states are trying to cope with another grave economic

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Attention! >

Important Message to Subscribers:

Your subscriber's information has been included in our database. As this database needs to be updated regularly, we will be sending you a print-out of your information with our next issue, Number 28, which will be released this summer. Upon receipt of this form, we kindly request you to check these data and fill in any alterations and/or additions on the enclosed mutation form. Thank you in advance for your cooperation. < Kind regards, IIAS

Erratum >

In IIAS Newsletter 26, p. 23, Kathleen Taylor, author of the book under review "Sir John Woodroffe, Tantra, and Bengal: An Indian Soul in a European Body?", is referred to throughout the body of the text as Kathleen Turner. We apologize for the error.



IIAS
International Institute for Asian Studies

The International Institute for Asian Studies is a postdoctoral research centre based in Leiden and Amsterdam. The main objective of the IIAS is to encourage Asian Studies in the Humanities and the Social Sciences (ranging from linguistics and anthropology to political science, law, environment and development studies) and to promote national and international cooperation in these fields. The IIAS was established in 1993 on the initiative of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, Universiteit Leiden, Universiteit Amsterdam, and the Free University Amsterdam. It is financed mainly by the Netherlands Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sciences.

Based in the Netherlands, the Institute acts as an (inter)national mediator, bringing various parties together for the enhancement of Asian Studies. In keeping with the Netherlands' tradition of transferring goods and ideas, the IIAS works as a clearing-house of knowledge and information. This entails activities such as providing information services, constructing an international network, and setting up international cooperative projects and research programmes. In this way, the IIAS functions as a window on Europe for non-Europeans and contributes to the cultural rapprochement between Asia and Europe.

Research fellows at a post-PhD level are temporarily employed by or affiliated to the Institute, either within the framework of a collaborative research programme, or on an individual basis. The IIAS organizes seminars, workshops, and conferences, publishes a newsletter (circulation approximately 22,000 copies), and has established a database which contains information about researchers and current research in the field of Asian Studies within Europe and worldwide. A *Guide to Asian Studies in Europe*, a printed version of parts of this database, was published in 1998. The Institute also has its own server and Internet site to which a growing number of Institutes related to Asian Studies is linked.

Since 1994 the IIAS has been appointed to run the secretariat of the European Science Foundation Asia Committee (Strasbourg). Together with the Committee, the IIAS shares the objective of improving the international cooperation in the field of Asian Studies (additional information can be acquired at the IIAS).

In 1997 the Strategic Alliance for Asian Studies was established: an international cooperation between the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies (NIAS), Copenhagen, and the IIAS. The Institute of Asian Affairs (IfA), Hamburg, the European Institute for Asian Studies (EIAS), Brussels, and the Asia-Europe Centre (AEC) have since joined the Alliance. The Asia Alliance was set up to enhance research on (contemporary) Asia and to create networks in Asia and Europe with academic and non-academic institutions and actors.

Upon the initiative of the IIAS, and in close cooperation with NIAS, the Programme for Europe-Asia Research Links (PEARL) was established in Seoul in October 1998. It is a network of researchers from Asia and Europe, i.e. from the ASEM (Asia-Europe Meetings) member countries, representing leading Asian and European Studies institutes. PEARL believes that promotion of Asia-Europe research cooperation ought to be an integral part of the ASEM dynamics. The IIAS provides the secretariat for PEARL. <

relapse, set back within a period of only four years; they have to straighten out their domestic problems, and ASEAN should, of course, reconsider its "ASEAN way of consensus politics". I must admit, after the first crisis, the economic and political weight shifted to Northeast Asia: Japan and China are the key players. It would be most unfortunate for that matter to downgrade the relation of the Union with the individual Southeast Asian countries of ASEAN. The Commission could consider special programmes for assisting its Southeast Asian counterparts, with whom it has had a constant relationship since the 1970s.

The second of my observations concerns ASEM. The Asia-Europe Meeting has been designed as an informal process of dialogue and cooperation between the EU member-states, the EC, and ten Asian countries. ASEM's activities support the three main "pillars" of its approach, namely, (1.) economic cooperation, (2.) political dialogue and (3.) the rest, i.e. cultural and intellectual cooperation. It will not surprise you to hear that most progress is made in the first "pillar". As for the political dialogue, it is a slow and sensitive process; but the third pillar, cooperation in social, cultural and civil domains, is the most underdeveloped of the ASEM process.

In fact, few European countries show real interest in ASEM. Even after September 11, this has not really changed. However, as I see it, ASEM is a unique vehicle for rapprochement between Europe and Asia. It allows for a wide range of initiatives – also in the cultural, intellectual and civil domains. ASEM should now, more than ever, become an instrument for better mutual understanding. Fortunately, the Commission is the motor behind the European side of ASEM and it should be praised for its endeavours; however, the Union should do more with regard to the third "pillar." It should not underestimate the importance of cooperation in the cultural and civil domains and especially the long-term impact of joint inter-regional research on topics of common interest such as environmental degradation, global epidemics, terrorism, migration, social welfare, poverty reduction, etc. The sixth framework programme could, for instance, support and embrace joint Asia-Europe research initiatives for the benefit of all aspects of a sustainable Asia-Europe partnership. ◀

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The Six General Objectives and Priorities

1 Further strengthen our mutual trade and investment flows with the region; Action Points:

- Work to strengthen our bilateral economic relations, reducing non-tariff barriers to trade and facilitating investment, and helping build a pro-development policy climate;
- support cooperation between economic operators in our two regions;
- strengthen our policy dialogue on economic and financial issues, and promote the use of the Euro internationally;
- continue to ensure favourable market access for the poorest developing countries;
- recognize the role of transport and energy in our trade relations as well as the impact of both sectors on the environment.

2 Strengthen our engagement with Asia in the political and security fields; Action Points:

- strengthen our engagement on regional and global security issues;
- strengthen our dialogue and cooperation on conflict prevention issues;
- and enhance our cooperation on justice and home affairs issues.

3 Demonstrate our effectiveness as a partner in reducing poverty in Asia; Action Points:

- strengthen our dialogue on social policy issues;
- while completing the reform of our own aid management.

4 Contribute to the protection of human rights and to the spreading of democracy, good governance, and the rule of law throughout the region; In contributing to democratization, good governance and the rule of law, and respect for human rights we should strengthen our bilateral and multilateral dialogue with our Asian partners, encourage civil society dialogue, and ensure that human rights and governance issues are mainstreamed in our cooperation activities.

5 Build global partnerships with key Asian partners, working together to address the global opportunities and challenges which face us all and to strengthen our joint efforts on global environment and security issues; Action Points:

- Strengthen the work of the United Nations and its different agencies;
- strengthen the open international trading system embodied in the WTO;
- safeguard the global environment.

6 Strengthen further the mutual awareness between our two regions. Action Points:

- Strengthen and expand the network of EC Delegations across the region;
- work to strengthen educational and cultural exchanges between our two regions, and to promote enhanced civil society contacts and intellectual exchanges. ◀

Chris Patten with Professor Rikki Kersten(l) and Dr Paul Lim (m). On the left in the background: Professor Joris Voorhoeve, President of the Netherlands Association for International Affairs (NGIZ).



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crime and, of course, terrorism. The shocking events in New York, which led to the deaths of thousands of people from more than sixty countries, from Australia to Yemen, are perhaps the ultimate, grim expression of what I have previously called the dark side of globalization.

In this context, is it really credible to claim we are forever condemned to glower at each other from the turrets of our inviolate cultural fortresses? To continue insisting that East and West shall never meet? That they will remain totally alien to each other, separated by a gulf of misunderstanding, destined for some sort of clash of civilizations?

Some seem to think so. This time last year, Professor Deepak Lal stood before this very institute and offered an astonishing worldview which airily dismissed liberty as a Western value, rejected the argument that ideas like democracy, human rights and environmental standards are universal, and warned that if the West tied what he called its 'moral crusade' too closely to the processes of globalization, there could be a backlash. I reject this attitude firmly, and not just because of my well-known views on the universality of principles like democracy. In light of the terrible events in America, the time has come to dispense with the emollient words which one would normally use to relativize and excuse such nonsense. I will be blunt about this: those who espouse the idea that civilizations should never mix, that concepts like human rights, democracy and environmental protection are alien tools of Western neo-imperialism are not only wrong, but dangerous. They play into the hands of demagogues who would like nothing better than to see waves of violence and destruction engulf all those countries, East and West, which hold such values dear, since they stand as constant reminders of the falseness and aridity of their own miserable worldview. Those who doubt that this is the true intention of such demagogues need only look at the video recording released by Osama bin Laden last week (7-8/10), where he makes it clear he is trying to provoke a clash of civilizations - or, as Professor Lal breathlessly described it in his lecture, an 'emerging confrontation between Asia and the West'.

But let us set aside for a moment the events of the last month, and imagine I am addressing these thoughts to you in the balmy and more innocent days of August. Would Professor Lal's comments be any more acceptable?

More than once during my days in Hong Kong I had to listen to some distinguished person or another holding forth on the uniqueness of Asian values. For such speakers, Asian values almost invariably seemed to exclude democracy, human rights, civil liberties and other such noxious ideas identified with the degenerate West. What sustained this nonsense was not a new historical, cultural or sociological analysis, but the ringing tills of the Asian boom, the so-called miracle, which was soon to come crashing down on their heads. Had these speakers never heard of Aung San Suu Kyi in Burma, I wondered, a very Asian inspiration to freedom lovers across the whole world? Had they forgotten the words of Malaysia's Deputy Prime Minister, Anwar Ibrahim, who - and maybe there is an example of what some leaders regard as 'Asian values'? - is now languishing in a prison cell? In 1994 he said: 'to say that freedom is Western or un-Asian is to offend our own traditions as well as our forefathers who gave their lives in the struggle against tyrannies and injustices.'

And what about the meeting of more than one hundred Asian non-governmental organizations in Bangkok the year before, which concluded that: 'universal human rights standards are rooted in many cultures', which hammered the point home by adding: 'While advocating cultural pluralism, those

cultural practices which derogate from universally accepted human rights... must not be tolerated'?

Europe, which has a relatively better record in recent years in the field of human rights compared to some Asian countries, has no right to feel smug or morally superior about this. Not very long ago at all, democracy, civil liberties and human rights were a rare commodity here too. But that is the whole point. Until recently, so-called 'Western values' were almost unheard of across whole swathes of Europe, from Portugal to Poland, and from Estonia to Macedonia. So just how 'Western' can they be? As the great Indian economist and Nobel Prize winner Amartya Sen has pointed out, when European nations still believed in the divine right of kings, Indian emperors such as the Moghul Emperor, Akbar, were already practising tolerance and defending diversity in India.

Of course, Kipling himself was a talented writer with a more subtle and complex view of the world and humanity than he is often given credit for. I am sure if he were here with us today he would also reject the notion of East and West as impermeable cultural blocs. After all, his ballad depicts the differences between East and West simply in order to emphasize later the universality of human values. The lines I quoted to you at the start of this lecture are well known. But how many know the lines which follow?:

"But there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed, nor Birth, When two strong men stand face to face, tho' they come from the ends of the earth!"

Unfortunately, the two strong men in question, the Colonel's son and Kamal, were forced to commit daring acts of almost suicidal bravery before they were able to overcome their cultural differences and respect each other, and I admit that this is not an altogether practical proposition in the modern world. If it were, I would not be quite so keen to attend summits and meetings of international organizations.

In a globalized world, we simply must accept that equal and closer partnerships are the best, perhaps the only, way to ensure wealth, health, security, and better mutual understanding for all our peoples. We need to work together to tackle the new types of problem that the dark side of globalization throws up.

That is why, in 1994, the Commission published a substantial policy document on EU-Asia relations, *Towards a New Asia Strategy*, which underlined Asia's importance for Europe and called for a more balanced and comprehensive approach to the whole region. There is no doubt that the 1994 Asia Strategy served us well. Since that date, our political dialogue with the region has expanded enormously, with new Summit dialogues with Asian partners in the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM), and with China, India, Japan, and (soon) Korea. There is also our Ministerial dialogue with ASEAN, which now includes EU participation in the ASEAN Regional Forum. In addition, the EU has continued to make an active contribution to peace and security in the region, for example in our efforts to help establish democratic government in Cambodia and East Timor and our contribution to KEDO. We have also given considerable support for refugees in and from Afghanistan - a topic I wish to return to later.

Trade with Asia has also expanded substantially in recent years, despite the major impact of the Asian financial crisis. In 2000, Asia accounted for 21.2 per cent of EU exports, making the region our third largest regional trading partner - ahead of the Mediterranean, South and Central America, the Gulf, and ACP countries combined (17.1 per cent).

Even more remarkable is the increase in importance of Europe's market for Asia. After the financial crisis of 1997, we promised we would keep our markets open to Asian

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(also see p. 51 in this issue – "A Giant's Step to Sri Lanka")

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exports and resist domestic calls for protectionism. We kept our word, and one result has been a ballooning of the EU's trade deficit with Asia from € 13.3 billion in 1996 to more than € 121 billion in 2000.

Finally EC cooperation programmes with the developing countries of Asia have also grown moderately in recent years, averaging some € 410 million per year in the period 1996-2000. Overall, the EU and its Member States account for some 30 per cent of global overseas development aid going to Asia - after Japan (50 per cent) but well ahead of the USA (9 per cent).

But if a week is a long time in politics, as British Prime Minister Harold Wilson famously said, seven years is an eternity. Against this background of ever increasing political and economic bonds between our two regions, the world stage on which these developments have played themselves out has also changed enormously. In Europe, preparations for the single currency, enlargement and the development of the Common Foreign and Security Policy and the Rapid Reaction Force have all increased the EU's importance as a global actor. In Asia, the financial crisis in 1997 has had a major economic, social and even political impact. Our growing interdependence itself calls for stronger partnerships to address both the challenges and opportunities that we both face.

That is why last month (September 2001), seven years after the original Asia Strategy document, the Commission adopted a Communication setting out a new strategic framework for EU relations with Asia during the coming decade.

The Communication sets out six overarching objectives which give overall EU-Asia relations a more coherent framework. It then provides specific action points to focus EU initiatives in Asia's sub-regions and regional fora. These action points also aim at improving relations with individual countries in each region by addressing bilateral issues. I am confident that this will allow the EU to develop a forward-looking agenda which will strengthen and raise its profile across Asia to a level commensurate with the growing global weight of an enlarged Union.

So what are these six key objectives? First, we have to develop our trade and investment relationship, not least by getting Asian countries to agree on the need for another multi-lateral trade round.

The second objective is to promote the development of less prosperous countries in the region. The EU can be proud of its record here, with the bold trade initiatives and 30 per cent share of all foreign development assistance in Asia already mentioned. But more could be done to address the root causes of poverty. For example, at the EU-India Summit in Delhi next month (Nov), we will be signing an agreement to contribute € 200 million to Indian efforts to make elementary education available for every Indian child by the end of the decade. This raises to more than € 0.5 billion the sums committed by the EU to the social sector generally in India since 1995.

A third objective is for the EU to contribute more to peace and security in Asia by broadening our engagement with the area. More could be done to support conflict prevention efforts, strengthen our cooperation in the field of justice and home affairs, and play a more proactive role in regional cooperation fora such as the ASEAN Regional Forum.

Peace and security are more likely to flourish in regions where free and fair elections are the norm, where administrations are not blighted by corruption and where laws are not subordinated to the day-to-day whims of those in power. So spreading democracy, good governance, and the rule of law is our fourth objective. Yes, this includes upholding the universality and indivisibility of human rights. It also includes encouraging the development of civil society and promoting a broader civil society dialogue between our two regions.

All this can only make our societies stronger, providing a firmer base for our fifth objective, which is to build global partnerships and alliances with Asian countries so we can shape global agendas and better tackle the new types of problems which beset us all. This should include improving our cooperation in the United Nations and the World Trade Organisation, but also working together to tackle environmental and health challenges, and to fight international crime and terrorism. We should also exploit the opportunities offered by new technologies, help to diminish the digital divide, and reinforce scientific and technological cooperation.

Finally, and this has taken on a sudden, grave importance in an atmosphere where madmen are straining to provoke some apocalyptic clash of civilizations, we should strengthen awareness of Europe in Asia, and vice versa. This is not an optional extra. This is about promoting genuine educational, scientific, cultural - and yes, political - exchanges at all levels. Of course, the EU cannot force Asia to promote itself here, but we have taken the lead by, for example, launching a scholarship scheme in China, funding cultural programmes across Asia, and extending the network of European Commission delegation offices in the region to Malaysia, Singapore, Cambodia, Laos, and Nepal. It is my sincere hope that the nations of Asia will reciprocate these efforts - they have much to share.

And what about those more specific action points adapted to the different regions of Asia? These reflect the underlying diversity of that massive continent, and will no doubt change and be adapted as things evolve. But it is possible to discern key issues today, to which emphasis must be given. China, more than any other country, has been subject to a maelstrom of change in recent years, which has led to the development of new areas of shared concern with, for example, illegal immigration, food hygiene, and genetically modified organisms all rising up the agenda. Combined with the fact that China is the world's second biggest consumer of energy and the third largest producer, and that the EU is now the largest foreign direct investor there, it is evident we have moved far beyond the trade and development themes which have traditionally formed the basis of EU-China relations since their establishment in 1975.

It is important to capitalize on this. Our political dialogue with China is constantly increasing, and could go further still. We should work together with other international partners to encourage a rapprochement between the two Koreas. Burma, as a major drug producer and potential source of instability, should concern us both. The maturing of our relationship also allows franker discussions of our differences. This is the basis for the human rights dialogue we have pursued since 1996.

Of course, 11 September changed everything. If we were drafting the new Communication today, we would say rather more than we have about Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the problems faced by the central Asian region.

I was in Islamabad the other day, and the EU is obviously pleased that the Pakistani government, faced with a choice between siding with the modern, pluralist world or with the enemies of decency and international cooperation, unhesitatingly chose the former. We are also pleased that in August, President Musharraf set out in such detail his plans for a return to democracy next year. We have in the lock a cooperative agreement with Pakistan. There has been no progress on it for two years. We are now prepared to sign that agreement, although obviously the process of ratification would be affected were Pakistan to abandon the path to democracy (which I hope will not happen). The agreement also includes the usual suspension and human rights clauses which indicate the priority we attach, in any relationship, to pluralist values.

We have also been considering how we can help Pakistan to deal with the impact of refugees on its society - a burden it has been carrying, largely unnoticed, for almost two decades - and how we can restore effective, long-term, development cooperation.



Chris Patten with Professor Wim Stokhof (r).

Wim Vreeburg

Clearly, the return of democracy in Pakistan also presents a challenge to President Musharraf, not least because the sorts of democracy frequently practised in the past in Pakistan were not always characterized by transparency, efficiency and a determination to meet the needs of the whole community.

But the future of Pakistan is only one of the issues that we will need to address more energetically in the wake of what we are all committed to making a successful operation to uproot terrorism. We will also need to facilitate the establishment of a broad-based government in Afghanistan and then to give it the sort of long-term development assistance which will enable it to survive. The EU has already provided more than € 450 million in humanitarian assistance to Afghanistan since 1991, making us the second biggest donor in the world to this battered country. But more must be done, by ourselves and the international community, if the people of Afghanistan are to have any chance of recovering from the barren rubble to which their beautiful country has been reduced, thanks to a ferocious medieval tyranny and long years of conflict.

However, encouraging a political settlement in Afghanistan should not mean imposing a government. Nor should it mean meeting all the demands of neighbouring countries which have often used Afghanistan to fight their proxy wars. If that happens, then the cycle of violence will only continue.

Beyond Afghanistan, we will need to look at developing a more coherent and sensible regional approach in the Central Asian Republics, focusing in particular on helping them in the campaign against drugs and assisting them in the development of adequate border controls.

Of course, one country in the region provides a beacon of optimism. It is the largest democracy in the world, and it has been leading the way in the fight against terrorism by sponsoring an anti-terrorism resolution at the United Nations. India, like China, will always be central to EU relations with Asia. As a major trading partner and an important regional and global player and a country that shares many of our values, it would be utterly crazy to ignore her. Building on this relationship will pay dividends for both sides. That is why the Communication calls for an enhanced partnership with India on global issues, alongside strengthened bilateral cooperation in the political, economic, and social spheres.

The growing links which exist between Asia and the West, links rooted in our shared, common values, make us fit to face down those who want to destroy those values. The Commission's Communication on a new strategic framework for Asia builds on this. The unprecedented international cooperation we are seeing today is not only strengthening those bonds within the international community, but creating new windows of opportunity as old suspicions and barriers are cast aside at an astonishing rate.

A strong East and West; borders no longer acting as barriers in a world where distance is decreasing; a partnership of the decent against those who would bring us low. Was globalization, with all the good and bad it brings with it, necessary to achieve this? Maybe. But Kipling - without airline travel, the Internet and satellite television - would have understood the challenges we face. And, I think, he would have approved of the way we are seeking to overcome it. <

Questions >

IIAS Annual Lecture: Question Round

To read the transcripts of the question round which followed the IIAS Annual Lecture by Commissioner Patten, please see the IIAS Website at: <http://www.iias.nl/iiasn/27/general/qround.html>



Editors' note >

This is a shortened version of the Annual Lecture delivered by Chris Patten. For the full text, please see the IIAS website at: <http://www.iias.nl/iiasn/27/general/patten.html>.

An Interview with Professor Peter Chen-main Wang, The Fifth European Chair of Chinese Studies

People >
East Asia

While speaking with Professor Peter Chen-main Wang, Professor of History at National Chung Cheng University in Taiwan and the fifth holder of the European Chair for Chinese Studies at Leiden University, I was struck by his broad academic interests and the consistency in his perspective throughout a series of Sino-foreign studies. Wang seems to attempt to seek the meaning of Chinese society as a chain of dynamic reactions to the outside world, e.g. the Manchu rule in the seventeenth century, Marshall's mediation from 1945 to 1947, and Christian ideas in the twentieth century.

By Masayuki Sato

In the field of Chinese history, Professor Wang is a widely-recognized specialist on the Ming-Qing period for his research on, for example, a careful and creative articulation of the political role of Hong Chengchou in Ming-Qing dynastic change. This research was crystallized into his monograph: *The Life and Career of Hung Ch'eng-ch'ou (Hong Chengchou): Public Service in a Time of Dynastic Change* (AAS Monograph Series, 1999), in which he analyzes how one Ming intellectual finally discarded his loyalty to his own "civilized" Han tribe and cooperated with an outside force, the Manchu tribe. Professor Wang is also exploring the history of Christianity in China. Wang argues that Christianity has long been conceived of as a foreign religion and, accordingly, has been understood in association with Western power, which would influence Chinese society negatively. He is presently giving a seminar on "The History of Christianity in China" at the Sinological Institute of the Universiteit Leiden and is also organizing an international conference on this subject taking place from 6-8 June 2002. Moreover, he is almost finished with his monograph, *Marshall and China*.

Dynastic Transformation from the Ming to the Qing and Hong Chengchou

Let us start with your monograph on Hong Chengchou. Can you explain what aspect in Ming-Qing history you shed light on through your research on his political life?

In its last period, the Ming dynasty was in a desperate situation; it was plagued by a corrupt, self-seeking court, bureaucratic factionalism, widespread public discontent, open rebellion, and numerous other problems of an economic and political nature. Under those circumstances, it is reasonable to assume that at some point in time Hong Chengchou concluded that the Ming cause was hopeless and that the nascent Qing Dynasty represented the only reasonable alternative for the restoration of orderly rule.

But Hong's decision to leave the Ming Dynasty was inconsistent with Chinese traditional moral values.

Yes. In the past, the concept of loyalty was a dominant factor in judging scholar-officials in China. Any official who crossed over to serve the new dynasty would naturally be considered a traitor, one of the most notorious categories of Chinese officialdom. In the case of Hong Chengchou, his sense of loyalty, or his lack of it, poses an intriguing question. Many individuals have been puzzled by the question of how a

senior public official with a consistent record of personal honesty and integrity could seemingly abandon those principles and join forces with an alien people bent on the conquest of his homeland.

What do you think is the reason Hong finally decided to join the Qing?

Hong seems to have taken the practical view that dynasties, native or foreign, come and go, but the native culture endures. It was a rich and ancient one. If an alien people accepted the pre-eminent values of that culture, they might become a part of "China." Throughout his career in the Qing period, it is clear that he persisted in adopting a Confucian-style administration. Hong's contributions to history are not limited to his perception of a changing world or his success in fulfilling his personal ambitions in troubled times. Instead, he can be seen to represent those individuals who attempt to restore peace and stability to a war-ravaged society and thus realize the Confucian ideal.

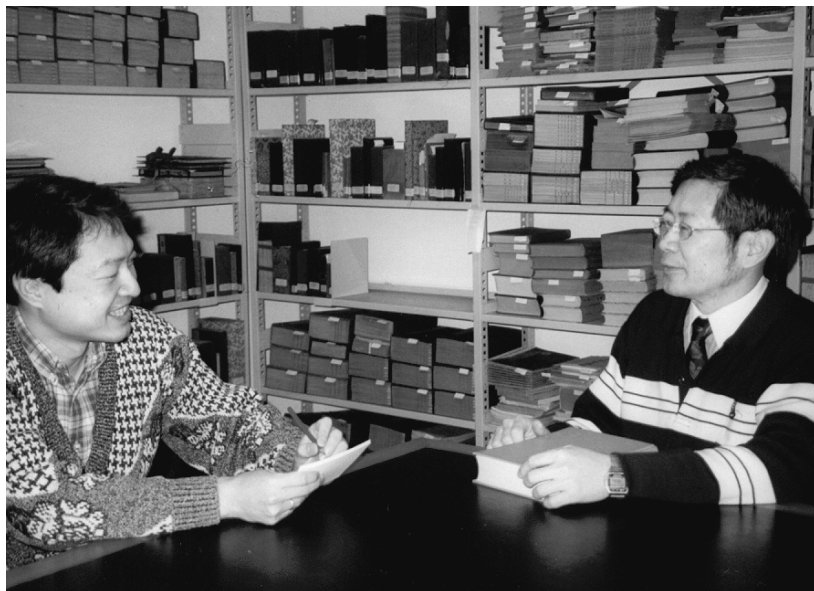
It seems that he was not the only statesman-official who decided to follow the Qing during that period.

I think that for many of the Ming intellectuals, it was not simply a case of self-preservation and political expediency that they discarded their loyalty to the Ming. As with Hong, their joining the new government seemed to present the best chance of serving China and its people in a time of national crisis. Given that Hong's active participation in the Qing enterprise was always as a Confucian gentleman and man of action, one can conclude that he was motivated by an overriding concern for the welfare of China and its people. In this way, the example of Hong Chengchou may also shed some light on the motives and experiences of other Chinese scholar-officials who chose to serve the new dynasty. It is perplexing that so few of them, Hong included, sought to explain or clarify their reasons for changing their political allegiance.

Christianity in China

You are currently giving a seminar on "The History of Christianity in China" at the Sinological Institute at the Universiteit Leiden. Can you describe points that you want to make in the seminar?

This course will serve to introduce the student to the development of the Christian church in China, the interaction between the church and the host society, and the role of the church and its missionaries as agents of East-West cultural exchange. It will begin with the coming of Nestorian Christianity to China during the Tang Dynasty, continue with the story of the early Christ-



Dr Masayuki Sato (l) and Professor Peter Wang (r) at the Sinological Institute, the Universiteit Leiden.

ian missionaries, and conclude with a description of the Christian Church in contemporary China and Taiwan.

What kind of issues do you address in the seminar?

I am focusing on the following four topics: First, how Christian missionaries at various times sought to spread the Gospel in an alien culture. This will include discussions of missionary perceptions of Chinese culture and the local environment and of their methods and strategies in spreading the faith. Second, indigenous perceptions of the Christian religion and the messengers of this faith, and the various responses of the Chinese people to foreign beliefs and cultures. Third, special attention will be paid to matters concerning Chinese converts to the new religion and to the founding of Christian churches. And, fourth, how did foreign missionaries and their Chinese converts respond to the differences between various Christian denominations, both Catholic and Protestant, and those existing between Christianity and various indigenous religions?

Various questions will be explored, such as: to what extent did Chinese converts accept these foreign beliefs, and how did they accommodate themselves within the larger culture to this foreign religion? How did they maintain a balance between this new system of belief and national ideals? How and when did they assume the task of spreading their new beliefs among their countrymen? And, also, how did the foreign missionaries respond to the founding of native churches independent of their supervision and control?

The title for the upcoming conference you are organizing refers to "Contextualization of Christianity in China". What kinds of issues should receive focus according to your concept of "contextualization"?

A lack of contextualization of Christianity is a widely accepted explanation

for the slow development of the Christian faith in China. When the Christian churches in China were forced to adopt a three-self method (self-administration, self-support, and self-propagation) in the 1950s, Christianity was still viewed in many Chinese eyes as a "foreign religion" with various connections with foreign governments. Thus, the foreign flavour of the Christian churches and the differences between Christianity and Chinese culture have often been blamed for the "slow" development of Christianity in China.

What does history tell us about the political role of Christianity in China?

I do not think that Chinese Christians are eagerly interested in politics. In fact, as far as I know, Chinese Christians have been under close watch by the government. That is especially true for the underground churches (or house churches). One of the most spectacular characteristics of the house churches in China is that their church members do their best not to get involved in any political issues. I believe that the Chinese Communists are very suspicious of any large gathering, especially of religious activities. As we all know, any religious gatherings, once being defined as heterodoxy, would be seriously suppressed.

The Marshall Plan and the Modern Sino-US Relationship

Can you contextualize the role of the "Marshall Plan" in modern Sino-US history?

From the last months of World War II to the completion of Marshall's instruction in early December 1945, the American policy on China consistently tried to create a "strong, united and democratic" China, an impressive and noble ideal. Yet few Americans at the decision-making level appreciated what China most needed as she fought for survival. Instead, they pursued their

idealistic quest for world order without fully comprehending China's situation, which meant that American officials never found a satisfactory solution to China's problems.

What did the US learn from this "failure"?

Marshall's failure to achieve his goals in mediating the struggle between the Nationalist Government and the Chinese Communists has three things in common with what is happening now between the US, China, and Taiwan. First, although the US does not now wish to become embroiled in peace talks between the Republic China and the People's Republic of China, it is caught between Taiwan and mainland China politically, economically, militarily, and culturally. Secondly, when Marshall acted as mediator in China, control of arms sales and suspension of economic assistance were used as the methods of control over the Chinese governments, just as they are today. And, thirdly, Marshall's task in China was to make China a strong, united, and democratic country. In other words, the US was greatly concerned with China's internal affairs. Today, the US is also very concerned for democracy and human rights in China.

The Socio-political Dynamism in the History of Sino-foreign Relationship

I would like to end this interview with a question about your broad academic vision: What is the common thread in your perspective on these three 'different' subjects, i.e. Hong Chengchou, Chinese Christianity, and the modern Sino-American relationship?

Basically, we can see the above three subjects as a series of "stimulus-response" activities. In the case of Hong Chengchou, he helped the Manchus to conquer China by guiding the Manchus into a Chinese cultural norm. It seems that, to Hong, the Manchu leader could be an accepted Chinese emperor as long as he adopted the Chinese way to rule China. Christianity, although being considered a foreign religion, has been introduced into China in different ways. Some missionaries tried to cover it with a Chinese garment, some tried to integrate it with Chinese culture, and some refused to make any change in Western interpretations. Thus, the Christian stimuli aroused different responses from the Chinese. As for Marshall's mediation, the Chinese context was not ready for an American-ideal coalition government and democracy, there was no hope at all for his mediation.

Thank you very much and enjoy the rest of your stay at IIAS and in the Netherlands!

Thank you! <

Dr Masayuki Sato is currently Chiang Ching-kuo post-doctoral fellow and Lecturer at Sinological Institute, Leiden University. The first of a two-part series on his own research can be found on p.20 in this issue. E-mail: m.sato@let.leidenuniv.nl

Editors' note >

Professor Wang's article on his research regarding Christianity in China can be seen on p.22 of this issue, and information about the upcoming conference organized by him can be found on p.59.

The Chinese province Xinjiang accounts for one-sixth of China's landmass and holds vast deposits of minerals and oil.



Uighur Muslims and Separatism in China:

A Looming Dilemma

Forum >
East Asia

Although often ignored in Western media, the Uighur Muslims of China have seriously challenged Beijing's political and strategic control of its western region. Culturally, socially, and religiously distinct from the rest of the People's Republic, the Uighurs will present China with one of its most prominent security threats within the next decade because of growing separatist violence, nationalist sentiment, and cross-border contacts with other Muslims.

By Sean Yom

The Uighur Muslims constitute one of the most distinct minorities in China. They write in Arabic script, speak a Turkic language, practice Sunni Islam, and are racially of Turkic stock. With almost nine million individuals as reported in the 2000 census, most residing in the Xinjiang province, the Uighur people boast a rich culture and history that dates back at least 2,500 years. This history has recently been marked by struggle against Chinese control. Separatist Uighurs staged rebellions in 1933 and 1944, proclaiming their fledgling state the "East Turkistan Republic". After World War Two, Mao Zedong's communists, struggling to win the civil war, guaranteed the Uighurs complete autonomy if they helped them to defeat the Nationalists. When the war ended in 1949, the promise bore no such fruit: instead, the Communist regime invaded Xinjiang and encouraged mass immigration of Han Chinese in an attempt to both dilute the ethnic unity of the province and to spur economic development and stability. As a result, while in 1949 the Uighurs made up over 90 per cent of the population, the 2000 census placed them at barely 47 per cent with the Han Chinese as 40.61 per cent since 1990, the Han Chinese population has increased by 31.64 per cent, twice the growth rate of the Uighurs.

During the Great Leap Forward (1958-1961) and the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), the Communist government repressed any forms of ethnic or religious identity assertion. Mosques and Quranic schools closed, religious leaders were arrested or harassed, and in government literature Islam was characterized as a primitive practice. Uighurs enjoyed an uneasy renaissance in the 1980s, as a laxer government policy towards national minorities allowed them to express their Turkic or Islamic identity more freely, although popular literature was still subject to intense scrutiny and censorship.

In the last decade, an increasing number of Uighur groups have called for secession from China, mobilizing support with rhetoric evoking ethnic nationalism, Islamic faith, and titular rights to self-determination. Such separatists have staged violent activities and uprisings in support of their emancipatory ideal. In fact, one of the leading figures of the Tiananmen Square student demonstrations in Beijing in June 1989 was a young Uighur man named Wu'er Kaixi, although the Western media failed to highlight either his Uighur heritage or his Islamic faith. In the last nine years, Uighur nationalists have orchestrated bombings, assassinations, riots, rallies, and kidnappings. In February 1997, huge protests broke out near the border of Kazakhstan, and the ensuing military and police response killed as many as 300 Uighurs. A series of Uighur-claimed bus bombings followed, including one in Beijing; this marked the first terrorist attack in Beijing since the revolution in 1949. Death threats and assassinations have targeted communist officials or sympathizers in the region, while a growing number of peaceful demonstrations (with occasional fringe violence) cloud the urban climate with feelings of hostility and resentment between the Han Chinese and Uighur populations.

This restlessness has resulted in several campaigns by Beijing to repress separatist sentiment (called "splittism" in government documents) through mass arrests, in which thousands of suspected "splittists" have been arbitrarily detained and incarcerated. In addition, the regional government has

passed laws and decrees hindering the construction of new mosques, banning speeches or religious gatherings deemed subversive, and attempting to replace local imams (religious leaders) with those trained by the government. In 1996, Beijing announced a national "Strike Hard" campaign against crime. In Xinjiang, this amounted to a special operation to root out Uighur nationalists and others suspected not of any violations of the law, but rather of having "splittist" sympathies. Private Islamic schools were closed under the pretence that they taught revolutionary ideas, authorities attempted to discourage Uighurs leaving for the *Hajj*; and all religious writings, recordings, and videos required approval from authorities. That enervating crackdown has extended into today's authoritarian atmosphere. Unlike Tibet, whose fight for independence has been celebrated in the Western media, the Uighurs' situation has not attracted global attention. And unlike Tibetans, Uighurs do not have an organizational or spiritual leader; also, the West has been more accepting of Tibet's Buddhism than of Xinjiang's Islam.

In forecasting China's imminent crisis, the Uighur dilemma should be analysed in a geostrategic context. Clearly, China needs Xinjiang. The province accounts for one-sixth of China's landmass and holds vast deposits of minerals and oil. In fact, some Chinese geologists believe that the energy reserves under Xinjiang match those of Kuwait, and the national oil industry has eagerly begun to tap this resource. Moreover, it is the site for China's nuclear testing and accommodates a heavy military presence. During the Cold War, the province shared a long border with the Muslim underbelly of the Soviet Union; now, it has eight neighbours: India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation, and Mongolia. Events in Central Asia echo throughout Xinjiang; for example, many Uighurs saw the withdrawal of the Soviet military from Afghanistan in 1989 as proof that the dedicated struggle of a Muslim people against an infidel enemy could result in victory. Many Uighur separatists operate or smuggle weapons from Central Asian countries, with whose populations they share strong ethnic, historical, and cultural ties. However, the governments of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan have not offered safe refuge to Uighur criminals or separatists wanted by their much larger and more powerful neighbour. In addition, Russia wishes for closer relations with Beijing and so will not support Uighur independence.

Understandably, Beijing does not want a "Kosovo" effect (separatism followed by repression followed by Western intervention) or a "Chechnya" effect (separatism followed by repression followed by a grueling, costly war). Not only would widespread internecine fighting in Xinjiang be costly in human, military, and financial terms, but it would encourage cross-border incursions by nearby Islamist groups, stress China's fragile alliance with bordering states, and endanger access to Xinjiang's natural resources, thereby increasing reliance upon Middle Eastern providers who might, in turn, impugn Beijing for its internal repression of Muslims.

The Uighurs' growing unrest has two implications: first, China should expect an increasing flow of illicit arms from Pakistan, Afghanistan, and other Central Asian countries into Xinjiang. There have been reports of Uighurs enrolling in Islamist-style training camps in Pakistan and Afghanistan, where they learn guerilla tactics and weapons proficiency; some have even fought with Taliban units. Beijing wishes to

prevent Islamist notions of jihad and other organizational ideologies from penetrating its territory. It realizes that Uighurs have fought in Chechnya, and it does not want Wahabi-style Islamism to seep into Xinjiang via Afghanistan or Tajikistan. Such militancy could strengthen separatist movements and also provide momentum for new ones to coalesce.

Second, China will move towards closer political relations with Russia and the Central Asian countries. The recent transformation of the Shanghai Five into the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, comprising Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and China, intended not only to counter Western influence in the region but also to combine resources and information in order to combat Islamist terrorism, extremism, and separatism — the three scourges that all of its member countries wish to eradicate. Also, the Russian-Sino Friendship Treaty signed in late July, which proclaimed Russia and China to be "good neighbours" and strategic partners, portends the two countries' hostility towards Islam. Both face internal Muslim populations that, if granted full autonomy, would severely damage their territorial integrity, and perhaps even initiate a chain of Balkanization by encouraging more minority groups to secede. A higher degree of multi-lateral political-military collaboration will result from these initiatives. That these countries recognize the threat separatist movements pose to their sovereign control of highly disputed territories signifies that the Uighur problem will not merely be a Chinese concern.

Popular revolt in Xinjiang still lies in the future, but whether this scenario will materialize or instead remain a separatist dream depends entirely upon the willingness of unregenerate Chinese leaders to accept a *modus vivendi* that yields more latitude to the religious, political, cultural, and social practices of the Uighur populace. The Uighurs will provide Beijing with its biggest internal confrontations in the coming years, one that will heavily stress its political, cultural, and economic ties with Muslim states. <

Sean L. Yom is a former research assistant in the Islam Program, a division of the Center for Strategic and International Studies [CSIS], a bipartisan think tank in Washington, D.C. He is currently a graduate student working towards a Master's Degree in Political Science at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island, USA.
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The "Panda Adventure":

The WWF in China and Chinese Environmentalism Today

Short News >
East Asia

For the Netherlands premiere of the film "China: The Panda Adventure" in December 2001, the Chinese environmentalist Li Ning travelled to the Netherlands to promote the panda habitat protection programme of the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) in China. In an interview with the *IIAS Newsletter*, she tells us more about the present condition of the panda in Sichuan, the growing environmental problems in China, such as declining biodiversity. Throughout the interview, Ning describes a country where a new realization of its environmental problems is awakening in its citizens, especially young people. "They are taking action and trying to do something about the situation. During the past two to three years, it seems that environmental protection is becoming a priority for everybody, and not only for the government."

By Marloes Rozing

Among the big challenges for the WWF panda programme were the government and the local communities wanting to expand their economic activities into panda preservation areas. According to Ning, the WWF China is attempting to find a balanced solution. It is not possible to restrain economic activities, she acknowledges, so they "try to look for win-win solutions." For example, she describes how the WWF works together with big development projects and provides advice on how to make the projects ecologically sound.

According to Ning, the main activities endangering the panda's habitat are dam construction (for hydrological power production), highway construction, tourism, and mining. "Road construction is harmful if not designed well, as it leads to erosion and landslides and thus further destruction of the habitat. Hydrological power plants will change the whole ecosystem of an area and cause the relocation of people and villages; people moving higher up and into the mountains drive the panda away. Tourism is also a danger to the panda's habitat. The preservation areas are extremely beautiful and nature areas are popular Chinese tourist destinations. Tourists, however, are not educated about environmental issues and do not know how to behave in the wild. The local governments are very keen on the revenue from this tourism and plan to build hotels in these natural environments, thus leading to the destruction of the panda's habitat."

Win-Win Solutions

The panda is one of the national symbols of the Chinese, like the Great Wall and the Forbidden City; however, its preservation is but a small issue within the greater context of Chinese environmental problems: that communities are confronted with pollution, water shortage, and simply securing basic needs all have priority. Nevertheless, new programmes, like The Western China Development Program launched in 2000, give the WWF renewed hope. In this programme, the twelve Western provinces in China will receive favourable support from the government for investment, policy, and environmental protection work.

How, then, does the WWF monitor economic activities in the panda's habitat and how does the WWF contribute to the sustainable implementation of new projects? "If a new economic project is launched which endangers the panda's habitat," responds Ning, "we look into problems and solutions right



away. This is a big part of our project work. We actually meet with government officials once or twice a month to discuss new developments. We mainly provide suggestions for a more environmentally friendly solution. The WWF is a very small NGO in China and can only influence projects by recommendation or providing scientific research and information. The only possibility for the WWF to initiate changes is by convincing the project leaders of the long-term ecological benefits. The WWF China will not try to stop economic activities, because these are important to China's development. But," Ning continues, "in many cases the project organizers only look at the short-term gain. If a project is allocated to an area with a very fragile environment, we will try to move them away and nearer to the already existing villages or towns. For instance, in some nature reserves, only fifteen visitors per day are allowed; the remaining people can go and visit the nearby villages and the local community can benefit from tourism revenues." One such example is the Pingwu project. Pingwu is a very important crossroads of panda migration corridors. The government planned to develop it for tourism, as the nature is spectacularly beautiful there and the ethnic minority called the Baima-people reside there, as well. "Through the reserve managers' work and negotiations and some financial contribution from our side," says Ning. "The government is now constructing ecologically friendly guesthouses. In this way, the WWF is trying to be involved in all governmental tourism

plans for the area. However, it appears that eco-tourism can not replace the revenues that logging provided in the past, and the government continues to search for other options."

The First Step

The NGO sector is still developing in China. The WWF China is, in fact, one of the few NGOs formally registered in China, but it has no members. This is because its legal status does not allow it to have members and, furthermore, to apply for any funding. According to Ning, this is mainly a government decision and she believes it will change because of China's membership in the World Trade Organization. "We need a change of policy," says Ning, "but we have to wait for the government to take the first step."

Images from the film
"China: The Panda
Adventure"



All photos: Deana Newcomb, 2001. Courtesy of IMAAX Corp.

When asked to describe her hopes for the future, Ning responds, "People mainly worry about the environmental problems that affect them directly. If they would realize that the extent of environmental problems goes further than local water shortages or pollution, they would also come to realize that biodiversity is an important part of environmental problems as well. Also, I believe that, through tourism, people will come to learn more about China

and the natural diversity of our country and therefore realize the importance of preserving China's beautiful nature." <

Marloes Rozing, MA is a Sinologist who recently completed her MA at the Universiteit Leiden. Her interests are environmental problems in China and their challenge for Chinese politics and society. She is currently employed at the IIAS, Leiden, as a project coordinator.
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Afghanistan: Picking up the Pieces

Lest we forget, the burning of cultural objects such as musical instruments and manuscripts, the destruction of statues and images considered idols, and the wartime pillage and trade in valuable cultural artefacts – none of this type of devastation is new to humankind. However, seemingly out of sight and memory, as we turn our gazes away, some of the shards left behind in the rubble are picked up and saved. When considering this issue's theme section, we were hesitant that anything on Afghanistan would waste into the mire of political debate, which is not our mandate; however, and especially in this case, to assume a dismissive posture to political issues would also be inappropriate. Thus, we asked some prominent scholars to describe their work, their findings and, if possible, their experiences in the field. We want to redirect our readers' gaze to the activities of those researchers left virtually anonymous in the publications that dwell on the demolitions made spectacle. The preservation and study of cultural heritage – both living knowledge and that locked into the form of artefacts – is a continuing process. Elizabeth Errington focuses on Charles Masson, the intriguing man who left a legacy of records and antiquities collected on his travels through Afghanistan during the 1830s. His cataloguing methods were, writes Errington, ahead of his time, and his efforts are now benefitting another generation of researchers. In Charles Masson's day, it may have been easy for him to wander the country incognito and in relative safety; however, Jan van Belle and John Baily, two ethnomusicologists, give more recent accounts in which they describe their travels and recording of musicians both inside Afghanistan and among the Afghan diaspora. They remind us that music, its poetry, and the knowledge passed on from father to son of how to create them are less acknowledged victims of the Taliban's iconoclasm. Efforts must be made to preserve them. Contracts and personal letters from the City of Rob written in the local Bactrian language between the 4th and 8th century AD were carefully sealed, stored, and now recovered in perfectly preserved condition. Nicholas Sims-Williams is one of the few scholars who has succeeded in deciphering and interpreting them. While manuscripts may fill in background details, a numismatist would point out that coins quite likely provide the most valuable source of information on rulers and eras come and gone. Unfortunately, reports Osmund Bopearachchi, most coins from the rich hoards discovered throughout Afghanistan are now gone, perhaps forever, many even before they could be examined. The archaeologist Victor Sarianidi discovered the Tilya Tepe necropolis and its exquisite treasure of thousands of gold objects, never put on exhibit and now missing. He reminds us that artefacts which are destroyed, or disappear from the public domain through looting, are not only lost to the world for the stories they can tell us of humanity's past, but also simply for their sheer beauty and inspiration. Clearly there is need for action, and international organizations and the Afghan government are responding to the pleas. Jet van Krieken discusses the legal aspects of the preservation and return of objects of cultural heritage to Afghanistan; and what should be done with the empty niches in Bamian? Selecting Josephine Powell's photographs of sculptures and coins in the Kabul Museum for this issue was a profoundly bittersweet experience. With each opened box, we marveled at the beauty of the objects and felt anger and sadness for their loss; the crucial importance of records had become painfully clear. – *Tanja Chute & Ellen M. Raven*



Silver coin found at Mir Zakah with the image of the Indo-Greek King, Menander (155 BC) holding a spear. The Greek legend gives his name and title (BASILEOS SOTEROS MENANDROU). This king debated on issues of the Buddhist faith with the monk Nagasena, according to the early Buddhist text *Milindapañha*, 'Questions of Milinda' (=Menander). Formerly Kabul Museum.

Josephine Powell, courtesy of SPACH.

Ancient Afghanistan through the Eyes of Charles Masson (1800-1853):

The Masson Project at the British Museum

Research > Afghanistan

In the 1930s, the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan found unexpected evidence of an earlier European visitor scribbled in one of the caves above the 55 m Buddha at Bamian. This stated:

*If any fool this high samootch explore
Know Charles Masson has been here before*

More recently Gregory Possehl also found a less ambitious bit of graffiti - just the name "Charles Masson" - pencilled on the wall of another cave nearby. So who was Charles Masson?

By Elizabeth Errington

Little is known of his personal life. He appears to have been well educated, knew Latin and Greek, and was fluent enough in Italian and French to be thought Italian by a Frenchman and French by an Englishman. A contemporary in Kabul in 1832 says that he had "grey eyes, red beard, with the hair of his head close cut. He had no stockings or shoes, a green cap on his head, and a dervish drinking cup slung over his shoulder"; there is no known portrait. When the British East India Company began funding him to explore the ancient sites around Kabul and Jalalabad in 1833, they thought he was an American from Kentucky. But it soon became apparent that the name Charles Masson was an alias adopted by an enlisted Englishman, James Lewis, after

he deserted the Bengal Artillery regiment in July 1827. In return for an official pardon in 1835, he was forced to become a "newswriter", or spy, for the British in Kabul. His sound political advice on Afghanistan was largely ignored by his superiors and he resigned in disgust in 1838 at the outbreak of the First Anglo-Afghan War (1838-1842). In 1842, he returned to England. He married in 1844 and spent the years until his death in 1853 seeking alternative employment, working on his manuscripts and coin collection, and dreaming of returning to Afghanistan, while trying to live on a meagre pension of £100 per annum. Among his private papers there are monthly lists headed "Should have spent" and "Did spend", which show that his attempts at budgeting were usually unsuccessful. Under "Avoidable" are basic items like eels,

sausages, washing and train fares; one indulgence - gin (1 shilling and 8 pence a week) – and, more touchingly, "baby's cloak" (19 shillings). The only other personal item that survives is a sheet of paper with the words "Silence must be observed in here" written on it in large letters.

During the years 1833-1838, Masson excavated more than fifty Buddhist stupas in the Kabul-Jalalabad region. He also collected numerous small objects and thousands of coins, principally from the urban site of Begram, north of Kabul. Apart from a selection of coins and artefacts extracted en route by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta and his own collection of 35,340 coins, his finds were all sent to the East India Company's Museum in London. After his wife's death in 1857, £100 were paid to his children by the East India Company Library in return for his papers, drawings, and coins. When the EIC India Museum closed in 1878, a large part of Masson's collection (possibly including about 2,000 coins) was transferred, without proper documentation, to the British Museum.

Masson was dismissed by many of his contemporaries as a deserter, adventurer, spy, and writer of bad verse. They also could not forgive him for being proven right in his criticism of the British East India Company's disastrous involvement in Afghanistan that led to the First Anglo-Afghan War. As a



The relic deposit from the Buddhist stupa no. 2 at Bimaran, near Jalalabad, excavated by Charles Masson in 1834. The gold reliquary (found with coins issued about AD 60) contains the earliest datable images of the Buddha.

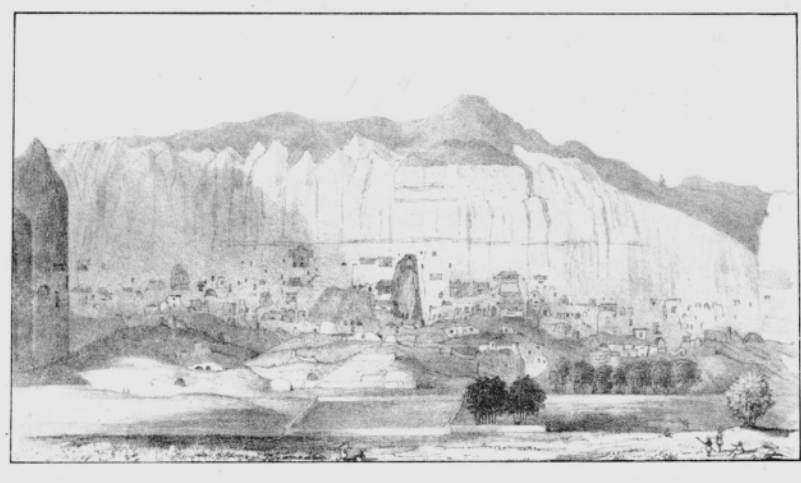
Courtesy of the British Museum

result - apart from the brief account in H. H. Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua* (London 1841) and the continuing debate over his most spectacular find, the Bimaran casket - the archaeological value of his work as the first explorer and recorder of the ancient sites in the neighbourhood of Kabul and Jalalabad has been largely ignored ever since.

However, Masson left detailed, illustrated records of his finds. Not only do some of his original labels survive with the objects themselves, but there are seven volumes of his manuscripts and two large bundles of his uncatalogued papers in the India Office Collections of the British Library. These records, together with his excavated finds, drawings, and maps, provide a unique record of many key sites in Afghanistan which have since been lost. One of his most important contributions was that he was the first to realise that the Greek names and titles on the obverse of the coins were repeated on the reverse in Kharoshthi, thus leading to the decipherment of this previously unknown local script. In a period when numismatic interest in these regions concentrated on gold and silver coins, he recognized that the copper coinage was much more important for purposes of historical research. His detailed approach - largely unappreciated by his contemporaries - was far ahead of his time.

The Masson Project evolved in 1993 from the realization that his comprehensive archive could be used to identify and document the finds from his collection now in the British Museum's Department of Oriental Antiquities and Department of Coins and Medals. It has been generously funded since its inception by the Kreitman Foundation and, since 1998, by the Townley Group of British Museum Friends. The Project is attempting to redress the oversight of the last c. 160 years by studying Masson's manuscript records in the British Library in conjunction with his rich collection of Buddhist relic deposits, coins, rings, seals, and other small objects now in the British Museum. Work initially concentrated on producing a typed and illustrated record of all the surviving documentation. This has been of great use in helping to identify and catalogue the Masson material in the Department of Oriental Antiquities, particularly in reconstituting many of the finds from specific stupa relic deposits. With the help of Professor S. Kuwayama, the archive is now supplemented by copies of photographs from a 1960s survey of the sites, generously donated by Kyoto University, Japan, while copies of all Masson's original drawings are in the process of being obtained from the British Library. The archival record has further helped to identify many of Masson's coins in the Museum collection and has also given a site provenance to the other small finds.

Research has established that about 3,700 coins from Masson's collection were sold at auction in 1887 (some of these have subsequently also entered the British Museum collection), while in 1912 a further c. 600 were presented to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. In 1995, with the help of Neil Kreitman and Graham Shaw, about 10,000 coins, including the residue of Masson's vast collection, were discovered in storage at the former India Office Library and were transferred to the British Museum on permanent loan from the British Library. The



After C. Masson, Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Panjab, London 1842, pl. facing p. 384.

majority of these coins are from specific excavated Buddhist stupa deposits or from Begram (the site correctly identified by Masson as the ancient city of Alexandria of the Caucasus, founded by Alexander the Great). These two groups of provenanced coins thus provide, on the one hand, unique evidence for the spread of Buddhism into these regions and, on the other, the means for reconstructing the general history of the region, as reflected by a single important city site.

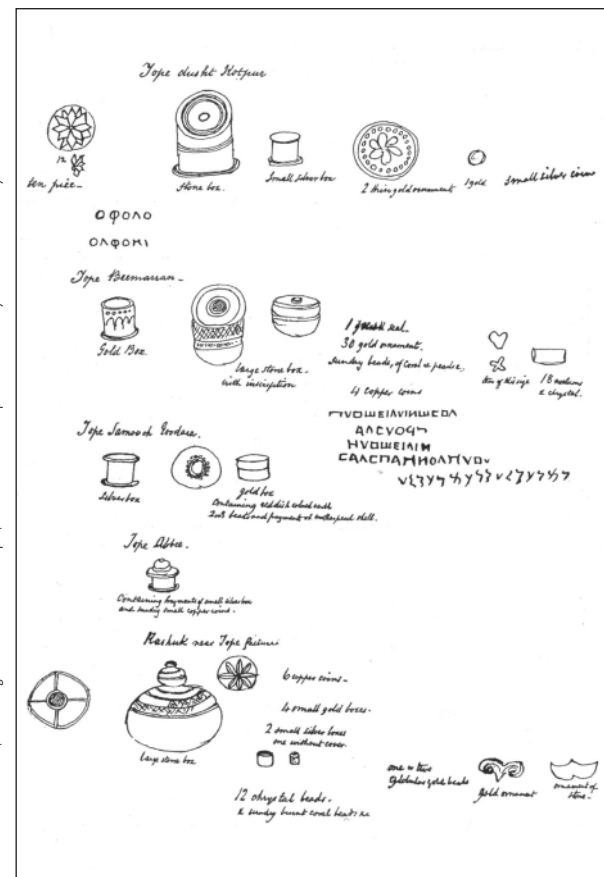
Research this past year has revealed that Masson could only have collected c. 47,000 coins, and not the c. 80,000, as he calculated. Of these, only c. 12,400 can be accounted for, but this total includes some 7,000 coins now in the British Museum. Work on conserving and recording the British Library India Loan Collection is ongoing: 6126 coins in this collection have now been

identified as probable Masson coins, and most have been cleaned, conserved, and sorted. The next step is to produce a database of all the material. An exhibition *Discovering Ancient Afghanistan: The Masson Collection*, displaying all these finds, is scheduled to open in Gallery 69a of the Museum on 11 September 2002: coincidentally, a date that is now the anniversary of events not yet dreamed of when it was chosen in early 2001. <

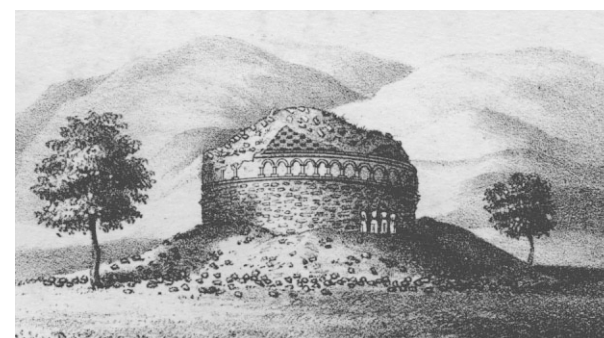
Dr Elizabeth Errington is currently a curator of South and Central Asian coins in the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum. Her interest in Charles Masson began while writing her PhD thesis (London University 1987) on surviving records of 19th-century archaeological discoveries in Gandhara.

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Drawing by Charles Masson of the cave monasteries and smaller (38 m) Buddha of Bamiyan.



Charles Masson's sketch of his excavated finds from the relic deposits of the Buddhist stupas Kotpur 2, Bimaran 2, Gudara, Deh Rahman 1 ("Tope Abbee") and Passani tumulus 2 in the Darunta district, east of Jalalabad.



After H. H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, London 1841, Topes pl. III.

Charles Masson's sketch of the Buddhist stupa no. 2 at Bimaran, in the Darunta district, west of Jalalabad.

Travelogue of an Ethnomusicologist: Living Musical Traditions of the Ismailis in Afghan Badakhshan

My research concentrates on the music and poetry of the Ismailis in Badakhshan, which resulted in research trips in 1992 and 1993 in Tajik Badakhshan,¹ in 1996 in Afghanistan, again in 1998 in Tajik Badakhshan, and in 2001 in Afghan Badakhshan.² Due to the harsh geographical and complicated political circumstances, Badakhshan has, until now, been an isolated area. What follows is a travelogue of my last trip to Afghan Badakhshan in August 2001.

Research > Afghanistan

By Jan van Belle

Preparing a trip to Afghan Badakhshan is a complicated affair requiring a lot of time, stamina, and especially patience. First, a Tajikistan visa from the Russian Embassy in London was needed, followed by another four weeks of waiting for the Tajikistan Foreign Ministry to authorize it. Once this visa was cleared, I was able to book my flight from Munich to Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan, where I had to wait yet another ten days to obtain my Tajik visa extension to Tajik Badakhshan (GBO), and to apply for an Afghan visa with the Afghan Embassy. On top of this, that flights between Dushanbe and Khorog, the capital of Tajik Badakhshan, only

run in clear weather resulted in another two days of waiting. On arrival in Khorog, I was lucky enough to get help from FOCUS, the Aga Khan humanitarian organization that arranges food supplies to the Afghan side. They provided me with helpful information and transportation to Tajik Eshkashim, a town in the South of Badakhshan, which, at that time, was the only place to cross the border. It is still controlled by the KGB, so I also needed a special permit from them; it makes one suspect that the authorities are doing their very best to discourage visits to this part of the world. Once in Afghan Badakhshan, I could sleep in the FOCUS guesthouses in Afghan Eshkashim and in Baharak, where I was able to arrange an old Russian jeep, drivers, and a guide/translator for my trip. The FOCUS sticker on the jeep partly helped prevent constant harassment at the frequent checkpoints - or by prowling warlords in their Toyota jeeps - requiring additional travel documents issued by district governors or commanders.

Concepts of time, life and death

Travelling in Badakhshan is something to be endured. I would say that we owed our survival to the incredible skills of the driver, who steered the jeep, with its bald tires, with unfaltering good temper - and with total abandon - along narrow mountain roads and deep gorges. The roads are an unsurfaced carpet of bumps, full of pot-holes, stones, and relics from the civil war. At times, they were flooded with sand entering our lungs and covering our bodies and luggage with a thick layer of dust, not to mention penetrating seemingly every chink and cranny in the old jeep. Drivers in Afghanistan are invariably also trained mechanics with large supplies of spare parts and tools. Our old jeep, in fact, broke down several times, which required frequent repairs attended to with skill and improvisation from the driver and his helper. Indeed, they spent nearly as much time under the jeep as behind the steering wheel.

It was evident that, in this part of the world, the concepts of time, and of life and death, completely differ from our own, and

Typical folk music ensemble



Osmond Boparatchi, 1999.

continued on page 10 >

continued from page 9 >

a researcher must learn to adapt. All in all, I spent roughly 80 per cent of my time either waiting or on the road, and could only commit 20 per cent to effective research and recording.

Worse than I had imagined

The purpose of my research was to compare Ismaili music in Afghanistan with the performance practice of Ismaili music in Tajik Badakhshan, where we had already completed extensive research.³ When I arrived that August, the situation in the Rushan/Shughnan area was much the same, so I decided to cross the border in Eshkashim and to start research in the southern part of the province (see map), travelling from Eshkashim to Baharak and to Jorm, Hazrat Sayeed, and different villages in the Yumgan, Zibak, and Shughnan districts.

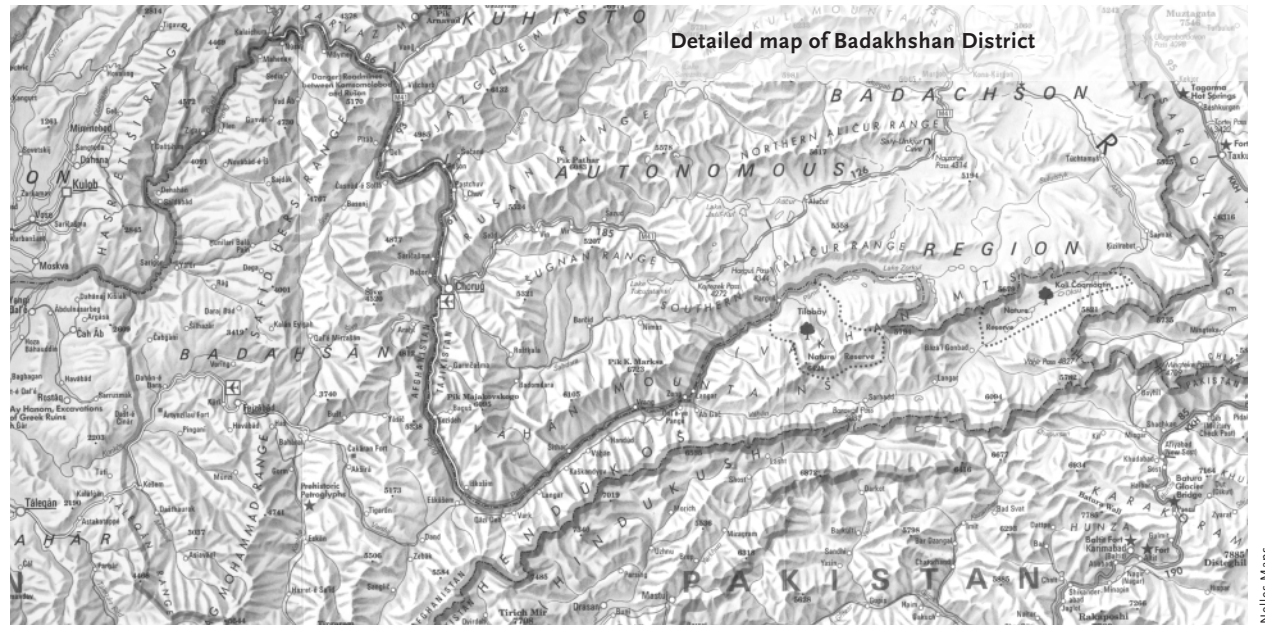
The situation of the musicians was even worse than I had imagined. Our Western concept of a professional musician was irrelevant in such a setting. Due to the low status of musicians in traditional Muslim countries, practically all of the singers of the *madâh* performance genre were living in poor conditions. Most of them worked as farmers, while some were lucky enough to find jobs. Most of them hadn't touched their instruments for a long time, being concerned only with their survival and that of their families. Many villages depended entirely on the FOCUS food supplies, mainly wheat and vegetable oil. Moreover, the warlords imposed bans on music under pressure from the Taliban. This is based on an interpretation of the Sharia (Islamic law) that considers music to be against public morals and arousing the lower passions, as I was informed by several warlords who stopped our jeep.

However, a transformation took place once musicians were gathered together, often joined by others from neighbouring villages, and after some rehearsal. In spite of their hopeless situation, they played their folk music (*musiqi watani*) with incredible enthusiasm and dedication. This got the audience involved, who reacted with dancing, clapping, whistling and shouts, and proved that music still is an integral part of their lives.

As my research focused both on religious as well as folk music, it soon appeared that, as regards religious music, the performance practice on the Afghan side was no different from that on the Tajik side. The musicians of the former played typical instruments like the Pamir *rubâb* (an unfretted long-necked, six-stringed plucked lute with protruding spurs), the *tanbûr* (a larger, unfretted, seven-stringed lute with an oval soundboard), and the *daf* (a circular frame drum). Likewise, they used the same performance-genre (*madâh*) and poetical genres like *ghazals*, *qasida's*, *muxammas*, *munâjats*, and *du'âs*, and revered the same classical poets, especially Nasir-i Khusraw (AD 1004-approx. 1077), a major Ismaili scholar, writer, and poet, whose shrine (*mazar*) I visited in Hazrat Sayeed in the Yumgan district.

The difference between the performance practices of each side was the fact that twenty-two years of civil war and censorship of music had made a deep mark. Due to the lack of regular performances, texts often had to be sung from notebooks and musicians were not able to rehearse properly, or seemed to have forgotten parts of the performance genre. On the other hand, the *khalifas*, local religious representatives of the Agha Khan, and often musicians themselves, did their best to safeguard the traditions. In Eshkashim, I recorded children singing and learning *madâh*, guided by one of the fathers and the local *khalifa*.⁴

Folk music on the Afghan side of Badakhshan is, in some ways, different from the Tajik part, mainly in the use of instruments. Most typical for this area, and for the whole of northern Afghanistan and the Hazarajat, is the *dambura* (a two-stringed, unfretted, longnecked, plucked lute), an instrument seldomly found in Tajik Badakhshan, where the Pamir *rubâb* is mostly used. The harmonium (a portable reed organ with keyboard) is also quite common in Afghanistan, although seen less frequently in Badakhshan and imported from India, while, on the Tajik side, the accordion introduced by the Russian



Afghan Badakhshan and the Nizari Ismailis

In 1895, during the so-called "Great Game" between Victorian England and Czarist Russia, the mountainous area called Badakhshan was divided into two parts with the Panj River (the source of the magical Oxus or Amu-Darya River) running between them as the border. These days, the left bank region is the north-eastern province of Afghanistan, while the right bank region belongs to Tajikistan and is still known as Gorno-Badakhshan Oblast (GBAO), the Autonomous Region of Gorno-Badakhshan. The high mountains of the Pamirs are mainly situated in Tajik Badakhshan. Only small parts of the river valleys there are inhabited.

The inhabitants are ethnic Tajiks and can best be described as mountain-Tajiks. They belong mainly to the Nizari Ismailis, Shi'i Muslims who recognize the fourth Agha Khan and forty-ninth Imam Shah Karim al-Husayni as their spiritual leader. In Afghan Badakhshan, settlements of Ismailis are situated along the left bank of the Panj river and in the Wakhan corridor in the eastern part of the province. - **JvB** <

army, is very popular. Other instruments, like the *ghijak* (a spike-fiddle), *daf*, and *tablak* (a goblet drum) are widespread throughout both sides and typical for Badakhshan. Most folk music ensembles I recorded consisted of *dambura*, *ghijak*, and *daf* or *tablak*. One genre common to both sides is the *falak*, literally meaning "heaven" and, metaphorically, "fate"; the texts often deal with melancholy, yearning, alienation, separation, or unattainable love.

Unfortunately, the position of folk musicians was even more vulnerable than that of the performers of the more intimate religious music. This was because they used to play both at domestic festivities and in public places, like teahouses, or during local or national festivals. I was lucky enough to record some good amateur folk musicians in remote Ismaili villages, inaccessible to the jeeps of the warlords. One of them was the *gorgholi* singer and *dambura* player Rajab Moh., better known as Gorgholi Khan. I was surprised to find a performer of this epic genre, which originated in Turkmenistan, in Badakhshan. When I first met him, he refused to play. The reason he gave was that, due to the bad situation, he was not able to arrange dinner or lodging for us, things essential under his rules of hospitality. Fortunately, after some talking and a bundle of afghanis, he changed his mind and played the whole evening. That night I slept on the rooftop of his house under the magnificent star-spangled Badakhshan sky.

Only a few professional folk musicians and singers, like Dawlat Moh. Jawshan (Afghan *rubâb*), Dur Moh. Keshmi (*ghijak*) and, especially, Mehir Maftum (*dambura*) resisted the censorship of the authorities and endured the poor economic circumstances. They continued to perform in Badakhshan as much as possible. Recently, Mehir Maftum obtained (inter)national recognition as one of the winners of the 2001 Prince Claus Awards (€ 20,000). Unfortunately, he was in Pakistan during my trip, but steps have been taken to invite him for a concert tour through France and the Netherlands.

Recommendations

When I visited Afghan Badakhshan in August 2001, the tragic events of September 11 (the day I flew back to the Netherlands) were the last things I expected. Despite that it did accelerate the defeat of the fundamentalist Taliban government, for several reasons I was, and I still am, strongly opposed to the American attack on Afghanistan.

Furthermore, practically no attention was given by the international media to the hopeless situation of the performing arts in Afghanistan. After twenty-three years of civil war and censorship of music, BBC Radio 3 made a live recording on New Year's Day of a concert in Kabul given by the singer Aziz Ghaznawi and his ensemble, whom I recorded in Kabul in 1996, but in secret and in very poor conditions. Unfortunately, given the attitude of Afghan rulers towards music during the last twenty-three years, there is no reason for too much optimism, especially because one of the first steps of the new interim government was to maintain the Sharia. In this situation, what power do musicologists have in representing the music and in empowering the musicians they study? What does ethnomusicology have to offer?

There is a need to emphasize the critical situation of Afghan performing arts, especially music. What follows are some proposals concerning Afghanistan's living musical heritage:

- We must support the musicians economically, inside and outside Afghanistan.
- An effort should be made to document the past and set up archives in order to safeguard testimony to these musical traditions for the future.
- Support should be provided for instrument makers.
- There should be programmes for music education in Afghanistan, and Radio Kabul, Kabul TV, and other local stations should be re-instated.
- Steps should be taken towards creating a free musical climate.

The above proposals could be achieved with the support and help of the rich Western countries, all of whom were involved in the twenty-three years of the Afghan civil war. <

Dr Jan van Belle is a clarinet and saxophone teacher, and a musicologist. His current research concerns the music of the Ismaili communities in Tajik and Afghan Badakhshan. In addition to this he is working on a project for the Institute of Ismaili Studies (IIS) in London, UK. E-mail: van.Belle@planet.nl

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Notes >

- 1 This research trip was undertaken together with Dr Gabrielle van den Berg, a specialist in Persian poetry and Pamir languages.
- 2 Supported by WOTRO and the IIS (Institute of Ismaili Studies)
- 3 I had planned to go to Afghan Badakhshan in 1998, but found that the civil war and the fighting between warlords made crossing the border impossible. However, during a run of food supplies in rubber boats across the river by FOCUS, I bribed the Russian border police to allow Afghan musicians to cross over. On that occasion, I managed only two recording sessions of Afghan musicians at the Tajik side of the Panj river in the Rushan/Shughnan area, so I did additional research in Tajik Badakhshan.
- 4 In general, education has always been an important part of Ismaili life and, in spite of all problems, I saw many children out on the roads and dressed in their typical school uniforms. In some villages, due to the absence of a building, open-air schools were organized, although teachers complained that the village couldn't pay them for their work.

Ethnomusicological Research in Afghanistan: Past, Present, and Future

Research >
Afghanistan

Little was known in the West about the music of Afghanistan until the 1950s, when a few LPs of an ethnographic kind were published, such as the Lubtchansky disc *Afghanistan et Iran* in the Collection du Musée de l'Homme, and the UNESCO collection *A Musical Anthology of the Orient*, recordings made by Alain Daniélou. Afghanistan was typified as "The Crossroads of Asia", a term which implied a variegated cultural mix. In the 1960s, several ethnomusicologists worked in Afghanistan, notably Felix Hoerburger from West Germany, Josef Zoch from Czechoslovakia, and Mark Slobin and Lorraine Sakata from the USA. My wife, Veronica Doubleday, and I were active between 1973 and 1977. Since then, there has been little opportunity for research.

By John Baily

When I started my research on music in Afghanistan in 1973, I held a Social Science Research Council Post-Doctoral Research Fellowship in the Department of Social Anthropology at The Queen's University of Belfast, in collaboration with anthropologist and ethnomusicologist John Blacking. Our research project focused on recent changes in the Herati *dutar*, a type of long-necked lute. Between 1950 and 1965 this was transformed from a small two-stringed instrument of rural amateur music making to a much larger and more versatile instrument with fourteen strings played by professional urban musicians (Baily 1976). This morphological transformation was of great interest in its own right as an example of dramatic musical change in a seemingly very traditional society, and also promised to provide new insights into relationships that exist between human bodies and musical instruments.

Having studied experimental psychology for seven years, culminating in doctoral research on human movement and motor control, I was in a position to investigate the changes in the human/musical instrument interface that occurred as the instrument changed, from two to three to five and then fourteen strings. I worked with a large number of *dutar* players, concentrating on a sample of fifteen individuals, recording their performances, later filming ten of them playing a standard repertoire of five tunes, and making extensive recorded interviews. As part of my research, I also learned to play

three versions of the Herati *dutar*, and another Afghan lute, the *rubab*.¹

Two years later, I returned to Afghanistan for a second year of fieldwork on "the anthropology of music in Herat", which involved confronting a diffuse set of issues. I conducted research on a wide range of music making: urban and rural; amateur and professional; secular and sacred; and male and female. With regard to the last, Veronica Doubleday's research was crucial, for she worked with women performers and professional musicians, an area of music making practically inaccessible to me. She also learned to perform as part of her research, to sing and to play the frame drum. She eventually became a member of her teacher's women's band, going out to play at women's wedding parties.

Our work also extended into Kabul, with its large musicians' quarter (the Kucheh Kharabat). This took in several hundred hereditary musicians, some of whom descended from court musicians brought from India in the 1860s. Radio Afghanistan was of particular interest as a focus of musical activity and creativity. The popular music disseminated by the radio station since the early 1950s had achieved widespread currency and constituted an important arena for the emergence of an Afghan national identity (Baily 1994). Furthermore, the modernism of radio broadcasting had enabled a number of amateur musicians to cross over to professional status and had also allowed a number of women singers to achieve star status. We left Afghanistan in 1977. A year later the Communist

Josephine Powell, courtesy of SPACH.



Fragment of a stone relief from Ghazni illustrating female dancers framed by ornamental borders with scrolls. Formerly Kabul Museum.

coup of Taraki took place, followed by more than twenty years of civil war.

Back in the UK, we both went through a long period of writing up our data, or at least some of it. Veronica Doubleday published her classic of narrative anthropology *Three Women of Herat*, while I published the more conventional ethnomusicological monograph *Music of Afghanistan: Professional Musicians in the City of Herat*. To a considerable extent, these two books deal with the same people, but in *Three Women of Herat* all the names have been changed. Together they provide an unusually full account of music making in a traditional Central Asian city, with largely separate domains of women and men. Our joint research publication in 1995 also made a significant contribution to the literature on musical enculturation. My studies of the *rubab* in Kabul and Herat also resulted in detailed studies of Afghan art music (Baily 1981 and 1997).

The coup of 1978 made the very idea of further fieldwork impossible; the "iron curtain" was now pulled across this part of Central Asia. There was little reliable news from Herat, described by Afghans as "our Hiroshima" (something of an exaggeration, as I later discovered). In 1985, now as an anthropological film-maker at the UK's National Film and Television School, I went to Peshawar for three months to research and direct "*Amir: An Afghan Refugee Musician's Life in Peshawar, Pakistan*", a film which has been screened at many film festivals around the world, most recently at the Forum d'Anthropologie Visuelle 2002: Afghanistan: Culture(s) en Question. The film depicts the life of Amir Mohammad from Herat, now in exile in Pakistan and making a living as a member of a successful band of Afghan musicians largely patronised by Pakistani Pakhtuns. Above all else, the film expresses in a powerful yearning of the refugee to 'go home'.

In 1994, I was able to spend nearly two months in Herat. This was the time of the Coalition of Mujaheddin Parties, under President Rabbani. Herat, under its own Mujaheddin commander, Amir

Ismail Khan, was peaceful and undergoing extensive reconstruction. But many restrictions were in place, and the situation of music and musicians was symptomatic of these. Musicians had to be licensed and constrained to performing songs in praise of the Mujaheddin or of a mystical nature. They were also to perform these without amplification. Despite such constraints, musicians were not allowed to perform in public, but they could play at home and in the private houses of their patrons. Cassettes of music were freely available in the bazaar, and a little music was played on local radio and television. In Kabul, the restrictions were less severe, and in Mazar-e Sharif the climate was even more free. The restrictions of the Rabbani period anticipated the complete ban on music imposed when the Taliban came to power, when audio cassettes of music and musical instruments were destroyed.² The Dutch researcher Jan van Belle was the only ethnomusicologist actively performing fieldwork in Afghanistan after the Taliban took Kabul. He made several hazardous recording trips to parts of north-eastern Afghanistan free of Taliban control [see article by J. van Belle in this issue].

After my visit to Afghanistan in 1994, I started to become interested in the whole question of music in the Afghan transnational community. How was music being used to maintain and communicate a sense of Afghan identity? How could music serve a therapeutic role at both individual and community levels? I carried out a number of short research trips to Peshawar (Pakistan), Mashad (Iran), and Fremont (USA). Hamburg (Germany), with its large Afghan population, was also a designated site for investigation. In principle, this research design should allow one to compare what is happening to music in different parts of the transnational community, factoring in variables such as geographical distance between countries of origin and exile; language, religion, and other kinds of cultural similarity; and prospects for the future in terms of security, employment, and eventual integration. A six-

week visit to Fremont, California in 2000 was particularly revealing; the new kinds of Afghan music being produced in the USA, bringing together elements of Afghan and Western music, were certainly involved in the creation of a new Afghan-American identity (Baily 2000).

The Present and Future

In response to the developments, Goldsmiths College, University of London, has created an Afghanistan Music Unit (AMU). The purposes of AMU are twofold. Firstly, it aims to document the process of re-establishing music in Afghanistan, especially with respect to radio and television broadcasting, and performances of live music in traditional venues such as theatres, wedding festivities, Ramadan concerts, and spring country fairs (see Baily 1988). Music is a sensitive indicator of wider attitudes, especially those appertaining to modernity and liberalism. Freedom of musical expression suggests that other freedoms and human rights are also in place. Secondly, the AMU seeks not only to document the "re-making of music", but to assist with the process when appropriate. Afghans in exile have a wealth of professional expertise and many are ready to go back to undertake voluntary work to help restore their country. Another positive development concerns education; music was never part of the school curriculum in Afghanistan and there has already been a request from a local minister in Herat to a UK NGO about education programmes and the availability of any materials related to arts and music.

The Freemuse report took for granted that the Taliban would remain in control of most, if not all, of Afghanistan for the foreseeable future, and made various recommendations intended to consolidate Afghan music in the transnational community. The completely unforeseen departure of the Taliban radically changed the situation. One of the first signs of the end of Taliban control in a city or town was the sound of music in the streets and over local airwaves. In the past, music was closely connected with festive occasions and, as such, was appropriate to mark the end of Taliban oppression. Bringing out the previously carefully hidden music cassettes, sound systems, and musical instruments was an act of defiance. Above all, the sound of music was a sign of a return to normality. ◀

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Notes >

- 1 An account of these findings is given in Baily (1985a).
- 2 The history of recent music censorship is explained in my report published by Freemuse (Baily 2001).

On Kings and Nomads:

New Documents in Ancient Bactrian Reveal Afghanistan's Past

Research > Afghanistan

Until very recently, Bactrian, the ancient language of northern Afghanistan, had been one of the least known of the Middle-Iranian languages. During the first half of the 20th century, the Bactrian language was known only from legends on coins and seals, which naturally contain very limited data, while the later cursive script — a local development of the Greek alphabet — remained undeciphered for lack of comparative material.

many numerals, whose correct reading is important for the interpretation of the dates in many documents.

Bactria
from 6th century BC to 8th century AD

Achaemenids
from 6th century BC

Bactrian Greeks
from 3rd century BC

Yüeh-chih and Kushanas
from 2nd century BC

Inscriptions from Rabatak and Surkh Kotal
2nd century AD

Sasanians and Kushano-Sasanians
AD 233 = year 1 (local era)

First dated legal documents in Bactrian
AD 342 = year 110

Chionite and Kidarite 'Huns'
from ca. AD 375

Document on a gift at the city of Rob
AD 389 = year 157

Hephthalites
ca. AD 460

Document mentions the Sasanian emperor
AD 471 = year 239

Documents on taxes paid to Hephthalites
AD 492-527 = years 260-295

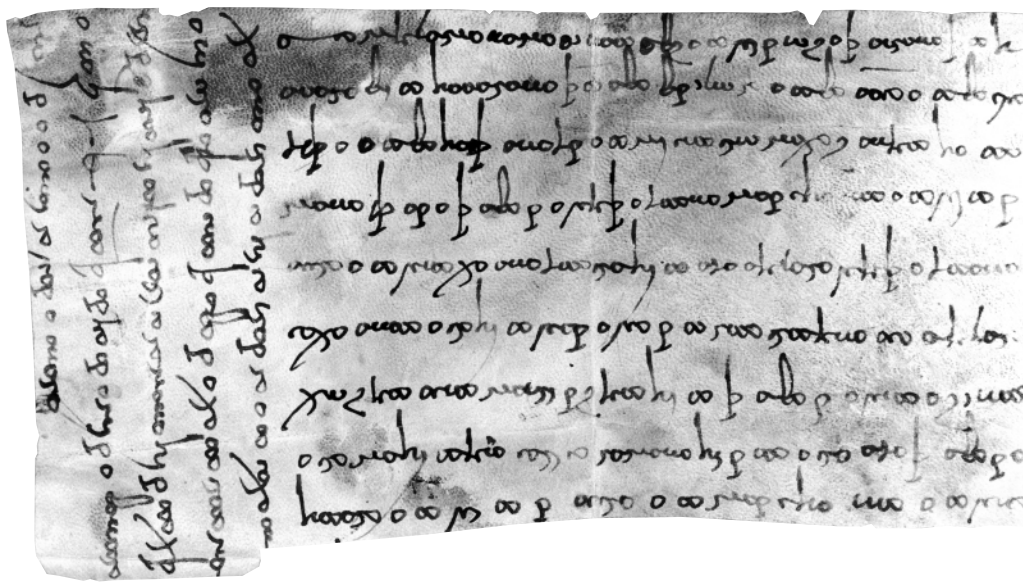
Sasanians and Turks
from AD 560

Document mentions Turkish titles
AD 639 = year 407

Document mentions a 'Turkish princess'
AD 710 = year 478

Arabs
from early 8th century AD

Last dated document in Bactrian
AD 781 = year 549



Bactrian letter dated in the year 239 (= AD 471?) and referring to a Shahanshah of Iran, probably Peroz (ruled 459-484).

Courtesy of Dr D.N. Khalili

By Nicholas Sims-Williams

Inscriptions and Manuscripts

This state of affairs began to change in 1957, when French archaeologists discovered the first substantial Bactrian inscription at Surkh Kotal near Baghlan. The text was published by André Marcicq, who identified some important words and phrases, including the name of the Kushana Emperor, Kanishka. W.B. Henning established that the inscription deals with the construction of a well, which was dug in the year thirty-one of the era of Kanishka, that is, early in the reign of his successor Huvishka (early second century AD). For forty years after its discovery, the Surkh Kotal inscription remained the most important source for the study of Bactrian. More inscriptions were found, but none sufficiently extensive or legible to contribute significantly to our knowledge of the Bactrian language.

During the last ten years, however, the corpus of Bactrian texts has

increased dramatically. At Rabatak (in the province of Baghlan) a stone inscription was discovered in 1993 and published in 1995-1996 by Joe Cribb and myself. The inscription, in Bactrian language and Greek script, is of great historical value, as it mentions the predecessors of Kanishka and describes some of the events of his first regnal year.

Even more important for our knowledge of the Bactrian language are over a hundred documents in Bactrian cursive script that appeared in the bazaar of Peshawar and on the international art market within the last ten years. Many of these are now in the collection of Dr Nasser David Khalili in London. These documents were written on leather, cloth, and even on wooden sticks. They cover the whole period between Sasanian rule in the fourth century AD and the Arab supremacy in the eighth century. It seems that many of the texts derive from the Khulm Valley in the northern Hindukush, from places which were within the jurisdic-

tion of a ruler who is referred to in the Bactrian documents as "the ruler of Rob".

Letters and Legalities

The Bactrian documents consist of legal documents, economic documents, Buddhist texts, and letters, many of which are still sealed and therefore perfectly preserved. However, most letters are fairly short and difficult to understand, since they often allude to previous correspondence and events of which we have no knowledge. Two of the new documents are Buddhist texts, perhaps associated with the Pure Land school of Buddhism. A larger group consists of economic documents. These include texts written on wooden sticks (with up to three short lines of writing), which seem to be a kind of receipt or tally for deliveries of foodstuffs, such as wheat and onions. Other economic documents consist of lists of personal names, commodities, and amounts, presumably recorded for accounting purposes. Such documents contain

Sealed Legal Contracts

Most of the dated documents are legal contracts dealing with sales, leases, gifts, the manumission of a slave, or the settlement of disputes. There is even a marriage contract, which happens to be the earliest dated document. Many such documents exist in two copies written on the same parchment. One copy is left open to be read, while the other is tightly rolled, tied with string, and authenticated with up to six clay sealings impressed with the seals or fingernail impressions of the contracting parties and witnesses. Their names are sometimes written on the reverse of the document beside the holes for the seal-strings. Probably this format was employed so that the sealed copy could be opened in the presence of a judge in case of a dispute.

The dates attested in these documents range between the year 110 and 549 of an unspecified era. From Bactrian inscriptions found at Tochi, in Pakistan, it has been deduced that this era probably began in AD 233. This would put the dated Bactrian documents between AD 342 and 781, and thus from the Kushano-Sasanian period through the years of Kidarite, Hephthalite, and Turkish rule, well into Islamic times, when Arabic finally took over the role of Bactrian as the administrative language of the area.

Sasanian Presence

One of the earliest dated documents is a deed of a gift dated in the year 157 (= AD 389) written on cloth, rather than on the more usual leather. It exists in two copies: one sealed, the other left open to be read. The two copies give different names to the place where the document was written. The closed copy refers to it as "the city of Rob" (modern Rui), apparently the administrative cen-

Ancient History of Bactria

Due to a lack of native sources, our knowledge of the ancient history of Bactria is sketchy. The region is first referred to in the *Avesta*, the Zoroastrian sacred book, and in the sixth-century inscription of Darius at Bisitun, where Bactria is mentioned as a province of the **Achaemenid Empire**. In the fourth century the region was overwhelmed by the armies of **Alexander the Great** and, under his successors, **Greek** culture became strongly rooted in Bactria. Great cities were built in Greek style, with temples, theatres, and gymnasia, and the Greek language, written in the Greek script, became the exclusive language of culture and administration.

In the second century BC, Bactria was overrun from the north by nomadic peoples, including those known to the Chinese historians as the **Yüeh-chih** and to the Greeks as the Tokharoi. Amongst these new rulers, the tribe or family of the **Kushanas** achieved supremacy and, by the end of the first century AD, their empire extended far beyond Bactria and across much of northern India and Central Asia.

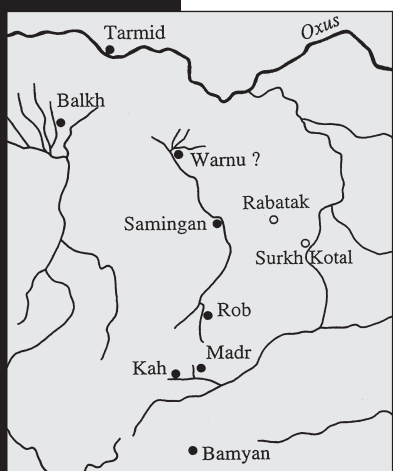
The rule of the Kushanas was roughly contemporary with that of the Parthian Arsacids in Iran. In about AD 224, the **Parthians** were ousted from Iran by the Sasanians and, within a few years, the **Sasanians** had also conquered Bactria, which they ruled thereafter, either directly or through a viceroy known as the **Kushan-shah** ("King of the Kushans"). These rulers continued to issue coins with Bactrian inscriptions. In place of the angular Greek letters of the Kushana coins, however, the Kushano-Sasanian coins use a cursive form of the script.

In the middle of the fourth century, Bactria was again invaded from the North by nomads referred to as "**Chionites**", apparently a variant form of the name "Huns". Under their chief, Grumbates, they soon reached an understanding with the Sasanians and fought on the Persian side against the Romans at the siege of Amida in AD 360.

Thereafter, control of Bactria passed to a people known as the **Kidarites**, or "Kidarite Huns" (possibly another name for the Chionites), until the Hephthalites entered Bactria from the north in the fifth century and drove the Kidarites south of the Hindukush. The Hephthalites often achieved great success in their wars against the Persians; however, just after the middle of the sixth century they too were swept aside by an alliance between the **Sasanians** and the **Turks**, who had recently established their empire in the lands beyond the Oxus. The overlordship of the former Hephthalite territories was divided between Sasanians and Turks, though Hephthalites and other local rulers may have retained control here and there.

One further episode in the turbulent history of Bactria is the coming of Islam and the **Arabs**. The Arab conquest of Iran was completed in AD.651. The conquest of Bactria took much longer, although the city of Balkh was first raided by the Arabs as early as AD 653. By the time that Balkh succeeded Marv as the capital of the Arab province of Khurasan (in AD 736), the whole area was probably largely subdued. - NSW <

A sketch map of northern Afghanistan showing the principal places mentioned in the Bactrian documents.



Courtesy of Dr D.N. Khalili

> Timeline

tre of the region, whose ruler is known as the 'khar of Rob'. The open copy refers to "the city of Kandban". This seems to be an earlier name for the same town, which is found only in the earliest documents.

A letter dated in the year 239 refers explicitly to the Sasanian emperor, the Shahan-shah. The writer identifies himself as "Meyam, the steward (and) ruler of the houses of the illustrious, successful Peroz Shahanshah". If the era indeed began in AD 233, the year 239 should correspond to AD 471, during the reign of the Sasanian ruler Peroz. The apparent reference to his name, therefore, seems to confirm the chronological framework which had been deduced from the inscriptions of Tochi. However, "peroz" may also have been intended as a mere epithet meaning "victorious". Similar formulae in later documents suggest that this may, in fact, be the correct interpretation.

Hephthalite Arrivals

A later group of documents reveals the presence of the Hephthalites as a new political power. Three documents, dated in the years 260 (= AD 492) to 295 (= AD 527) refer to a property tax payable to the Hephthalites or to "the Hephthalite lords". The vendors are referred to as servants of the king ("shah") and the purchasers as servants of a lord with the Persian name "Shabur Shaburan". The persistence of a Persian aristocracy suggests that there was no abrupt break whereby the rule of the Hephthalites succeeded and replaced that of the Sasanians. On the contrary, it is likely that the local dynasty of the "khars of Rob", at whose court this contract was drawn up, continued to wield power at a local level, acknowledging the long-established overlordship of the Sasanians, but also paying tribute to the Hephthalites, who had more recently arrived in the region. Unfortunately, the references to the Hephthalites do not indicate even approximately the date of their arrival in the northern Hindukush. They provide only a *terminus post quem*: by the year 260 (= AD 492) at the latest, the Hephthalites had arrived and established themselves in sufficient strength to be able to exact the payment of taxes or tribute from the local population.

The Turks as Overlords

The next new arrivals, the Turks, are first attested in the year 407 (= AD 639). The *khar* of Rob now has Turkish instead of Hephthalite titles, but his name and patronymic in the texts show that he is no Turk. In the year 478 (= AD 710), a Turkish ruler is named in a deed recording a donation by "Bag-aziyas, the great Turkish princess ...". Although she is described as a princess of the Turkish tribe of the Khalach, her name is evidently Bactrian. She belongs to the Bredagan family, which is attested as far back as the year 247 (= AD 479) as the ruling family of the otherwise unknown city of Lan. Probably Bag-aziyas was the daughter of a local ruler, who had been given in marriage to a Turkish *qaqhan*.

Increasing Arab Domination

The Arabs are named in two of the latest texts. The first of these is a purchase contract dated in the year 507 (AD 739). While earlier texts had expressed prices in gold *dinars* or in Persian silver *dirhams*, here they are given in "Arab silver *dirhams*", which

are specifically described as locally current. A further stage in Arab economic domination is revealed in a document from the year 525 (= AD 757), which refers to the payment of taxes to the Arabs. In a document of two years later, a son of the local landowner bears the name "Khamir", probably a local form of the Arabic title *amir*. Soon afterwards, Arabic would replace Bactrian as the language of the local administration, as is clear from a group of Arabic tax records which appear to have come to light together with the Bactrian documents.

The documents described above have already made it possible to decipher Bactrian script, revealing a previously unknown tongue which, in its heyday, was one of the world's most important languages. In this brief survey, I have

only been able to hint at the contents and importance of an immense new body of material. The new documents cover a period of more than four centuries, including some periods for which we have hardly any authentic sources. The publication of these texts will soon be completed with the appearance of the second volume of my *Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan*, which will include the letters and Buddhist texts. Then the whole of the material will be available to students of many disciplines, to be compared with Chinese and Arabic sources and confronted with archaeological and ethnographic data. I confidently expect that the result will be to cast new light on many aspects of the history and culture of ancient Bactria and modern Afghanistan. <

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Professor Nicholas Sims-Williams of the SOAS in London is an expert on Sogdian and Bactrian languages. Together with Joe Cribb of the British Museum, he deciphered and interpreted the newly discovered Rabatak inscription in northern Afghanistan.
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More info >

See also <http://www.gengo.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/~hkum/bactrian.html> (in English and Japanese).

The Destruction of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage

Afghanistan's civil war, raging between rival groups fighting for political power, gave birth to the systematic looting of archaeological sites, such as Ai Khanum, Begram, and Hadda. Their willful destruction, coupled with illicit diggings and vandalism in pursuit of material gain, obliterated the ancient heritage of sculptures and paintings. On 22 March 2001, three weeks after decreeing that all the statues of Afghanistan should be destroyed, the Taliban briefly opened the National Museum to journalists. They revealed a gloomy, near-empty labyrinth of rooms missing virtually all of its treasures.

Forum >
Afghanistan

By Osmund Bopearachchi

Not a single coin is now left in the cabinets where once over 30,000 coins were stored; among them were coins from hoards recovered at Mir Zakah, Chaman-i-Hazuri (Kabul), Qunduz, and from the excavations at Ai Khanum and Begram. Most of the artefacts stolen from the Kabul Museum surfaced a few days later in the Peshawar bazaar and, from there, found their way to private collections. Among them are the invaluable ivory plaques excavated at Begram by French archaeologists in 1937.

Hoards of Ancient Coins

The Mir Zakah II hoard was the largest ancient coin deposit ever attested in the history of mankind. It was named after Mir Zakah, the village where it was found in 1992, 53 km north-east of the city of Gardez. The hoard must have consisted of approximately 550,000 gold, silver, and bronze coins. Of these, I managed rapidly to examine six sacks full of coins, each weighing at least fifty kilos, in February 1994 in the Peshawar bazaar. We still do not know under what circumstances the Mir Zakah deposit was found. According to witnesses who visited the findspot, the Mir Zakah II hoard

The ancient site of Ai Khanum, before the illicit diggings.



Professor Paul Bernard, 1978.



Hin-Tchi-Ono, May 1993.

The ancient site of Ai Khanum, after the illicit diggings.



Faience head of a Graeco-Bactrian king from Ai Khanum.



Kabul Museum after its destruction

also contained more than 300 kilograms of silver and gold objects. Of course, such second-hand information should be handled with care, as informers tend either to exaggerate or to romanticize the event.

Among the artefacts were gold and silver vessels: for example, a gold censer in the shape of a high beaker on a round base from which thin trails imitating wisps of incense twist upwards. Another piece among them was a squat silver bowl with an out-turned rim, with, on the inside of the base, the impressed image of a sea-horse or Hippocampus, its curled tail terminating in a crescent-shaped curve.

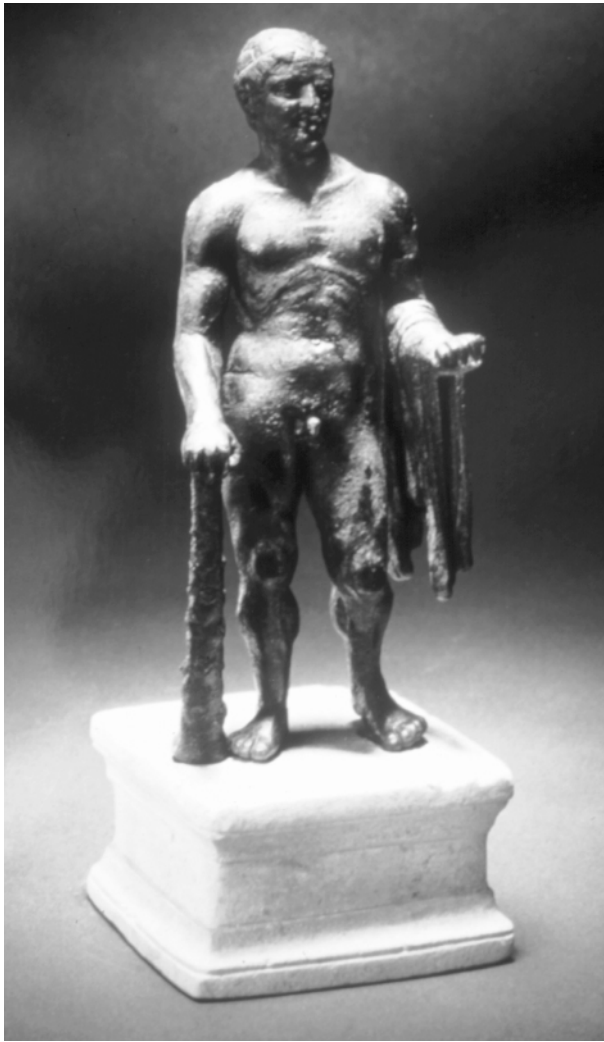
Among the sculptures from the deposit, many depict Zoroastrian priests, figurines, gold plaques, rings, and intaglios from the Hellenistic period. A repoussé intaglio depicts a galloping *biga*; two repoussés show the Greek god Hermes wearing a conical helmet; two carnelian intaglios depict a standing helmeted Athena holding a long spear and a shield in typical Greek style. The jewelry in the hoard, in particular pendants, earrings, and bracelets, amounted to several kilograms in weight!

The numerous coins in the Mir Zakah II hoard were mainly early Indian bent-bar and punch-marked coins from Greek, Graeco-Bactrian, Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian, and Kushana origins. Coins of the Indo-Scythian King, Azes II, and posthumous imitations of coins of Hermaeus comprise the largest portion. The hoard also brought to light an unprecedented number of new varieties, such as a *tetradrachma* of Attic weight standard struck for King Menander I with unknown type and legend arrangement.

The most sensational numismatic discovery was a coin of Nasten, a hitherto unknown Iranian ruler in India. On the obverse, within a bead-and-reel border, the coin carries a bust of the diademed king to right wearing a helmet with a long, flowing crest and a mantle. The reverse shows the king on a prancing horse riding to the right. He wears a helmet with a long, flowing crest. The Greek legend reads *Nastenes / Xatrannou*, "Nasten, son of Xatran". Judging by his name, Nasten was presumably not a Greek, but an Iranian, probably a Bactrian Iranian.

The reconstruction of the history of the Greeks and their nomadic successors in Bactria and India depends mainly on the evidence offered by numismatic finds such as these.

continued on page 14 >



Bronze statuette of Heracles from Ai Khanum.

Osmond Boppearachchi, 1999.

Sacks full of coins from Mir-Zakah, each weighing at least 50 kg.

continued from page 13 >

Ancient texts, inscriptions, and data obtained in archaeological excavations, though important, are secondary compared to the rich and vast amounts of information conveyed by coins.

The fairy tale built around Mir Zakah II has now become an unending nightmare. The political instability in Afghanistan has left no scope for a proper exploration of the immense historical importance of these coins, nor for getting them preserved in a museum for further studies. The gold coins and jewellery items of high value from the hoard were sold to Japanese, English, and American collectors for millions of dollars. According to some reliable sources, two-and-a-half tons of the Mir Zakah II deposit have been taken to Switzerland for sale. If UNESCO does not take some initiative, one day all these coins, except for the best specimens among them, may go to the melting pot.

Osmond Boppearachchi, February 1994, Peshawar Bazaar.



A Sad Fate for Famous Sites

The monastic complex of Hadda is situated in Jalalabad, half-way along the road from Kabul to Gandhara. The ruins of this ancient town, with Buddhist stupas and caves, were excavated by the French Archaeological Delegation to Afghanistan under J. Barthoux. A large and well-preserved Buddhist monastic complex near Hadda, at Tepe Shotor, was excavated between 1974 and 1979 by Prof. Zamaryalai Tarzi, the then Director General of Archaeology and Conservation of Historical Monuments of Afghanistan. He was able to unearth a stupa decorated with magnificent stucco figures dating back to the second century AD. By now, looters have systematically pillaged and destroyed Tepe Shotor: small statues were taken to Pakistani bazaars for sale; huge statues that could not be removed were smashed.

One of the most significant sites contributing to a better understanding of the presence of the Greeks in ancient Bactria was the ancient Greek city of Ai Khanum on the left bank of the river Oxus at the confluence with its tributary, the river Kokcha. It was well placed as a military outpost controlling the eastern territories of ancient Bactria. A hill, about sixty meters higher than the rest of the city and protected by the two rivers from the west and south, provided a natural site for an acropolis and made it an ideal choice for the Greek city planners. The residential quarters and public buildings (such as a gymnasium, a temple, fortifications, the royal palace, and administrative buildings) were built at the lower part of the site, which was less exposed to the winds than the acropolis.

The discoveries at Ai Khanum by the French archaeologists led by Professor Paul Bernard demonstrate how its Greek artists not only remained attached to the Greek traditions, but, in some ways, even perpetuated an outdated classical style. For example, the mosaic floor of the palace bathroom, displaying dolphins, sea horses, and sea monsters, was made by setting a field of dark red pebbles instead of the square-cut stones used in works of the later style.

For the last ten years, Ai Khanum was targeted for sys-

tematic illicit diggings, as well. This remarkable city that revealed the Greek heritage left by Alexander the Great in ancient Bactria no longer exists. Treasure hunters seem to have used metal detectors originally brought to the country to detect Russian land mines. Photographs taken in May 1993 by Professor Hin-Ichi-Ono from Japan show the city's surface turned into a lunar landscape. The lower city was completely devastated. Where the large temple once stood, now only a crater remains. Some of the Corinthian and Doric capitals unearthed by the French archaeologists were taken away and now serve as a base for columns in a teahouse.

Illicit diggings at Ai Khanum have recently brought new discoveries to light: hundreds of ivory pieces, jewellery, intaglios, plaster medallions, and bronze items have reached the Pakistani bazaars and private collections. Among them are several sculptures that once more underscore the Greek contribution to the art and culture of Bactria and India. These include a bronze statuette of Heracles (I) and a faïence head of a Graeco-Bactrian king.

The bronze Heracles, 21 cm in height including pedestal, was solid cast with a fully-fashioned back. The naked, beardless young god wears a broad-leafed wreath, stands facing forwards, and is holding in his left hand the lion's skin while his right rests on a club. It is not at all surprising to find many images of Heracles in Ai Khanum; an inscription, found *in situ*, reveals that the gymnasium was dedicated to this divinity.

The faïence head of a Graeco-Bactrian king (ill. on p.13) was found in June 1998 in unrecorded circumstances. It once belonged to an acrolithic statue: the horizontally cut edge below the head was meant to fit into a wooden structure representing the rest of the body. So far, the fragments of a cult statue found in the *cella* of the main temple at Ai Khanum



Empty trays of the Coin Cabinet, Kabul Museum.

and this faïence head are the only examples of acroliths that have been found in Bactria.

Save What is Left

In the history of mankind, there are many instances of world cultural heritage falling victim to the ignorance and intolerance of a few pushed by religious, ideological, and political motives. However, in the case of Afghanistan, we have witnessed, for the first time in human history, the state taking the initiative to decree its subjects to destroy their own past. The state became the worst enemy of its own culture and heritage, leading the way to the destruction of the efforts of several generations of archaeologists, numismatists, and art historians, and the collective memory of 3,000 years of the history of the Afghan people.

How can we channel our pain, despair, and anger towards those who destroyed the cultural heritage of Afghanistan, once the greatest melting ground of Central Asia, a crossroads between East and West? One can not restore what has been destroyed. Let us fight to save at least what is left, for ancient Bactria is part of the cultural heritage of the whole of humanity, not just of a distant country often forgotten and abandoned to its sad fate. <

Dr Osmond Boppearachchi is a specialist on Indo-Greek coins and Director of Research at C.N.R.S., Paris.
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The Chaman-i-Hazuri Hoard

Among the now lost coins from the plundered cabinet of the National Museum in Kabul are those from the hoard of Chaman-i-Hazuri, named after its provenance, a parade ground in Kabul. This treasure, which also included pieces of jewellery, was discovered in 1933 when foundations for a house were being dug. Informants reported that some 1,000 silver coins were recovered, but this assessment was never supported by coin evidence; some 127 coins, all definitely from the Chaman-i-Hazuri hoard, found their way to the Kabul Museum.

From the composition of this find it is clear that the hoard must have been buried somewhere in the fourth century BC, possibly not long after circa 380 BC. This *terminus ante quem* is based on the presence in the hoard of a coin from a series that copies a sixth-century Athenian coin type, but was actually struck in the early fourth century BC. Most of the coins in the hoard are much older: sixty-three of the Chaman-i-Hazuri coins were struck by the Greeks before 550 BC (cp. 4); eight coins were issued in the name of the Achaemenid King Darius I, who ruled between 521 and 486 BC (cp. 2). Of unknown date are twelve bent-bar coins in the hoard carrying punched wheel symbols. (1) These coins are typically found in early Gandhara, but their exact period of circulation is not known so far. Finally, the hoard contained forty-three coins, apparently of local manufacture, which have been punched with animal motifs on two sides. (3) The hoard thus illustrates that Greek, Iranian, and local Gandharan coins may have circulated in the area of Kabul shortly before its burial. The hoard forms a perfect numismatic illustration to the blended cultural entourage of fourth century BC Afghanistan.

A.D.H. Bivar and, more recently, Joe Cribb of the British Museum have argued that these fourth-century BC local Gandharan punch-marked coins are among the earliest of their kind in South Asia. The technique and concept of producing punch-marked coins would subsequently have spread from the North-West to other regions of the subcontinent and triggered the manufacture of many, regionally differing, series of punch-marked coins. Other scholars have questioned the validity of dating the local punch-marked coins on the basis of the presence of the fourth-century BC copy in the hoard. They are in favour of an earlier date which, however, remains to be defined more precisely. Usually the Ganges Valley is indicated as the region in which, in the wake of a period of rapid urbanization, the concept of the use of coins may have taken root, perhaps as early as the sixth century BC. — (EMR) <



Josephine Powell, courtesy of SPACH.

It is Time to Pick Up Stones

Forum >
Afghanistan

There is no doubt that the world community made a tragic mistake (if not committed a crime) when, after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan, it assumed the position of an outside witness. Not only have thousands of Afghan people died during the war, but a tremendous blow struck the ancient heritage of this country, as well. Fanatical Taliban drew the country into the darkness of the middle ages. Their acts of vandalism reached a peak with a live demonstration: the destruction of the Buddha statues in Bamiyan. And this was not the only act they committed against the cultural heritage of their own country!

By Victor Sarianidi

As we all know, the best pieces of Graeco-Bactrian art were located in Afghanistan. These artefacts were so marvelous that they charmed everyone, the scientist, the connoisseur of art, and the common man alike. Hellenism in the East is one of the brightest pages in the history of mankind. It is a subject that always attracted the interest of various scientists and which is not yet completely studied. One of the recent examples of this were the excavations of the Hellenistic city of Ai Khanum (possibly, Alexandria upon the Oxus). The excavations by French archaeologists headed by Professor Paul Bernard had brought to light the ruins of a typical Greek city. At first, the findings numbered in the dozens, then in the hundreds and thousands. By the end, it became necessary to arrange a special exhibition hall in the Kabul Museum where the marvelous Hellenistic pieces of art could be housed. The displays in the Ai Khanum hall included splendid marble sculptures, architectural details, and monumental sculptures that once decorated the houses, squares, and fountains of the city.

Another gem of the Kabul Museum was the world-renowned collection from Begram found by French archaeologists in the 1930s. It consisted of



Fragment of a terracotta relief showing the bust of a man resting his head in his hand in a gesture expressing contemplation or perhaps sorrow. The garment covers his head. Found at Nejero. Formerly Kabul Museum.

splendidly carved ivories in classic Indian style and Hellenistic artefacts made in different countries of the world. Also worth mentioning is the royal treasure

of the Tilya Tepe (Golden Hill) necropolis in Bactria with its 20,000 gold artefacts (small gold plates, weapons, crowns and so on). The significance of

this unique collection of Hellenistic art objects is great. It threw light on the historic period of mankind which, until then, was called the "dark period" due to the lack of sufficient information. The objects of the collection reflect the synthesis of different art styles and trends. For example, a single object could demonstrate the combination of artistic methods from countries such as Greece, Rome, China, Siberia, India, and Central Asia.

Unlike the collections from Begram or Ai Khanum, the Tilya Tepe collection has never been displayed in any country of the world, even in Afghanistan! Finally, one should not forget that Kushan and Buddhist artefacts from Afghanistan belong not only to the history of this country, but they are part and parcel of the history of the whole of mankind. Scientists from all over the world explore and study them. All of these objects, as well as those not mentioned here, were the best items of the Kabul Museum, a museum that is now ruined and completely looted. We know nothing definite about the fate of these collections. We can just guess that most objects were destroyed during the vandalistic bombardment of the museum, while others were looted and sold in different antique shops and bazaars.

It is absolutely clear that we should immediately launch a worldwide campaign for the search and preservation of what has survived. As a first step it seems necessary to locate the lost collections and then, under the aegis of UNESCO, to set up a bank account where individuals as well as organizations could make donations. Thus, we can arrange a certain pool that can be

used later during the negotiations with different collectors and, probably, museums in our attempts to buy back the collections. At the same time, UNESCO should arrange a tender and select the best project for the construction of a new museum in Kabul. An international organizing committee of specialists on the East should also be formed, and a leading academic, such as perhaps, Professor Paul Bernard (France) approached to head it.

I believe these should be the first, urgent steps if we all realize and agree that the time has come to pick up stones. <

Professor Victor Sarianidi was born and raised in Tashkent (Central Asia), graduated from the University there and then moved to Moscow, where he started to work as an archaeologist in the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of Russia, and where he still works. He started his excavations in Central Asia more than fifty years ago, specializing in the prehistoric period. From 1978-79, he excavated six tombs in Afghanistan, which date from the first century BC to the first century AD and which contained 20,000 gold items. The fate of this Tilya Tepe treasury is unknown. Thirty years ago in the Kara-Kum desert of Turkmenistan, he excavated a civilization yet unknown to scientists, a civilization of ancient Mesopotamian type. These excavations in Margiana are still going on. The last year, during the excavations of the Gonur necropolis, he found a cylinder seal with a Sumerian inscription on it. His next field season will start in April this year. E-mail: veronica1674@hotmail.com

The Buddhas of Bamiyan [continued]:

A Turn-Around for Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage?

"...It seems, nevertheless, a miracle that these incredible Buddhas have more or less survived in a country in which they have become strangers who were not able to flee..." wrote Juliette van Krieken in *IIAS Newsletter* 23 (March 2001). As the world watched, the Buddhas have since been destroyed, but their story and that of SPACH and others involved continues. Below, Juliette van Krieken deals with the destruction and the aftermath.

Forum >
Afghanistan

By Juliette van Krieken

Destruction

On 26 February 2001, Mullah Omar, the official leader of the Taliban movement in Afghanistan, issued the following decree:

"In view of the Fatwa [religious edict] of prominent Afghan scholars and the verdict of the Afghan Supreme Court, it has been decided to break down all statues/idols present in different parts of the country. This is because these idols have been gods of the infidels, who worshipped them, and these are respected even now and perhaps may be turned into gods again. The real god is only Allah, and all other false gods should be removed."

To most, this statement came as a shocking surprise, but to others, it was not totally unexpected. Nevertheless, it was a chilling development, particularly since, shortly before the date of the above decree, the Society for the Preservation of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage (SPACH) had been assured that the Taliban would respect Afghan cultural heritage. The same Mullah Omar had, in fact, previously issued several decrees on preservation.²

Such a policy change can only be interpreted as a victory for the hardliners within the Taliban and was certainly the

result of the influence of, as we now all know, al-Qaeda representatives. The Taliban's decision on the destruction was answered by an outcry from around the world, including from many Islamic countries. Kofi Annan, Secretary General of the UN, condemned the decision, and UNESCO sent a UN special envoy, Mr La France (a former Chair of SPACH), to Afghanistan. But despite all the efforts, the Buddhas were most cruelly blown up in early March 2001.

At the exhibition last autumn called "Afghanistan: A Millenary History" in Barcelona (to be shown this spring in Musée Guimet, Paris; see p.45), a video recording of this moment was shown every two minutes and, with each replay, the spectator got an icy feeling and reactions ranged from despair to anger and even fear. It is a tragedy for the world, especially the Buddhist world, but particularly for the Afghans themselves. They have lost almost everything, and now they have even been robbed of the outstanding monuments of their rich past by a temporary, foreign influenced, oppressive regime.

There are two especially grim facts that should be noted. Firstly, according to the Taliban, the decree to destroy idols was based on Islamic law. This claim, however, is only true in the context of the purist views subscribed to by *wahhabi* Muslims, who condemn every depiction of living beings.

According to other interpretations of the Qur'an, every depiction created before Islam emerged (as was the case with the Buddhas) should be respected. Perhaps it is also needless to add at this point that Buddha is no god and that there were no Buddhists left in Afghanistan. Therefore, even on restrictive religious grounds there was no reason for the destruction of the Buddhas. Secondly, following September 11, it became clear how 'easily' the Taliban could be conquered. This made one realize even more how useless this destruction had been. It also showed how easily manipulators can take away such a long-standing, inspiring, and strengthening monument in but a very brief moment.

Luckily, the publicity that followed was enormous and positive. Memory of the Buddhas did not perish into an obscure corner. Ironically, their destruction made them even more famous than they would ever have been without this tragedy.

'In Between'

Apart from the fate of the Buddhas, there were many other cultural tragedies that resulted in various dilemmas. Mullah Omar's devastating decree of February 2001 was not only directed at the Buddhas of Bamiyan, but at all objects of cultural heritage in Afghanistan that depicted living beings. After many years of plunder and inflicted damage, the Kabul Museum once again fell victim. Two valuable statues that were too heavy to bear and therefore left behind in the museum were main targets, namely the already beheaded, half statue of the great King Kanishka (from Surkh Kotal, dating from the second century AD), which was better known as 'the

continued on page 16 >

continued from page 15 >

feet of Kanishka', and the silent Tepe Maranjan Bodhisattva, dated third to fourth century AD. The objects from the Kabul Museum collection which were stored for security reasons in the Ministry of Information and Culture were also brutally smashed.

Art in Exile

Reflective discussions started immediately after the announcement of the decree and the ensuing destruction. According to international law, cultural heritage material should not be taken out of its home country, not even for safe-keeping. UNESCO's general policy has always been to return, if possible, illegally exported items back to the country of origin.³ In the case of Afghanistan since February/March 2001, this policy turned out to be extremely counterproductive. At the same time, stories were circulating about Afghans from all sides having pleaded already for more than ten years with outsiders to take pieces out of the country because they feared for the fate of those artefacts.

Eventually, on 30 March of last year, UNESCO wisely changed its policy and decided to support moving endangered art out of Afghanistan. Subsequently, UNESCO backed the "Afghan Museum in Exile", founded by Mr Bucherer-Dietschi, director of Bibliotheca Afghanistanica, in Autumn 2000 in the Swiss village of Bubendorf. Afghan art rescued or returned by collectors who did not know their pieces had been stolen is safeguarded at this museum. UNESCO also made an agreement with SPACH and the Cultural Heritage Foundation that allowed these organizations to obtain (without payment!) Afghan artefacts and safeguard them until the appropriate time arrived for their return to Afghanistan. A long-existing moral dilemma for SPACH, namely whether it would be right to acquire Afghan art knowing illegal export might be stimulated, was to a great extent solved by this; however, the question remained as to whether such art should be purchased or only obtained for free.

For merchants working in the illicit art market, there was suddenly justification for their activities. They exclaimed that, had they not taken them, these artefacts would have been destroyed! Indeed, this could have happened in the case of several items.

Hence, the time is ripe for UNESCO and others working for the protection of cultural heritage to discuss and find a just policy to prevent possible destruction of cultural heritage in the future. This not only means being on the alert for destructive developments concerning tangible heritage, but also agreeing on rules and regulations that facilitate the temporary export of cultural property if needed, even without the permission of the authorities concerned.

Reconstruction and Return

Life changed after September 11. For Afghanistan, everything turned out for the better. With regard to its cultural heritage, a fact-finding mission by Mr Bucherer-Dietschi⁴ was followed in early January 2002 by UNESCO drafting a new strategy for the preservation of tangible cultural heritage.

Since March 2001, there have been many ideas to rebuild the Buddhas outside Afghanistan. The defeat of the Taliban brought about serious plans to reconstruct the large Buddha back in its own niche. Japan is rumoured to be willing to take the lead.⁵ The Afghan government officially requested UNESCO to organize an international seminar on the reconstruction of the Buddhas of Bamiyan,⁶ which is now planned for May 2002 in Kabul and Bamiyan.

Many questions will arise related to, for example, practical, ethical, and spiritual matters. Primarily, the intention and goals of any reconstruction should be subject to agreement. Should it, for instance, result in a centre for Buddhist pilgrimage, as a major tourist attraction, or as a monument to remember Taliban and al-Qaeda misdeeds? Secondly, should the reconstruction be symbolic, or should a real copy be made? For example, the Buddhas could be rebuilt according to their conditions in the years 1995 or 2000, or even back to their original state about 1500 years ago, when they could be seen with metal masks and gilded all over. What material and what techniques to use in the reconstruction will also be points for discussion.

Thirdly, although it is of paramount importance what the Afghans themselves want, the ideas of Buddhists should also be taken into consideration. According to Buddhism, everything is transitory, so whether the Buddhas should be resurrected at all could also surface as an issue. On the other hand, in Buddhism the circle of life exists: every construction depends on destruction, every destruction depends on construction.⁷

In my opinion, a copy, especially one of such an historically and spiritually significant monument, made under difficult circumstances, will not even have a spark of the power of the original. To have an empty niche might be preferable

as an object of meditation and as a symbol of all that is precious that we lost over the centuries, and as a warning for generations to come.

Not only is a rebuilding of the Buddha being planned, but the reconstruction of the museum is also being considered. When will the time be ripe for the return to Afghanistan of those objects scattered out over the world? Yet, history tends to be repeated time and again, and true commitments, "what-if" scenarios, and other securities will need to be considered.

It is important to be aware that the main destruction and plunder of the Kabul Museum and many other sites did not take place only during the Taliban years, but also, and especially, during the Mujahideen years (1993-1996).

Most of the Kabul Museum's collection that remained in Afghanistan has been destroyed. However, the precious Bactrian hoard of Tilya Tepe, consisting of 20,000 gold objects of immense value, excavated just before the Soviet invasion by an Afghan-Russian expedition in 1978, is presumably still in the underground vaults of the Presidential Palace in Kabul. For safety reasons, UNESCO intends to keep them there for the time being.

The organizations that made agreements with UNESCO will surely return their artefacts as soon as this is feasible. Hopefully, other institutions and individuals will feel the same responsibility and return items belonging to Afghanistan, irrespective of whether those items were legally or illegally acquired. To this end, Afghanistan will at least have to ratify and enforce the legal instruments concerning protection of cultural heritage (e.g. the 1954 and 1970 UNESCO Conventions),⁸ and, in this way, Afghan authorities will be able to put more pressure on those keeping Afghan artefacts and better control the illicit export of its cultural heritage.⁹

Conclusion

The people involved in Afghanistan's cultural heritage went through many ups and downs this past year: from horror and shock in February/March, to mixed feelings about policies in general, to relief and hope since November. In spite of the destruction of the Buddhas, the situation of Afghanistan's cultural heritage appears more promising now when compared to one year ago, among which is the already mentioned strategy drafted by UNESCO concerning Afghanistan's cultural heritage for the coming years. Another, and one of the most positive plans, is the expansion of cultural heritage industries, in which local people use their traditional skills to restore damaged objects.

If Afghanistan's rich cultural heritage can indeed be enjoyed again by Afghans and others in Afghanistan itself, the Buddhas will not have perished in vain. <

Juliette van Krieken, MA is a lawyer and art historian, specialized in the protection of cultural heritage. She is one of the founding members of the Society for the Preservation of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage (SPACH) and publishes and lectures widely about the problems especially related to Afghan cultural heritage. E-mail: vkrieken@xs4all.nl

Notes >

- 1 *IIAS Newsletter* 23, p. 14, and in the IIAS Website Newsletter archives at <http://www.iias.nl/iiasn/23/index.html>
- 2 Decrees by Mullah Omar, July 1999: (a) Concerning the Protection of Cultural Heritage, and (b) Concerning Preservation of Historic Relics in Afghanistan. In the latter decree it could be read: '...The Taliban Government states that Bamiyan shall not be destroyed but protected...'
- 3 UNESCO 1970 Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property.
- 4 Practical detail: he had the remaining stones of the Buddhas (the debris with traces of original sculpture were already taken away to be sold) covered with fiber-glass sheeting to protect them against the harsh winter.
- 5 The exact measurements, the only ones known in the world, are in the Afghanistan Institute and Museum in Bubendorf, Switzerland.
- 6 The International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (The Venice Charter 1964) and the Nara Declaration on Authenticity (1994) will play a major role.
- 7 This was also the Buddhist view I encountered at a seminar on the Buddhas of Bamiyan, 17-19 September 2001, Nehru University, New Delhi.
- 8 At least the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (1954) and the Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (1970).
- 9 In January 2002 alarming stories reached SPACH on the revival of the plundering of sites in the town of Balkh. Concerned Afghans try to stop this development, others simply state that if they can make money by looting in order to be able to get their daily food, they do not worry about history.



Tanja Chute

Ellen M. Raven

People > Guest Editor

Dr Ellen M. Raven is an Indologist and art historian who, since January 2002, teaches South Asian arts and material culture at the Faculty of Arts of the Universiteit Leiden. She received her academic training at the Kern Institute of Indology at Leiden. Among her teachers were Dr Inez During Caspers (archaeology), Prof. Theo Galestin and Dr Hedi Hinzler (art history) and Prof. J.G. de Casparis (ancient history).

In her early post-graduate period she published on iconographic issues of early Indian art, such as the representation of *guhyakas* and *kinnaras*, specific groups of mythic creatures. For eight years she was also employed at the specialized Kern Institute Indological library.

Dr Raven's interest in the mythology and iconography of the Garuda bird in the Indian arts of the Gupta period led to a specialized study of the Garuda-banner on the gold coins of the Gupta kings. This focus rapidly developed into a deep involvement in the study of Gupta coins, which resulted in several research papers and a two-volume PhD thesis on *Gupta Gold Coins with a Garuda-Banner* (Groningen, 1994). As a follow-up, she is now preparing for a long-term project which aims at redefining the classification of Gupta gold coinage and at tackling issues of chronology and minting history.

In 1999, Dr Raven coordinated the organization (together with Prof. Karel van Kooij and Prof. Hans Bakker) of the 15th International South Asian Archaeology Conference in Leiden, hosted by the IIAS.

From 1996-2001, Dr Raven was the coordinating editor for South Asia of the annotated online database for South and Southeast Asian art and archaeology, the ABIA Index (at www.abia.net) in an international project initiated by the IIAS with support of the Gonda Foundation and the Faculty of Arts of the Universiteit Leiden. Since January 2002, she is the ABIA Index's general editor for Western publications on South and Southeast Asia. Dr Raven is married and has one son, Thomas, now 9 years old. <

Josephine Powell

Many of the photographs illustrating the theme section showing items from Afghanistan's cultural heritage were taken between 1966 and 1975 by a remarkable lady named Josephine Powell. She is a professional American photographer and ethnographer living in Istanbul. Her architectural photos have been widely published, with most of her work having been done in Asia, North Africa, and southern Europe. In the 1960s, she became intrigued by the nomad and village cultures of Afghanistan and she spent several years photographing and gathering ethnographic objects and textiles, unknowingly adding to local lore about a mythical American woman travelling fearlessly on horseback into the most isolated parts of the country. She also prepared a documentary on women in the village of Aq Kupruk in northern Afghanistan in 1972. She planned exhibitions on Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Morocco for the KIT Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam and the Ethnographic Museum in Rotterdam. <



Tanja Chute

The IIAS Newsletter Editors would like to thank the Kern Institute in Leiden, and particularly Gerda Theuns-de Boer, project manager of the photographic database of art and archaeology at the Kern Institute. Besides its specialized library, extensive collections of rare books, manuscripts, and epigraphical rubbings, the Kern Institute possesses 70,000 nineteenth- and twentieth-century photographic prints. Gerda Theuns-de Boer, pictured here in the archives, brought to our attention the photographic prints taken by Josephine Powell of artefacts in the Kabul Museum that you see throughout this issue's pages. What we have published here is but a small sampling of the Kern Institute's rich collection of historical images. [See p. 32 in this issue for more about Gerda's work with the photographic prints at the Kern Institute, Leiden.] – (TC) <

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INDIA

Zapuphizo
Voice of the Nagas
Pieter Steyn

This is the first biography of Angami Zapuphizo, the great patriot leader of Nagaland in the northeastern hills of South Asia. To the Naga people he will always be their hero. The book also gives a history of the Naga nation, and surveys its present condition and future prospects.
234 x 156 mm, 250 pp, 16 pages b/w plates, 0710305060 Hb, £65/\$110, April

TIBET

Himalayan Drawings
Robert Powell, Michael Oppitz (ed.)

In a retrospective panorama, *Himalayan Drawings* presents a range of more than 140 documentary works of high aesthetic appeal, testifying to the wealth of local traditions in the valleys of the world's highest mountains.
275 x 219 mm, 304 pp, 142 plates and various figures, many in colour, 0710307705 Hb, £75/\$127.50, available

Tibetan Border Worlds
A Geo-Analysis of Trade and Traders
William van Spengen

The first Braudelian geo-analysis of a Himalayan community which through the consequent interweaving of levels of analysis tries to set a new standard for writing regional geography based on fieldwork and an exhaustive survey of the literature.

216 x 138 mm, 226 pp, 16 illustrations, 0710305923 Hb, £75/\$127.50, available



Among the Tibetans
Isabella Bird
Kegan Paul Library of Central Asia, 216 x 138 mm, 160 pp, numerous illustrations 0710306954 Hb, £65/\$110, available

The Religions of Tibet
Giuseppe Tucci
Translated by Geoffrey Samuel
Kegan Paul Library of Religion and Mysticism, 216 x 138 mm, 340 pp, Maps and Line Drawings, 0710306741 Hb, £65/\$110, available

CHINA

The Chinese at Play
Festivals, Games and Leisure
Anders Hansson, Bonnie S. McDougall, Frances Weightman

Written by leading academics associated with the European Association of Chinese Studies, the ten papers in this volume look at the Chinese at play from anthropological, historical and literary perspectives with the aim of rediscovering, in both modern and traditional China, the playful side of Chinese culture and civilization, both modern and traditional.
234 x 156, 280 pp, several photographs, 0710307314, £65/\$110, April

A Soup for the Qan
A Translation and Study
Paul D. Buell, Eugene N. Anderson, and Charles Perry

This is a complete translation of the medieval Chinese dietary Yin-Shan Cheng-Yao (1330), with full notes and supporting text, along with a monograph-sized introduction. The Chinese original is the first dietary manual of its sort in Chinese history,

and is of particular interest on account of substantial Mongolian, Turkic, and general Islamic influence.

Sir Henry Wellcome Asian Series, 234 x 156 mm, 732 pp, line drawings, maps, 0710305834 Hb, £150/\$225, available

Social Life of the Chinese
Daily Life in China
Justus Doolittle

This is the most complete and detailed account of the traditional domestic and daily life of the Chinese in the mid-nineteenth century. Colourful, exotic and compelling, an innovative tour de force of popular culture, and a classic ahead of its time. The world he describes here may have vanished in mainland China, but endures in Chinatowns and Chinese homes around the world.
Kegan Paul China Library, 216 x 138 mm, 633 pp, 150 engravings, 0710307535 Hb, £75/\$127.50, April



Village Life in China
A Study in Sociology
Arthur H. Smith

Written during the last days of Imperial China, this pioneering study is remarkable for its detailed descriptions and the freshness of its observations. What emerges clearly is what Smith calls the 'Chinese talent for cooperation' - the embedded predisposition for acting in groups - which Chairman Mao used to great advantage, and which is the foundation on which the new China will be built.

Kegan Paul China Library, 216 x 138 mm, 360 pp, 16 b/w plates, 0710307519 Hb, £65/\$110, May

Chinese Houses and Gardens
Henry Inn and Shao Chang Lee
Kegan Paul Library of Art, Architecture and Design, 300 x 219 mm, 160 pp, 147 b/w photographs, 113 line drawings, 071030689X Hb, £75/\$127.50, available

Glimpses of China and Chinese Homes

Edward S. Morse
Kegan Paul China Library, 216 x 138 mm, 232 pp, 66 line drawings, 0710307039 Hb, £65/\$110, available

Wanderings in China
Robert Fortune
Kegan Paul China Library, 234 x 156 mm, 450 pp, 18 b/w engravings, 07103065938 Hb, £65/\$110, available

Sun Tzu on the Art of War
The Oldest Military Treatise in the World

Lionel Giles
Kegan Paul Life Strategies 234 x 156 mm, 210 pp, 0710307381 Hb, £65/\$110, April

CENTRAL ASIA

Mongolian Traditional Literature: An Anthology
Charles Bawden

This introduction to both written and oral Mongolian literature from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century provides a rare insight into the changing world views of the Mongolian people: from clan society to Soviet culture. This important work, which makes the rich tradition of Mongolian literature available for the first time, will be essential reading for many years to come.
234 x 156 mm, 300 pp, 0710306547 Hb, £65/\$110, May

A Thousand Years of the Tartars
E. H. Parker

This is the definitive history of the Tartars up to the conquests of Ghengis Khan as seen by the Chinese, using original Chinese histories. Beginning with the first Chinese references to the nomads, Professor Parker traces the rise and fall of the seven great Tartar empires

who fought the Chinese for control of North China for a thousand years.
Kegan Paul Classic Collection, 234 x 156 mm, 290 pp, 5 maps, 0710307462 Hb, £65/\$110, April

The Pathans
Olaf Caroe
Kegan Paul Library of Central Asia, 216 x 138 mm, 500 pp, 12 b/w plates, 6 maps, 0710306822 Hb, £65/\$110, available

A Year Amongst the Persians
Impressions as to the Life, Character, and Thought of the Persian People
Edward Granville Browne
Kegan Paul Travellers Series, 234 x 156 mm, 674 pp, 1 plate, 1 map, 0710307209 Hb, £95/\$161.50, March

The Religions of Mongolia
Walther Heissig
Translated by Geoffrey Samuel
Kegan Paul Library of Religion and Mysticism, 216 x 138 mm, 150 pp, line drawings, 0710306857 Hb, £75/\$127.50, available

JAPAN

History of Japanese Thought
Japanese Philosophy Before Western Culture Entered Japan
Hajime Nakamura

While many historians take the view that Japanese philosophy started with the Meiji Restoration and the entrance of Western culture into Japan, Hajime Nakamura demonstrates that there has been a long history of philosophy in Japan prior to the Meiji.

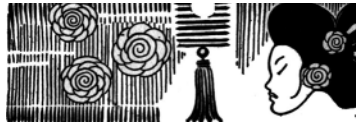
Kegan Paul Japan Library, 234 x 156 mm, 308 pp, 0710306504 Hb, £65/\$110, available

The History and Culture of Japanese Food
Naomichi Ishige

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Rethinking the Islamization of the Malay World

In his highly influential work the *Preliminary Statement on a General Theory of the Islamization of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago* (1963), Syed Naquib al-Attas argued that “the coming of Islam, seen from the perspective of modern times, was the most momentous event in the history of the Malay archipelago”.¹ Naquib al-Attas’ qualification of the coming of Islam to the Malay world in such terms is understandable, when bearing in mind that in the work of the man - who later became the intellectual mentor to a whole generation of Islamist scholars, students, and activists in the country - we find traces of a form of reversed Orientalism and that he aimed for a radical break between the Malay pre-Islamic past and the Islamic presence in the here-and-now.

Forum >
Southeast Asia

By Farish Noor

There are two problematic elements in this thesis. The first is the claim that the coming of Islam represented a radical break with the pre-Islamic past. The second is the implicit claim that Islam arrived in its totality and was presented to the Malay world as a complete, totalized discourse with clearly identifiable boundaries of its own. Neither of these claims, implicit in the works of many contemporary Islamist scholars, stands in the light of close scrutiny.

Yet to engage in any debate of this sort today would mean getting oneself involved in a highly contested dispute that has also taken on a broader political dimension. The rewriting of the pre-Islamic Malay past has become a matter of political interest and it is no accident that the revisionist attempt to re-inscribe the story of the Malay peoples took off in the 1970s when the anti-Orientalist debate also engulfed the Malay academic world. (Edward Said’s *Orientalism* was published in 1978, the same year that Naquib al-Attas’s *Islam and Secularism* was published in Malaysia by ABIM)

What complicates matters further is the lack of reliable material and resources with which one could arm oneself, should one decide to join in the fray. It is therefore timely and fortunate indeed that the Malaysian Sociological Research Institute (MSRI) has managed to put together a collection of important writings by the prominent historian and scholar of Malay Studies Rudolf Aernoud Kern in a volume entitled *The Propagation of Islam in the Indonesian-Malay Archipelago*.

For years, the writings of people like Kern were vilified and condemned on the grounds that they were tainted by Eurocentric and Orientalist biases. One of the saddest (and surely unintended) consequences of Said’s *Orientalism* was that it opened the door for a flood of anti-Western polemics by non-Europeans. They used it as a justification to demolish the entire order of knowledge that had been constructed during the colonial era. While it is true that during the nineteenth to early twentieth century much of the scholarship of the West about the rest of the world was indeed shaped by a jaundiced view of all things Asian and Muslim, it is equally important to state that much of that scholarship was also carried out with great care and attention to detail. In a radical gesture of throwing the baby out with the bath water, post-colonial scholarship in many ex-colonial states has ended up rejecting anything and everything written by Westerners. Almost

overnight, the works of people like Kern were discredited for containing traces of ethnocentrism, Eurocentrism, and prejudice towards Islam and Muslim culture. Sadly, the rejection of the Western canon merely led to the creation of other equally hegemonic and static discourses that were rooted in notions of essentialism and authenticity. Many of the writings emerging in the ex-colonial societies were equally biased, essentialist and in some cases downright inaccurate and caricatural.

The republication of Kern’s essays therefore comes at an opportune moment as the debate on an Islamic state and Islamic society is once again current in Malaysia. His essays show that the coming of Islam to the Malay world and the Islamization of Malay society was indeed a long, complex, and highly differentiated process that did not take Islam and Muslim identity as fixed and stable categories. Kern’s close readings of early Malay and Indonesian Muslim texts, social rituals, and rites clearly show the plasticity of Islamic discourse that has lain at the core of Islamic civilization itself. The spread of Islam was due in part to the fact that, Malay society - being a discursive economy - was open and flexible and its borders were porous and ever shifting.

Evidence to the early presence of Islam in the Malay archipelago also testifies to this. In his important essay on the famous Trengganu stone - which today is still referred to as proof of Islam’s arrival to the Malay peninsula in the fourteenth century - Kern notes that the impact of Islam was subtle. The Trengganu stone bears an inscription in the Jawi script. While this has been used time and again as a reference point to mark the immaculate arrival of Islam in the Malay world, few have cared to point out that the inscription itself does not mention the word “Allah” but rather refers to God as “Dewata Mulia Raya” - a phrase that is fully Sanskrit in origin. Kern is trying to show that Islam’s early arrival did not come as a forceful impact that marked a traumatic break from the past, despite the claims of many an Islamist scholar today.

Kern renders similar observations in his writings on the Islamization of Aceh, South Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Sulawesi, and the Malay peninsula, going to great lengths to show the degree of overlap and interpenetration that took place in these diverse social settings at a number of levels. Working within the communicative architecture of the period, Kern explores the etymological roots and development of key concepts in Malay culture like *kuasa* (power), *kewibawaan* (authority), *sakti*,

derhaka (treason) and others to show just how the formation of Islamic socio-cultural, political, and legal discourse was developed according to the needs and circumstances of the contemporaneous local environment. Kern also points to the local genius of the Malays, who had adapted Islam to their culture and vice-versa, in a process of cultural cross-fertilization enriching Malay culture and Islamic civilization at the same time.

In all these cases, one detects a common sensitivity and awareness of the fact that Islam’s entry into the Malay archipelago was not a forcible one, but rather a “penetration pacifique” that came in gentle waves which adapted themselves to the local socio-cultural terrain. This would also explain why Islam managed to spread itself from the lowest sections of society upwards, and why the ruling courts and royal houses finally allowed themselves to come under the sway of this new faith from abroad.

If anything, Kern disproves the oft-repeated assertion that Islam had spread across the world at the point of the sword and that the expansion of Islam was motivated by the desire for territorial conquest and imperial rule. More so than any writer today, Kern had shown that Islam in the Malay world has from the very beginning been pacifist, accommodative, and tolerant of cultural diversity and difference. How else could one explain the lingering traces of the pre-Islamic past, with us still today, even in the rites and rituals of Islam themselves? (indeed, traces of the pre-Islamic past in the experience of Islam lived in the Malay world abound. The very word “*sembahyang*” (prayer/to pray) literally means to offer homage (*sembah*) to *Hyang* (the Primal ancestor of pagan times). One cannot help but wonder if the Malay Muslims of today are aware of how close they are to their pre-Islamic Other in their daily rituals.

Credit must also go to the editor of *The Propagation of Islam*, Alijah Gordon, for her masterly handling of the work. This MSRI publication stands head and shoulders above most of the publications that have come from other publishing houses in the country. Alijah’s scrupulous editing, careful annotation, and the abundance of footnotes rich with valuable data make the book a joy to read for any serious scholar with a deep abiding interest in the subject. Most important of all, her handling of the text and her selection of other accompanying articles by the likes of G. W.J. Drewes, Charles Ralph Boxer, Denys Lombard, and Claudine Salmon have added a much needed touch of

sanity and balance in a debate that has seriously gone off the rails in the Malaysian context over the past few years. Drewes’ biographical essay on Kern sheds much needed light on the man and his personality, while the other essays in the second part of the book take the argument of Kern further by looking at the process of Islamization in other parts of the archipelago that fell outside the orbit of Kern’s scholarly interest.

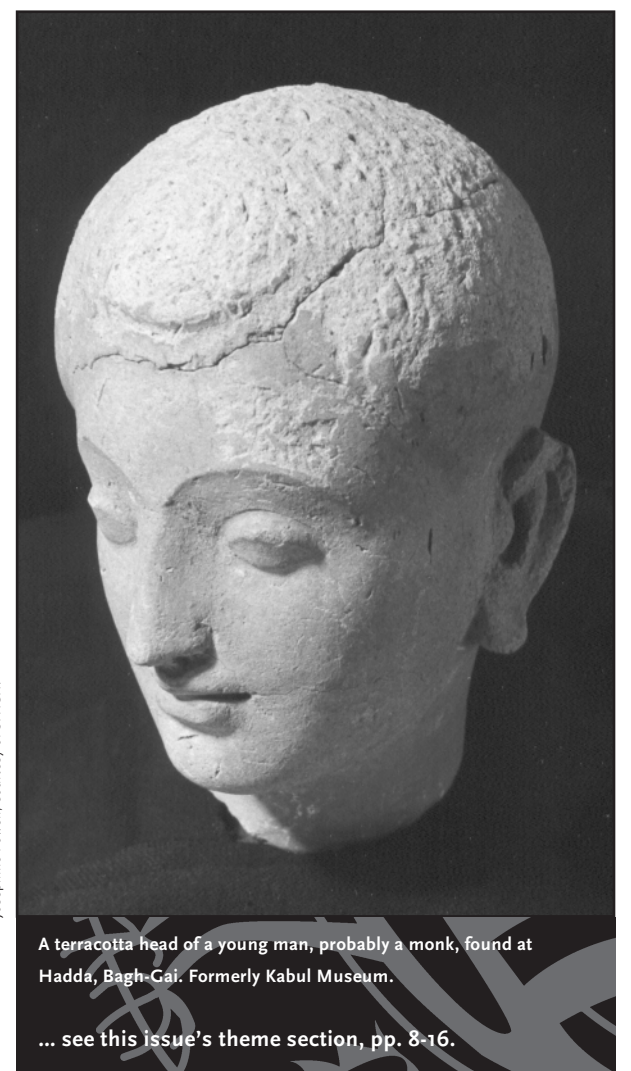
The Propagation of Islam in the Indonesian-Malay Archipelago is wonderfully comprehensive and lucid, doing justice to the man who pioneered the study of Islam and Islamization of the Malay archipelago. It is hoped that with the publication of this book the debate over the question of Muslim identity in Southeast Asia can be reactivated, but then on the right track. <

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A terracotta head of a young man, probably a monk, found at Hadda, Bagh-Gai. Formerly Kabul Museum.

... see this issue’s theme section, pp. 8-16.

Notes >

1 See: Syed Naquib al-Attas, *Preliminary Statement on a General Theory of the Islamization of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, (1963).

Japan as Imagined by Arabs

Research >
East Asia

With the advent of colonialism and the foundation of modern nation states in the Middle East, Japan attracted special attention among late nineteenth-century Arab reformists. The victory of Imperial Japan over Tsarist Russia in 1905 gave rise to serious thought among many new nations about the West's hegemony. The Japanese revealed that they had mastered Western technology and could challenge Western power. Why did Japan make it, and not the Muslim nations? This is a major question still posed by modern economic historians. Indeed, Japan was, and still is, a fascinating model. It is the success story of a non-Western culture that maintained its traditions and yet could resist the West. Japan was thus used as a mirror for Arab intellectuals to review critically various aspects of Arab culture and Muslim nations.

By Mona Abaza

Admiration of Japan was already being expressed in reformist writings at the end of the nineteenth century. In his discussion of the decadence of education in the Ottoman empire and Egypt, the Pan-Islamic thinker Jamal ad Din al-Afghani (1838-97) puts forward the example of Japan's emphasis on sending students abroad. Al-Afghani juxtaposes this particular impulse with the useless missions that were sent from the Middle East. Such passages on Japan are revealing because al-Afghani is one of the first modern religious reformists to suggest that religion alone was not a sufficient element for the elevation of nations. According to al-Afghani, the lesson of Japan's success lies paradoxically in the fact that religion was neutralized. Al-Afghani argues that the refinement and elevation of this oriental nation was possible because religion did not intervene. The Japanese, he tells us, left pagan traditions behind and aspired towards the empirical sciences, and thus imitated the greatest nations. They introduced sound civic rules, and they discarded what they considered to be the bad customs of both the West and the East that did not suit their habits. What helped the Japanese nation most was its geographic remoteness, which rescued it from Western interests.¹

The reformist Rashid Rida, who founded the journal *al-Manar (The Lighthouse)* in Cairo (published from 1898 to 1936), also upheld Japan as an example to be emulated. Rida's central mandate for *al-Manar* was to promote the idea that Islam was not in contradiction with modernity, science, reason, and civilization. Rida was mainly concerned with how to enter the age of modernity, and his view of Japan was new in that he concentrated on its admirable ability to blend old and new solutions.² A contemporary of his, the Egyptian nationalist Mustafa Kamil, referred to Japan in a similar way in his 1904 book *The Rising Sun (al-shams al-mushriqa)*.³

Economic Historians

In modern discourses on economic history, Japan still serves as a crucial role model. In the nineteenth century, Egypt under Muhammad Ali underwent transformations similar to those undergone by Meiji Japan; both experienced their first intensive encounters with the West. Economic historians have pointed out cultural similarities as well as changes caused by industrialization, the agricultural revolution, and the creation of infrastructures. In order to explain Egypt's "failure", they highlight a long list of factors which hampered "modern economic growth". As with the analysis of al-Afghani, one such factor that appears in all of these comparisons is that the geographical remoteness of Japan rescued it from Western interests.⁴

In discussing the role and anatomy of the state in the Middle East, Ghassan Salame brilliantly summarizes the fascination of Arab intellectuals with Japan. He focuses his attention on Egyptian economist Galal Amin's argument that the failure of Muhammad Ali's Egypt versus the relative success of a state undergoing modernization, such as Japan, was due to Egypt's centrality versus Japan's relative geographical isolation.⁵

The introduction of Enlightenment into non-Western societies is an issue of scholarly contention that seems to occupy significant space in comparative Egyptian-Japanese studies. Two eminent scholars are interested in this issue. Both the Egyptian historian Ra'uf Abbas and professor of philosophy Nasr Hamid abu-Zayd, were able to visit Japan. Ra'uf Abbas was invited as a fellow at the Institute of Developing Countries from 1972-1973, and then as a visiting professor at Tokyo University from 1989-1990. In 1980, he published *Japanese Society during the Meiji Period*. This work is considered the first of such scientific studies based on primary sources to be published in Arabic. Its success led Abbas to undertake *The Japanese and Egyptian Enlightenment*, a comparative study of the biographies of two contemporaries, Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901) and Rifa'a al-Tahtawi (1801-1874),⁶ in which Abbas discusses how the birth of the modern state and the related questions of development were the main concerns of these two pioneers of enlightenment. Both



In his lengthy and important introduction to *Bushido*, Abu Zayd expresses great admiration for Japan and explains that he translated it from English into Arabic in order to make Arabs aware of the fact that they have been directing their gaze too much towards Europe. Their perception of the East is "whimsical" and mythical, he writes, and most Arabs reduce Japan's success story to that of an affluent consumer society. Abu Zayd admires Nitobe Inazo because his book shows a commitment to "become a bridge across the Pacific", as seen in his careful endeavours at explaining Japanese culture to a Western audience in clear and honest terms. Arabs, according to Abu Zayd, make no efforts at understanding the Other, but rather they are ethnocentric and epicentric. Although there are more attempts from the Japanese side to understand the Arabs, Arab-Japanese relations and mutual interests are primarily materialistic.

It could be argued that Shinto religion, lacking a founder or a central sacred scripture, is difficult to compare to monotheistic Islam. Still Abu Zayd's endeavour in this respect is interesting because he uses Japan to direct a bitter critique of the misuse of Islamic religious discourse while he praises the syncretic aspects of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Shintoism. In his discussion of the family system in Japan, he devalues the Sadat government's propaganda that sought to make an instrument of the family in order to further his authoritarianism. Abu Zayd also admired Japanese architecture and lifestyle for resisting Americanization, unlike the designs of houses which can be seen among the Egyptian middle class. He praises the authenticity of Japanese performances of rituals and contrasts them with the double standards of some practices of the Middle East. Where he sees manipulation of the contemporary religious discourse in Egypt, he observes flexibility, sincerity, and openness in the Japanese traditions. Abu Zayd's main aim in discussing the Japanese model is to learn by comparison, by confronting cross-cultural encounters and "translating" them. "We", the Arabs, do not show any serious efforts to know ourselves better and reflect on our own culture.

To sum up, Abu Zayd is fascinated with Nitobe Inazo's effort at self-explanation, but, at the same time, he uses this Japanese example to critique his own society. In Japan, he argues, the foreigner must adapt to the Japanese lifestyle and food habits, while Egyptians would qualify this as underdeveloped and, instead, try to live up to American standards. Arab society is too infatuated with the West, resulting in complete dependency. As already mentioned, modernization in Egypt led to the transformation of traditional architectural styles into a mere emulation of European and American architecture. The Japanese, meanwhile, still sleep on futons, eat on the floor, and dress in *kimonos* – and continue to thrive in a highly advanced technological society.

All these attempts to interpret Japan hint at a Middle East whose gaze is being directed towards Asia. To be sure, it is an imagined Japan tainted by centric notions, but such attempts are also most interesting in terms of their interpretation of the Other. <

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Bushido translated from English by Nasr Hamid Abu Zayd, designed by the famous painter Helmi al-Tuni.



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Xun Zi in the Intellectual Context of Early China:

Replies to Perspectives of European Scholars [PART 1 | TWO-PART SERIES]

Research >
East Asia

From November to December in 2001, supported by an ESF travel grant, I visited four Sino-logical departments in Europe: München University, Tübingen University, Catholic University of Leuven, and Vienna University. On each visit, I made a presentation on the socio-political theory of Xun Zi (c. 316-235 BC). What follows are reflections on the valuable questions and criticisms raised by the scholars of the aforementioned institutes to my representation of Xun Zi's thought.

By Masayuki Sato

Mencius and Xun Zi are two of the most well-known defenders of Confucian teaching during the Warring States period. Just as Aristotle's philosophy had done in the West, Xun Zi's socio-political theory critically influenced the formation of state institutions and ideology in Chinese and other East Asian dynastic history. Xun Zi's thought has been gaining in popularity since the mid-1990s, especially among young Western scholars. Apart from P. Goldin's work, published in 1999 in the US, at least five doctoral dissertations have been written about Xun Zi's philosophy.

My representation of Xun Zi's thought can be summarized into three main points: first, the goal of Xun Zi's socio-political theory is the attainment of Order, more concretely, the "recov-

ery" of the order of human society as manifested in the order of Heaven and Earth. This also represents the triad structure in Xun Zi's world view. The inquiry into the Order and triad structure in such a world view are salient features of what I call the Jixia's analytical discourse. Second, Xun Zi advocated the concept of *Li*, or rituals and social norms, as the viable method for attaining social order. Hence, *Li* itself was not his theoretical goal. Third, I introduced three major functions of *Li* by which to recover the social order: (1) as the method for manufacturing an ethical ruler; (2) as the standard for investigating the morality of a person in order to recruit an appropriate high-ranking government official, i.e. the chief minister; and (3) as the highest emanative source in a political institution by which to invest statute and policies on a subordinate level with a moral basis or

legitimacy for their implementation.

Each of my presentations was followed by a number of questions and comments by participants. Four from among them were so challenging that I needed more time to formulate responses. I present those responses below.

Question 1: *How does one determine the content of so-called "Jixia thought" if there are hardly any extant textual fragments that can be associated with it? (Prof. C. Defoot, Catholic University of Leuven)*

Response: When we refer to the thought of the so-called 'Jixia Masters', we usually follow the enumeration of Sima Qian (Ch. Forty-Six, the *Shiji*): Chunyu Kun, Zou Yan, Shen Dao, Tian Pian, and Huan Yuan. Unfortunately, most of their 'works' are fundamentally lost. The *Shenzi Fragments*, however,

preserve a certain amount of Shen Dao's argument and can provide precious clues to delineate the characteristics of their thought. What I consider important are the following four points: first, Shen Dao developed the meaning of terms such as *fa* (law and regulation), *fen* (social distinction and the distribution of social and natural resources), and *shi* (authoritative position), with which one can analyse the dynamism of order and disorder of a state. In addition to the *Shenzi Fragments*, several criticisms on Shen Dao by the Warring States works, such as the *Zhuangzi*, the *Lüshi Chunqiu*, the *Xunzi*, and the *Han-feizi*, verify this point. Second, we find the concept of the Trinity (i.e. Heaven, Earth, and Man/ruler) as an argumentative framework appearing simultaneously in the *Shenzi Fragments*, the *Guanzi* (in particular the so-called *Four Chapters*), and the *Lüshi chunqiu*. Since the *Shenzi Fragments* reflect more or less on the thought of Shen Dao, a prominent Jixia master, it would not be far-fetched to say that the Jixia masters explored the concept of the Trinity as the juxtaposition of natural order against social disorder, and this has consequently been reserved in these four works. Support for this can be found in Sima Qian's remarks that the Jixia masters engaged themselves in discourse on "order and disorder" (Chap. Seventy-Four, *Ibid.*). Third, according to Chapter 17.8 (Zhiyi) in the *Lüshi chunqiu*, in a dialogue with the king of Qi (perhaps King Xuan, c. 319-301 BC), another prominent Jixia master, Tian Pian, amazes the Qi king by proposing the principle concept, i.e. the concept of the Way in his discussion about the state affairs of the Qi. The bewilderment of the Qi king suggests that before the time of this dialogue, the Qi king was not accustomed to hearing about such metaphysical principles as the Way in the discussion of state affairs. This implies that the Jixia thinkers focused on universal social mechanisms rather than the individual political behaviour of rulers of their time. Fourth, the "summary" of Zou Yan's work is preserved in the *Lüshi chunqiu* and the *Shiji* of Sima Qian. Here we can also find Zou Yan's keen observations of social mechanisms which would cause dynastic change. In this way, we are able to reveal several characteristics of the Jixia thinkers, even though the amount of extant text materials are very limited.

Question 2: *Was Xun Zi a successor of the Jixia thought? If so, then it does not match the remark by Liu Xiang: "Xun Zi is described as a criticizer of the preceding Jixia masters." (Prof. H. Kogelschatz, Tübingen University)*

Response: Certainly, Liu Xiang's "Preface" to the *Xunzi* includes a passage, which says: "Xun Zi said that their words (i.e. Jixia masters) were not the

teaching of the Ancient Kings." I would argue that, in order to interpret the significance of this remark, it is also important to take into consideration the fact that, in Liu Xiang's time, Chinese intellectuals have associated any thinker with a school and, consequently, he contrasted Xun Zi's thought as an orthodox one (i.e. the teaching of the ancient sage kings or Confucianism) with that of other schools preceding him. As is seen in Sima Tan's (father of Sima Qian) *A Summary of Six Schools*, since the middle of the Former Han, the Han intellectuals categorized various Warring States thinkers into "schools" according to their understanding of their thought. Furthermore, a close reading of the other parts of Xun Zi's biography and a comparative textual analysis of the Jixia masters, such as Shen Dao and Xun Zi himself, we actually find more evidence of how deeply Xun Zi was influenced by his predecessors. For example, Xun Zi was appointed the Libationer (roughly translated as 'president') of the Jixia Academy three times, (Ch. Seventy-Four, the *Shiji*). Such a thing would be inconceivable unless we realize that Xun Zi's thought preserved, more or less, substantial intellectual accomplishments of preceding Jixia masters; it is difficult to accept that those who were fascinated by the thought of, for example, Shen Dao and Tian Pian would welcome those who would argue a completely different substance of thought from themselves. More importantly, Sima Qian describes Jixia thinkers as being concerned with the "quest for socio-political order", and it is indeed the theoretical goal of Xun Zi's political theory. In short, as the case of Mencius indicates, it is fairly probable that Xun Zi himself believed that his thought was completely different from his predecessors; yet, in my opinion, his renunciation shows rather his desperate effort to expose "fundamental difference" between his argument and theirs. ◀

Dr Masayuki Sato is presently Chiang Ching-kuo Fellow and a lecturer at the Sino-logical Institute of Leiden University. His work, *The Quest for Order: The Origin and Formation of Xun Zi's Political Thought* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), is forthcoming. E-mail: M.sato@let.leidenuniv.nl



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Editors' note >

The second and final part of this report will follow in the next issue of the IIAS Newsletter.

In Search of the Chinese Muslim Diaspora

Research >
East Asia

The voluminous amount of literature on the Chinese labourers' emigration, the so-called "coolie trade", never paid much attention to one of its smallest components: the Chinese Muslims (*Hui*). It should not be so surprising to find some Muslims among Chinese labourers, as there were communities of Muslims living in most of the regions where recruitment took place. The puzzling element, however, is that Chinese Muslims seem to have been part of this emigration process for only a very short period of time, specifically during the decade prior to the First World War.

By Eric Germain

The reason appears to have been directly linked with the socio-political situation of China at that moment. If we consider the recruitment scheme for the Transvaal gold mines, it was the Russo-Japanese War that necessitated the changes in emigration flux from Guangdong to the Northern provinces. In fact, for the first time, labourers were not only Cantonese but also Northern Chinese from Shandong, Manchuria, and Henan.

While visiting England on an ESF Asia Committee travel grant, I visited the British Library and the Newspaper Library in London, and the Bodleian Library in Oxford, as well as had contacts

with academics from the SOAS and Oxford University. I found several documents referring to Chinese Muslims working in South Africa. There were no more than one-hundred and they probably all returned to China in 1910 when their contracts ended, as did most of the 60,000 Chinese labourers. The link between the recruitment of Northern Chinese and the greater presence of Muslims among Chinese labourers is confirmed by figures from German colonies which show that many of the Chinese were also Shandong. Furthermore, it is known that Chinese Muslims were working in the German territories of the Pacific Ocean, such as Kaiser Wilhelm Island (German New-Guinea) and the Samoan islands.

Research on the Muslim component of the Chinese Diaspora as been quite time consuming as information is scarce and dispersed throughout a vast amount of documentation. It became necessary to enlarge the scope of the research to all Chinese Muslims who were living or travelling overseas in the first half of the twentieth century. For that purpose, one type of relevant source material is the Missionary literature, Christian as well as Muslim. Indeed, Muslim newspapers with circulations in European colonies at the beginning of the twentieth century were very concerned with the fate of co-religionists facing similar problems in other lands. Of particular interest is the literature issued by the two oldest

mosques in England, located near London in Liverpool and Woking. Newspapers issued there emphasized the need to propagate Islam and often referred to the "exotic" nationalities which gathered in their mosques as a means of showing the universality of Islam. Mosques throughout the British Empire welcomed Muslim visitors and I found reports of some Chinese individuals attending Eid celebrations; although, in those cases, it is difficult to ascertain whether those people were really "Chinese" and not Indian traders living in Hong Kong and Shanghai. If they did, in fact, turn out to be Chinese, what were they doing there? There were, for example, no less than 450 Chinese students in Great Britain in 1930, some Muslims probably numbering among them (especially those studying in military academies), but I do not know if and how they associated with local Muslim communities.

Another group interested in the diversity of religious affiliations of Chinese overseas' communities were the Chris-

tian missionaries. In China, it was widely believed that Muslims, being already monotheists, were more likely to accept the message of the Gospel. But in the areas of immigration, clerics who knew about the existence of "Mohammedans" among Chinese labourers (whose presence was largely ignored by records of Foreign Labour Departments) were rare. Information is thus non-existent at the local level, and most can be found in the statistical surveys published regularly by Missionary Agencies or for Missionary Conferences.

Little by little, then, this research is linking singular experiences in more than twenty countries into a global scheme of migration patterns of the Chinese Muslims at the turn of the twentieth century. <

Dr Eric Germain is now involved in a research group named "Minorités en miroir" within the Institut d'Etudes de l'Islam et des Sociétés du Monde Musulman (IISMM/EHESS, Paris).

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The Religious Factor In Recent Political Transformations in Southeast Asia

Report >
Southeast Asia

During the last few years, Southeast Asia has witnessed far-reaching transformations in the political sphere. Established governments and political systems have been replaced or regions have been conceded larger autonomy, if not independence. Calls for change remain strong. Both as causes and as effects of these transformations and aspirations, Southeast Asia has undergone growing tensions between social classes, ethnic groups, and regions. In many of these processes religion plays a role, yet the importance and nature of the religious factor is often a subject for discussion.

By Andrée Feillard @ Johan Meuleman

As a contribution to this discussion, the authors of this report organized a panel on "The religious factor in recent political transformations in Southeast Asia" at the third EUROSEAS Conference (London, 6 to 8 September 2001). The objective of the panel was to examine the role of conceptions, traditions, organizations, and leaders of various religions and religious communities in transformations such as the Indonesian Reformasi, the conflicts in Aceh, the Moluccas, and East Timor, and the competition for power in Malaysia. One of the main questions addressed was to what extent the religious factor is important, taking a significant place alongside socio-economic and ethnic factors or simply conflicts for the distribution of power and resources. Another question touched on the relationship between religious factors and those other types of factors in various social and political processes?

Eleven participants from a number of European countries, Indonesia, and Malaysia presented papers relating to Indonesia and Malaysia. Unfortunately, no papers were presented on the democratization process in the Philippines, the Muslim autonomy movements in Thailand and the Philippines, or related questions pertaining to Southeast Asia.

Johan Meuleman presented a paper entitled "From New Order to national disintegration. The religious factor between reality, manipulation, and rationalization", arguing that in many recent conflicts in Indonesia religion has not played a dominant or independent role, but has often been presented so in rationalizations, i.e. pseudo-scientific simplifications. The manipulation of religious sensibilities has been a frequent strategy.

Hans Hägerdal (University of Växjö, Sweden) presented the results of two long series of interviews, concentrating on questions such as globalization, Pancasila (the Indonesian state ideology) and democracy, in a paper entitled "Images of the future: intellectual Muslim views of political pluralism in the aftermath of the Indonesian New Order". He concluded that most Indonesian Muslim intellectuals are remarkably open-minded in their attitude towards modernity, a global world, and the other religious communities, but that the thirty-odd years of Soeharto's

New Order regime continue to have an impact on their ideas.

In a paper on "The religious factor in political concepts during the early stage of Indonesian Reformasi", Mathias Diederich (Johann Wolfgang Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main) showed that, although many parties used Islamic symbols, hardly any presented a concrete proposal referring to Islam in their programmes.

A related theme was addressed in Andrée Feillard's paper "The reappearance of religion as a factor in Indonesian party politics". She offered a critical analysis of a political survey from 1999 by William Liddle and Saiful Mujani and explained that the distinction between *santri* (practising orthodox Muslims), *abangan* (Indonesian Muslims strongly influenced by pre-Islamic spiritual conceptions), traditionalist Muslims, and secularists should be made in a much more refined way than the authors mentioned have done and many others still do. She drew attention to the development of a category of "new *santris*", whose political attitudes appear to differ both from their parents and from the older category of *santris*.

In his "Between faith and politics. The rise of the Laskar Jihad in the political arena of Indonesia", Noorhaidi Hasan (IIAS/ISIM) offered important original information on the domestic and international background of a Muslim militia that has played a conspicuous role in the Moluccan conflict since the middle of 2000. On the basis of printed and Internet sources as well as interviews, the author discussed the social and doctrinal nature of this movement and its development in the context of recent political transformations in Indonesia and the Muslim world at large.

Inspired by his long-standing involvement with non-governmental organizations in Indonesia and with the study of social and political development, Nico Schulte Nordholt (University of Twente, the Netherlands) elaborated on the panel theme in a paper entitled "The religious dimension of Indonesian NGOs: A constraint for strengthening civil society?" In his effort to offer a balanced answer to this question, he concentrated on the importance of cross-religious reflection so that NGOs will be able to contribute to reconciliation in conflict-ridden Indonesia.

Rémy Madinier (Université Jean Moulin-Lyon 3) discussed

"The development of modernist Muslim discourse on Christians in independent Indonesia". He explained how the status of Christians in the discourse of reformist Indonesian Muslims has progressively deteriorated, from the allies of reformist Islam in the 1950s to the culprit of all New Order sins in the early 1990s, and finally to traitors to their homeland from the end of the 1990s.

Farsijana Adeney-Risakotta (Amsterdam School for Social Research), in a paper entitled "The politics of ritual and the ritual of politics in the Moluccas", proposed an original approach to the communal conflict in her region of origin. In this preliminary sketch of her future dissertation, she showed how rituals function to facilitate interaction between different groups, but have also been manipulated to establish political or economic power, from colonial times up to the present.

Three papers addressed the role of religion in present political competition in Malaysia. In spite of their differences of opinion on what the real questions in their country are, the two Malaysian participants, Patricia A. Martinez ("Untangling the new configurations of race and religion in Malaysia") and Hashim Hj Musa ("The recent Islamic reaffirmation in Malaysia: germinating Islamic integrative element in the making of a future Malaysian civilization"), both from the University of Malaya, agreed that the final stage of the Mahathir regime might well be characterized by increasing repression, including the introduction of restrictive measures in the academic world. Both questioned the conclusion of the German researcher, Claudia Derichs (Gerhard-Mercator University, Duisburg), writing on "Political Islam and Islamic politics in Malaysia: different faces and facets", that communal conflict was diminishing and becoming less violent in Malaysia – which would have been quite the opposite to what has been witnessed in its southern neighbour. <

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Moving toward a Mature, Balanced Stage of Studying Christianity in China

Research >
East Asia

Before the 1970s, if anyone wanted to study, or even mentioned the topic, of Christianity in China, he/she would quite naturally adopt a “mission” approach. This approach is vividly reflected in a number of major works, for example, Kenneth Scott Latourette’s monumental one-volume work *A History of Christian Missions in China* (1929), Columba Cary-Elwes’ *China and the Cross: A Survey of Missionary History* (1957), and Pasquale M. D’Elia’s *The Catholic Missions in China: A Short Sketch of the Catholic Church in China from the Earliest Records to Our Own Days* (1934), or John K. Fairbank’s (ed.), *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, which was derived from a conference held exactly thirty years ago. This approach is understandable because the West was the origin of foreign missions for more than a thousand years. And the “mission” approach has been well accepted and well established in the Western world.

By Peter Chen-main Wang

The attitude of Western church circles echoes this approach. This was especially true when all foreign missionaries were either deported or put into goals in China about half-a-century ago. Church organizations, mission boards, as well as individual missionaries held various discussions/seminars in order to find out why China was “lost”. Individual missionaries, mission boards, as well as worldwide missionary organizations often examined their own behaviour and mission strategies in order to figure out why countless good works with the investment of a tremendous amount of time, money, and energy could not win the Chinese souls.

The availability of historical sources also helps to justify this approach. When church or university scholars in the West pioneered research on Christianity in China, they were easily attracted to numerous rich collections of

church/missionary archives. Based on missionary field reports, minutes of the meetings of mission boards, as well as correspondence between the home board and missionaries and between missionaries and their governments, the researchers could easily draw a picture of foreign “missions” in China.

However, this “mission” approach declined in the early 1970s. Because scholars in this field switched their interest to other subjects, few important works were produced for a decade. Scholars in this field gradually recognized that they could not study ‘Christianity in China’ without saying anything about the Chinese context and Chinese converts. A ‘China-centred’ approach to the study of ‘Christianity in China’ burgeoned in the early 1980s. Whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, Chinese converts became an important subject to study. A number of questions were raised: Why did they accept the religion? Did they really understand the

religion? To what did they respond in the missionary preaching? How did they keep a balance between Chinese culture and Christian ideas? And how did they justify their religion in the face of anti-foreign, revolutionary tides in China?

Terms such as “Indigenization of Christianity” or “Indigenized church” soon became popular in church history circles in the 1980s. These terms seemed to suggest that the goal and methods to build an independent Chinese church could be integrated into Chinese culture. Increasingly more articles, theses, books, and conferences have dealt with this issue.¹ Major Chinese Christians, Chinese churches, as well as Chinese theology have attracted much attention from academic circles.

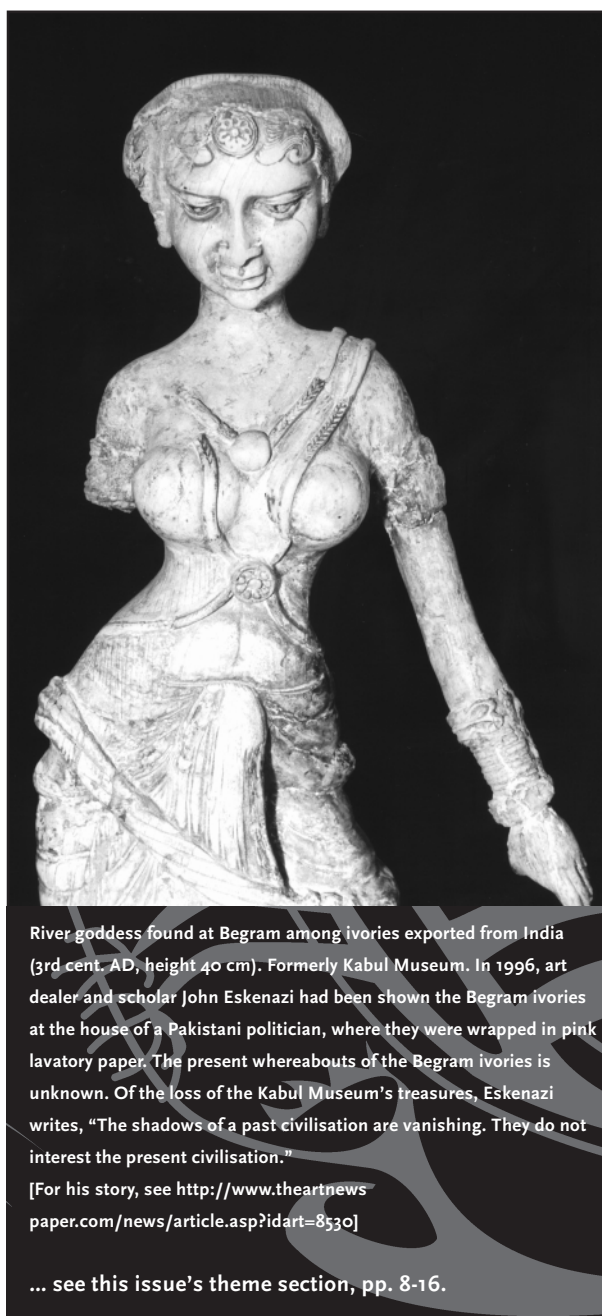
Along with this research trend, a great amount of Chinese church materials have been unearthed in China and in the rest of the world since the 1980s. Quite a few reference books and search aids were edited and published, making it easier to locate church material in the West and also in China. In this way, “Christianity in China” not only regained its scholarly momentum in the West, but also won the attention of Chinese scholars. With the relaxation of restrictions on church material and church studies in China in the late 1980s, we have wit-

nessed the sudden emergence in China of a younger generation of Chinese scholars in this field. Hundreds of Chinese books on Christianity in China have been published in China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan.² The 1990s was a fruitful season for a “hundred flowers blooming” for Christian history in China. For example, more than fifty academic books in Chinese were published in 1998 and 1999.

One of the most important trends in studying Christianity in China is the swing of the academic pendulum from the extreme side of the “indigenization” approach to the “contextualization” approach.³ Scholars in this field gradually recognized that they must keep a balance between the “mission” and “indigenization” approaches. In other words, a mature work must pay attention to the interaction between the Gospel and the Chinese context, between missionaries and the Chinese converts, between mission strategies and Chinese response. This kind of approach is not possible unless the researchers can use both Chinese and Western materials diligently and extensively. A research of this two-way communication will clearly present a complete picture of the development of Christianity in China or in any given area.

Contextualization is also a better tool to evaluate Christian missions and local churches, as well as Chinese Christians. This approach will help us get a better understanding of how a foreign religion was introduced into a Chinese context, how a foreign context influenced mission strategies, how Chinese converts faced their non-Christian countrymen, and how Chinese Christians tried to establish their own churches in China. Furthermore, this new method might also serve as a useful evangelical consideration before the start of a mission in China or in the rest of the world. Recognition of a new mission context might not necessarily guarantee the success of a mission, but the lack of it will doom it to failure. <

Professor Peter Chen-main Wang is Professor of History at National Chung Cheng University and is currently the Fifth chairholder of European Chair of Chinese Studies, IIAS/Leiden University. His fields of special interest include seventeenth-century Chinese history, the history of Christianity in China, and the history of US-China relations.
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Josephine Powell, courtesy of SPACH.

River goddess found at Begram among ivories exported from India (3rd cent. AD, height 40 cm). Formerly Kabul Museum. In 1996, art dealer and scholar John Eskenazi had been shown the Begram ivories at the house of a Pakistani politician, where they were wrapped in pink lavatory paper. The present whereabouts of the Begram ivories is unknown. Of the loss of the Kabul Museum’s treasures, Eskenazi writes, “The shadows of a past civilisation are vanishing. They do not interest the present civilisation.”

[For his story, see <http://www.theartnews.com/news/article.asp?idart=8530>]

... see this issue’s theme section, pp. 8-16.

Editors’ note >

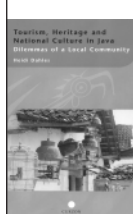
Please see the interview with Professor Chen-main Wang by Dr Masayuki Sato on p. 5 of this issue, as well as the information on the upcoming conference on “Contextualization of Christianity in China” on p. 59.

Notes >

- 1 More than twenty conferences have been held in China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, the United States, and Europe since the mid-1980s. I also organized an international conference on “Indigenization of Christianity in China” in 1988.
- 2 For a general survey of Chinese books on Christianity in China, see Peter Chen-main Wang, “Jidujiao caihuashi zhongwen shumu xuanyao” (Selected Chinese Bibliography on Christianity in China), in Peter Chen-main Wang (trans.), Jessie G. Lutz, *Sochuan weiho—Jidujiao caihua xuanjiao di jiantao* (Christian Missions in China—Evangelists of What?), Taipei: Academia Historica (2000); pp. 247-273.
- 3 “Contextualization is a dynamic process of the church’s reflection, in obedience to Christ and his mission in the world, on the interaction of the text as the word of God and the context as a specific human situation.” See, Ferguson, Sinclair B., David F. Wright and J. I. Packer, *New Dictionary of Theology*, Downers Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity Press (1988); p. 164.

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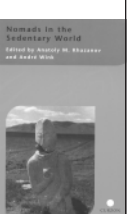


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The Life of Hindus in Britain

Research >
General

Some British people ask the question: "Why are there so many Gods? God is only one. We [Hindus] need to explain to everyone that really God is one – there are different incarnations of God, at different times. He has the power to change his shape and form. He did that but still he is one. And when I speak to children I use masks." I say "Look, I am Mrs Misra, I put this mask – now I am something else – but if I move it I am still the same person." – "That's what God is – one." (Vidya Misra, interviewed February 2001)

By Shalini Sharma

What do we really know of the historical experience of different communities of Asians living in Britain? Apart from a few works that have focussed on particular community groups dwelling in particular locales in Britain and a series of migration statistics and encyclopaedic entries, the answer would be, not much. In such a context, the importance of oral history is increasingly acknowledged. The lives and pursuits of ordinary people and the valuable information about customs, culture and priorities that can be gleaned from them are recognised as a valuable source to gain a wider understanding of our past. One such unrecorded history is that of Hindus in Britain. However, a beginning has been made by the launch of the British Hinduism Oral History project by the Oxford Centre for Vaishnava and Hindu Studies, which has been substantially aided by the National Lottery Heritage Fund.

Three hundred interviews of first generation migrants are to be conducted across Britain. The questionnaires follow a common format but each interview is unstructured to allow for the interviewee to freely focus on what he or she considers significant memory. The questions probe thought on reasons for migration, memories of the life left behind, first experiences of Britain, the building of social and community groups and the practice of faith in such a context. This forum can be used as both a space where the elderly inform their young descendents of their stories, hopes and fears, and as the first record of the daily experiences of Hindus in "multi-cultural" Britain.

Three distinct types of people have been targeted. Firstly, those people who have overtly made a difference in the lives of Hindus in Britain and are seen to have enhanced the prestige and self-respect of the community in the wider context of Britain. Secondly, the individuals whom "everybody knows" in particular locales, i.e. whom are known in the local communities as outstanding and exemplary figures of their faith. They are seen as the prominent innovators who have raised money for charitable causes, taught community languages, or built temples in their local communities. Finally, this project attempts to search out the voices of those individuals normally silent in historical accounts. These include the perpetuators of faith within the family home, mothers and wives who migrated with their men-folk and established the social customs and culture of a "Hindu" home. Also in this category are the voices of individuals whose experiences lie outside the dominant and officially recognized Hindu communities. These are either people belonging to "lower" caste groups or those who are practising Jains or Buddhists but perceived by the state as falling under the aegis of Hinduism. These stories can be compared in terms of class, caste and regional community to ascertain how united or coherent British Hinduism actually is.

Although only a fraction of the three hundred interviews have so far been conducted, already a wider picture of the story of migration and community building has emerged that far exceeds and contradicts initial expectations. Each story told is rich in memory and detail enabling the future generations to hear, feel and even see for themselves their so-often ill-preserved past.



HE Nareshwar Dayal, Indian High Commissioner speaking at the launch of the project.

L to R: Dr. Gillian Evison (Indian Institute Library, Bodlien, Oxford), Shaunaka Rishi Das (Director, Oxford Centre for Vaishnava & Hindu Studies), Peter Luff, MP, O. P. Sharma, MBE (National Council of Hindu Temples), HE Nareshwar Dayal, Indian High Commissioner, Lord Addington, and Helen Jackson (Heritage Lottery Fund).



Courtesy of Oxford Centre for Vaishnava and Hindu Studies

The first set of issues to be raised by the interviews carried out thus far turn on to what extent a body of individuals exists that denotes itself as Hindu. What does being a Hindu mean? What if anything do individuals in Britain date back to this period. However, what such overt manifestations of faith fail to convey is the extent to which smaller communities of Hindus such as Bengalis and Tamils practice their faith in different ways. Bengali informants spoke of the home as the principally important space for worship and the annual Durga Puja celebrations as the only real public celebration of their religion. Similarly, a Sri Lankan had built a temple in his garden, which is now visited by individuals from all tenets of British society including many Christians and Sikhs. Even within a group of individuals who originated from one region of India, there are many differences as to how to practice Hinduism. For example, the Punjabis are divided into Arya Samajis, Sanatan Dharmis, and various Sampradayas such as the growing faith in Sai Baba apparent amongst Hindus in Britain today.

Home & Hindutva

Since the rise of Hindutva within the Indian polity much research has been conducted on Hindu communalism within India. Studies of the long-term cultural strategies of groups such as the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, have alerted social scientists of the political importance of social activity termed as cultural. For, these very groups have attempted to cast the myriad diversities of Hinduism under one hegemonizing net of Hindutva. A common assumption surrounding Non-Resident Indians (NRI) is that they actively contribute to RSS/VHP funds and support the Bharatiya Janata Party in India. The project can explore this postulation. Relations between the ethnic minorities within Britain are discussed and opinions on the possible barriers between communities are sought. Exploding the myth that NRIs are only interested in what is happening in India, each individual to be interviewed stands firmly in the belief that he or she is British. For many India is a spiritual home, a place for pilgrimage, and a place where family and friends still reside. Home, however, is Britain and it is here that political loyalties dwell.

"There was an Indian community. They used to get together. It did not have any temple as such. They would get together every weekend to sing the songs of prayer to the Lord and

I joined their group, you know, we used to sing community devotional songs which gave life quite a bit of peace of mind and eventually we thought you know, we pooled up some money because wages were not high and we thought instead of going from one home to another (we used to arrange sat-sangs in different homes...) we thought why not make a centre and call it a temple and have some God heads?" (Rajinder Gupta, interviewed January 2001).

The stories these people tell are a chronicle of adapting to the different environment and population of Britain. The remote places that sold proper Indian spices and vegetables and sweetmeats are described, home made flower arrangements with which too adorn deities are fondly remembered while festivals which were as much a social event in which Hindus could meet and share their predicament as well as religious gatherings are discussed. They elaborate on the different stories they could tell their children in order to impart the basic values of good karma and charity. These were seen as more important than daily worship or the learning of Sanskrit. Community languages such as Gujarati, Hindi, Bengali, and Tamil are taught, mostly on a voluntary basis, at local community centres or temples so that children become acquainted with their mother tongue. Also interesting however is how some of those interviewed remember learning English. One old Gujarati gentleman picked it up when he was working for the British army in Africa during the Second World War. He would try to decipher the English newspapers and ask his officers for assistance whenever he got stuck.

In fact many of the informants speak of disunity amongst Hindus and the need to organize to gain wider representation in the political landscape of Britain. While they may consider themselves Bengali or Telegu or Gujarati Hindu rather than simply Hindus, all proudly assert themselves as British nationals. The majority see racism as a relatively recent phenomenon. However some remember ugly incidents when initially trying to gain accommodation and employment in Britain. This said, most of the informants tend to dwell on touching kindnesses they encountered when they first came here. One lady even referred to a helpful gesture when she was destitute in the winter of 1969 as sign of God!

These elderly Hindus are also questioned about the direction they think their community will take in the future. Some suggest that Pandits or religious leaders and teachers should be well-versed in English so that the youth do not feel alienated from, and can relate to temple worship as an activity which means more than ritual and convention. Others fear a politicising of their religion and a swamping out of their own particular creeds by the advocates of the wider project of Hindu unification.

This project promises to create a valuable archive from which alternative histories of Britain and its diaspora can be constructed. <

Shalini Sharma, MA works as a Research Facilitator and is presently completing her doctoral thesis on the politics of pre-partition Punjab at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University.
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Asia in Europe, Europe in Asia

Report >
General

7-8 December 2001
Singapore

By Srilata Ravi & Mario Rutten

For a long time, the colonial relations between Europe and Asia have been the main focus of academic discussions. More recently, debates have centred on contemporary aspects of the Europe-Asia partnership in terms of international relations and economic linkages. To complement this political and economic interest in the Europe-Asia relationship a workshop on "Asia in Europe, Europe in Asia" was held in Singapore on 7 and 8 December 2001. It focused on the academic, social, and cultural linkages between the two regions and its associated scholarship in the field of history and social sciences.

The various aspects of the academic relationship between Asia and Europe formed a central theme of discussion. Following Satish Saberwal's (Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi) overview of what Asians have done with things European in terms of technology, institutional forms, modes of knowing, and the level of values, the discussion focussed on Southeast Asia as a field of study and its implicit Eurocentrism. Henk Schulte Nordholt (University of Amsterdam, UvA) emphasized that in many respects Southeast Asia is a region by default, while Southeast Asian Studies has been framed by a post-colonial predicament. He argues that foreign institutions and scholars have to a large extent determined the research agenda of Southeast Asian

It has been more than fifty years since the processes of decolonization changed the landscape in Asia and its relations with its former European colonizers. Global movements of capital, knowledge, and people have shown us that social spaces and cultures cannot alongside to each other as areas marked off with boundaries, but have to be viewed as articulated moments in a network of relations and understandings. At the beginning of the new millennium, it is important to reassess the academic, social, and cultural relations, which bring Europe and Asia together, both from a contemporary and historical perspective.

Studies, a situation that would have been unthinkable in the South Asian context. In line with this argument, Syed Farid Alatas (National University of Singapore, NUS) explored the possibilities of a reversal of this academic dependency. He believes one practice that would auger well for the emergence of alternative discourses is to lessen reliance on European or American standards that may not be appropriate and, at the same time, work towards the upgrading of local publication capabilities. He emphasized, however, that such a development of local

publications can only work if evaluators and promotion or tenure committees give as much credit to locally published works as to international publications.

A second important theme in the Asia-Europe relationship that came up for discussion was the actual interaction between the two regions in the domains of science. In this connection, historical case studies were presented on archaeology in Thailand, health in India, and seismology in Japan. In the case of seismology, Gregory Clancey (NUS) showed how the act of framing an "earthquake problem" in Meiji Japan

was conducted by Westerners, who had in fact been hired to teach and research other science topics in Japanese academic institutions. At a time when the Japanese government invested in a model of planned science and technology transfer from the West to Japan, a branch of "Western learning" could develop spontaneously in Japan and eventually be exported abroad as a Japanese specialty. In this way, the peculiar trajectory of seismology is an interesting addition to the debate on Asia-Europe interaction in the field of science and technology.

A third theme in the Asia-Europe relationship is the contemporary social and cultural relations between the two regions. One of the ways in which these relations can be studied is through research on migrants of Asian origin in Europe. Case studies on the social linkages between Gujarati migrants in London and their relatives in India, and on the social position of Vietnamese immigrants in France, for example, showed how differences within the migrant community in Asia influence social relations in Europe, and vice versa. Such a complex pattern of socio-cultural interaction between Asia and Europe was also shown in research that dealt with Western cultural productions in the Vietnamese context: the representations of the Vietnam War in Western media and the construction and reassessment of mixed-race (Franco-Vietnamese) consciousness in European literature.

In terms of the influence of popular culture between Asia and Europe, Chua Beng Huat (NUS) emphasized the absence of Europe in the Asian popular sphere today. He pointed out the dominating American influence in Southeast Asia in the field of film, music, and food, which has resulted in

an almost total erasure of European elements in popular cultural productions in the region. At the same time, Hindi films from India, Chinese pop music, and television series from Japan have become increasingly popular among large sections of the population of Southeast Asia. Interestingly, the popularity of these cultural consumer products from Asia is not so much related to their cultural proximity. One of the most important developments in the context of globalization today is the fact that one loses sight of the origins in the context of globalized consumer cultural products. In that way, capitalism has truly become a cultural phenomenon, free from its national or regional roots.

The organizers propose to bring out an edited volume of a selection of the papers presented. The workshop was a follow-up of an earlier meeting in Amsterdam between scholars from the NUS and the IIAS and University of Amsterdam in December 2000. It is hoped that the collaboration between the two institutions will be continued in the years to come. Plans are being made to organize another such workshop in Amsterdam in December 2002. <

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Asia in Europe: Indian migrants from Gujarat in front of their community building in London.

Mario Rutten

New Global Networking in the Automobile Industry

Since Ford devised the mass-production system in the early 20th century, the automobile industry has been the spearhead of many of the organizational and production models that have led to a transformation of competitive practices. Globalization of the Japanese automobile industry started in the early 1980s and spread more rapidly after the Plaza Agreement of 1985 and the appreciation of the Yen. Japanese cars, more than ever before, are increasingly produced outside of Japan, and Japanese brands dominate Southeast Asian markets. It is widely believed that, during the 1980s and the 1990s, Japanese automobile manufacturers had a comparative advantage to their competitors because of their systems of production and labour organization.

Report >
General

11-12 October 2001
Leiden,
The Netherlands

By Yuri Sadoi

The aim of the international conference, "New Global Networking in the Automobile Industry- The Effect of Technology Transfer in the Case of Japanese Transplants in Southeast Asia and Europe", held at the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, was to explore the relationship between Japanese global production networks in the automobile industry and its consequences for technology transfer. The Japanese overseas production networks in the automobile industry were explored, as well as their consequences for host countries' policy making, industrial organization, skill formation, and technology transfer in Southeast Asia and in Europe. The two-day conference addressed two themes: on the first day, the focus was on Japanese industrial organization and technology transfer, while the programme on the second day was concerned with the changing relationship between work organization, skill formation, and technology transfer.

An opening statement by Dr C. Touwen-Bouwisma, Chairman of IIAS Academic Committee, was followed by the keynote speech "Industrial Organization, Culture, and Technology Transfer" by Professor J.A. Stam, Erasmus University Rotterdam, on the first day. This day was devoted to host countries' policy issues on economic and technology devel-

opment in order to put Japanese industrial organization at overseas locations into perspective. The direct and indirect implications of the Japanese automobile overseas production's industry policy on technology transfer were examined. Automobile policies of specific countries (Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Indonesia) and regions (ASEAN, EU) were discussed. Current issues with regard to the effects of the Asian financial crisis, the recovery process, and how the prospective of Asian Free Trade Agreements will affect the automobile industry in the region were also discussed.

The keynote speech on the second day, entitled "Intellectual Skill and its Transferability", was delivered by Professor Kazuo Koike, Tokai Gakuen University, Japan. His speech was followed by discussions aimed at examining the transferability of the Japanese human resource development system to the Japanese dominated Southeast Asian automobile industry and comparing these systems to those in the European automobile industry, in which Japanese presence is very limited. The role of the Japanese automotive producers in introducing the Japanese employment system and their influence on training pattern and skill upgrading were also discussed in detail. Presentations of intensive field studies on skill formation in countries such as Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, and France raised important issues concerning work organization, labour training, and incentives for enterprises and individuals.

In total, sixty scholars and researchers - most of whom were social scientists with a particular interest in the automotive industry - as well as company representatives attended the conference (including the speakers), with between forty to fifty people present each day. Speakers were invited from Japan (four), Southeast Asia (five: Thailand, Philippines, Malaysia, and Indonesia), and from Europe (six). Thirteen papers in total were presented. Through bringing together scholars from these different academic and international backgrounds, the discussions during the conference shed new light on the study of the globalization of the Japanese automobile industry and its consequences regarding technology transfer for the host countries of Japanese foreign investment in the automobile industry.

The overall quality of the papers was outstanding and much commented upon both during and after presentations. As all the participants received the proceedings of the papers in advance, insightful discussions and comments were actively raised throughout the conference. A selected number of papers presented at the workshop will be published as a research monograph. <

This conference was sponsored by the Japan Foundation, NWO, Luf, CNWS, and the IIAS.

Dr Yuri Sadoi is an Affiliated Fellow at the IIAS in Leiden, and was co-convenor of the above conference. Her research interest is the transferability of the Japanese automobile production system, the supplier-maker relationship, and human skills in the Japanese transplants throughout Southeast Asia and Europe.

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Citizenship, Care, Gender:

Renegotiations of the Public and the Private in the Netherlands

Report >
Europe

16-17 May 2001
Leiden,
the Netherlands

Unravelling the underlying assumptions and implications of the expansion, operation, retraction, and remodelling of welfare systems was the focus of two linked workshops held in Leiden on 16 and 17 May 2001. The research questions addressed by a team of Indian and Dutch anthropologists and an economist examining "The Impact of a Changing Social Welfare System on Relations within Marriage, Family and Social Networks and the Public Debate on this Process" (funded by Phase IV, The Indo-Dutch Programme on Alternatives in Development) aimed to re-centre both anthropology and the study of social policy in that constant anthropological issue - human sociality. The project itself - collaborative research in a field usually reserved for economists from the north - was unusual (See IIAS Newsletter 21).

By: Rajni Palriwala

The workshops were innovative in method, for it is rare for academics in general and ethnographers in particular to return to their informants to discuss their initial or final analyses. On day two, the researchers reported on their findings to informants and interviewees at a meeting sponsored by the Municipal Council of Leiden and held in the spectacular Council Room of the Town Hall. The workshop held on the first day and entitled "Citizenship, Care, Gender" was sponsored by the International Institute of Asian Studies, IDPAD, and the University of Leiden. Both Wim Stokhof, IIAS director, and Jan Laurier, alderman-social affairs in the Municipal Council who opened the proceedings on the first and second day respectively, stressed that the implications of the research were wider than the immediate findings. Stokhof emphasized the cooperation that the project and the workshop expressed, while Jan Laurier expressed the opinion that this research venture could be termed development aid to the Netherlands!

A remark heard frequently during the research was that because of rapid changes, detailed rules, and constant "fine tuning", no one was familiar with the Dutch welfare system in its entirety; moreover, implementers were hard put to make the day-to-day decisions required of them. Did all the tinkering perhaps help to obfuscate the critical directions of change and continuity? In the morning session chaired by Han van der Horst, Maithreyi Krishna Raj charted the shifts and constants leading to a system resting on stricter conditional entitlements replacing universal entitlements, a trimmed breadwinner model, and a realignment of public and private responsibility in favour of the latter. She highlighted the conflict between the principles of equity and solidarity on the one hand and the economic rationale of reducing welfare costs and increasing national product by pushing "beneficiaries", such as the sick and disabled and single mothers into employment, and between women's employment and care, given continuing iniquitous gender relations. Based on her presentation and comments by Joyce Outshoorn, issues pertaining to macro-economic constraints, the EU context, and the implications and valuing of part time work and the provisions for care leave and care services were debated.

With Carla Risseeuw's talk and Tjon Sie Fat's comments the discussions shifted to fieldwork-based studies and to substantive, methodological, and theoretical questions pertaining to the cultural articulations and social practices of care and social relationships among different sectors of Dutch society over time. Dutch (policy-related) research on the so-called private domain - the individual/citizen within the family, the couple, intergenerational relations, friends' circle, neighbourhood - in relation to the experience of shrinking families described by informants were debated. Using descriptive ideas such as "forms of modern, clumsy sociality" and "cultural fuss", Risseeuw highlighted the articulation of practices of negotiation in primary relationships and among friends, and varied, indeterminate conceptualizations of the "modern" priority and separation, fluidity or replacement of family and friends.

In the afternoon session chaired by Judith Mbula Baemuka of Nairobi University, Kamala Ganesh described the social support networks of the dependent elderly living at home, in the context of policy which encourages informal and professional care at home, and where aging is a gendered phenomenon. Various dimensions of care are worked out in the interplay between the domains of "care", "work", and "leisure", gaps between official and popular discourses, and cultural (non-)articulations of dependence/interdependence, underlining human support as the weak link in the field of

care. Technical and organizational innovations have been unable to resolve the ambivalences and ambiguities in care arrangements. In the discussion, Marjolein Moree and Monique Kremer spoke of the differential perceptions of professional and non-professional care and dependency in various social relationships and age groups. They also built intra-European cultural variations on the fixing of private or public responsibility, pointing to the critical theme of the transmission of cultural messages in welfare policy.

The latter were among the issues raised by Rajni Palriwala in her focus on single parents. She emphasized that naturalized, gendered, and devalued positionings of care activity continue despite notions of a "caring economy". The latter are bounded by a macro-economics of profit and assumptions that the formal economy subsidizes care. This was contested by Annemiek van Drenth, who suggested that the interweaving of care and the labour market and changes in the breadwinner model in the Netherlands have taken it out of the heart of capitalist modernity. Palriwala argued that the autonomous, independent, bounded, employed-entrepreneur citizen and detached self-sufficiency as the ideal bases of connectivity and solidarity are embedded in policy and in models of child upbringing. The daily experiences and practices of many citizens, especially single parents, are thus

denied. Discussions concentrated on issues of value and choice pertaining to parenthood, care, relatedness, and responsibility.

Participants of both workshops questioned the researchers on the conditions in India and other countries, bringing to the fore issues of cross-cultural comparison. The discussions made explicit the complex issues entailed in an understanding of intimacy, validity, and quality of care and social relations as primary policy concern, within the problematic of the gap between formal and substantive citizenship and the issue of equitable gender relations. <

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Rajni Palriwala, Carla Risseeuw, Maithreyi Krishna-Raj, and Kamala Ganesh



Asian Artisans & Small Scale Producers in the Global Economy: Trends, Issues and Problems in the New Millennium

What does it mean to be an artisan in Asia in the new millennium? Do artisan and craft labour have a viable future? Have traditional crafts disappeared or are there new markets emerging for these goods? Can craft workers adapt to the global market? These are just a few of the questions that twenty-odd participants explored during a recent one-day workshop on Asian artisan labour and small scale production held on 4 January at the University of Amsterdam and organized by the IIAS branch office, Amsterdam.

Report >
General

4 January 2002
Amsterdam,
the Netherlands

By Tim Scrase and Mario Rutten

The globalization of production in the world economy has undoubtedly opened-up the markets of Asia to global competition and exchange. Producers and workers at all levels have been radically affected. While some have gained employment in offshore transnational enterprises, or migrated to large urban centres for wage labour, others have become displaced, finding that their skills and produce are no longer required. It would seem that artisans and small producers are particularly vulnerable - but is this so in all cases?

The main aim was to explore current literature, to identify key areas of research, and to highlight recent research and writings on the state of Asian artisan and small-scale production. We hoped to: (1) provide comparative data and research on artisanal and small-scale industries from both South

Asia and Southeast Asia; (2) identify the strengths and weaknesses of particular crafts and small industries and their ability to survive in the rapidly changing, global economic environment; and (3) enable the dissemination and comparison of micro-level, case-study data from a range of craft areas and industries. Papers were presented on a range of crafts (and themes) including: goldsmiths and diamond-cutters in India; furniture makers in Indonesia; placemat makers in the Philippines; leather workers in India; subcontracting arrangements; buyer strategies and networks; and artisan survival strategies.

During the workshop several areas were identified as significant and worthy of further investigation. Concerning the entrepreneurial side of artisan and small-scale production in Asia, a major difference in the focus of study came to light when comparing research on artisans and small-scale producers from India to that from Indonesia. Indi-

an research tends to highlight the occupational background and social factors as basic principles for understanding entrepreneurial behaviour. This partly explains the emphasis in these studies on the class and caste position of artisans and small-scale entrepreneurs in the Indian context. By contrast, Indonesian research often focuses more on cultural and geographical factors as organizing principles of artisan and small-scale production. This is shown in the emphasis in these studies on the significance of clusters of craft workers and small-scale entrepreneurs as examples of geographic and ethnic concentration of particular craft industries.

A second significant theme that emerged concerns the consumption side of artisan production. As was highlighted, very little, if any, research has been undertaken on the theme of artisan or craft consumption. As opposed to craft producers, very little is known about craft consumers - their motivations and thoughts that inspire the purchasing of, or desire for, artisan products, which is remarkable considering the wide range of recent, Western theoretical literature and academic interest, on the sociology of consumption. In the book Consumer Culture and

continued on page 26 >

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Postmodernism (London: Sage Publications, 1991) for instance, Mike Featherstone writes about shopping as a symbolic and self-validating experience – where the pleasure of shopping is often far greater than the pleasure derived from the commodity that is purchased. This argument may be extended further: that is to say, in the act of buying an artisan craft commodity, the Western consumer is at once buying the experience of authenticity and traditionalism in a way that symbolically connects the commodity to the producer. The direct experience of buying from the producer, as in a tourist encounter, or through a fair trade shop (like OXFAM shops or catalogues) where the details of the craft and the producers themselves are provided, surely reinforces this experience. In a

hyper-real world of mass, packaged consumption, global telecommunications, and virtual relationships, the purchase of an artisanal craft may act to temporarily anchor the consumer in a real world of labour production.

The third significant theme concerns the relationship of artisan and craft production to the current phase of accelerated globalization. With the advent of a global economy, coupled with post-modern consumer sentiments, crafts represent a traditional (or homely) form of consumer goods, which, at least for some buyers, imbues these goods with immense appeal. In other words, the consumption of crafts allows for a reconnection back to earlier and earthier forms and designs in a fragmented, fractured, and technological world. Ironically, the decline of artisans may in fact be occurring as the demand

for intricate, hand-made, “traditional” goods increases. <

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Media, State & NGOs And the Imagining of the Mentawaian Community

Research >
Southeast Asia

On the one hand proposing to look at the complex nature of contemporary cultural identities and investigating the role of globalization of information and communication technologies in the (re)construction of these identities on the other, the ASSR/IIAS/WOTRO programme “Transnational Society, Media, and Citizenship” is characterized by a dual focus. The main question does not dwell on global and local flows of information and communication technologies, but on how the global and the local find expression in specific contexts in Indonesia, India, Iran and the Gulf countries of the Middle East. Within this programme my own research, “Media, State, NGOs, and the Imagining of the Mentawaian Community” focuses on the autochthonous inhabitants of the Mentawai archipelago (West Sumatra), the Mentawaians.

By Myrna Eindhoven

Due to a number of interconnected developments on the national level and in the international context, local NGOs (non-governmental organizations) recently seem to mushroom in Indonesia. For a number of ethnic groups this marks a new phase in their recent history, as they have never been involved in these kinds of activities before. Among these relatively new voices the Mentawaians’ can be found. Under the influence of current processes of democratization in Indonesia, of renewed international interest in issues concerning human rights, indigenous peoples rights, and environmentalism, of higher levels of education and last, but definitely not least, of the significantly increased access to modern means of communication, the Mentawaians now express their identity more self-consciously than ever before.

Politics of Identity

In the course of time a critical elite of mainly young Mentawaians has come into being in Padang, West Sumatra’s capital. It is especially this group that has become consciously concerned with the preservation of “its culture” and has formed numerous local organizations intended to pursue its cultural and political interests. The emergence of this critical elite and its activities in helping to empower the Mentawaian community in its negotiations with the state and their quest for acknowledgement by greater society owed, and still owes, much to the support of the international community. At the moment at least seventeen local NGOs are active in the Mentawaian context, most of them sponsored or even created by an overseas partner. As a result local NGOs have become part of a potential powerful international network containing major Indonesian and international NGOs. Through strongly mediated, international networking local NGOs might be able to persuade powerful donor agencies, such as the World Bank, to put pressure on the Indonesian government to improve its policy in issues as human rights and environmental protection by making such an improvement a condition for financial assistance.

As a result of mediated international networking, which is mainly beyond national regulation, the Indonesian state finds it increasingly difficult to maintain its carefully constructed national identity and sovereignty. The Indonesian state can no longer domesticate and de-politicise utterances of ethnic identity - which it perceives as a potential threat to the unity of the national unity - without drawing immediate

negative attention from the international community. The nation state as an institute definitely has to rethink its position in order to come to terms with these alternative voices now present within the public realm. Theoretically the cultural and political recognition of the Mentawaians now seems secured, but there still is no guarantee that they will also be invited to participate actively in the current restructuring of the Indonesian state and nation. Therefore the recent issue of regional autonomy in Indonesia and whether it will go ahead in any real sense is of huge importance. The real test will be the strength of local democracy. How quickly and to what extent can local communities ensure that they take a full part in decision-making? At the local level it is the local NGOs that play a crucial role.

The international network of NGOs, however, does not seem to be able to put its potential to full use at the local level. Under the influence of their overseas partners local NGOs become entangled within a seemingly inescapable paradox of contemporary identity politics. While distancing themselves - physically as well as mentally - from their area of origin, they are still strongly oriented towards the Mentawai archipelago in their search for roots and “authentic culture”. Most local NGOs seem to lack clear goals and vision, uncritically copying (Western) international discourses on issues as human rights, indigenous peoples rights, and the environment. In their exaggerated image of the Mentawaians, they paint them as having been encapsulated in their own timeless, archaic world, until logging and governmental interference began. Very appealing to the Western audience, this image proved an excellent way to entice (foreign) donor organizations to support their local organizations financially. The founding of a local NGO thus proved itself to be an easy way to make money, leading to local NGOs with little or no reflection on their own situation, position and role within society. In turn this is leading to dubious or even conflicting relations with their grassroots. <

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Coping, Adapting, Thriving: What role for the Theatre in Contemporary Southeast Asia?

“Performance”, designating both the performing arts (theatre, music, and dance) and a performative or “dramatistic” approach to human action and interaction, has been more thoroughly documented and theorized about with regard to Southeast Asia than for most parts of the world. Geertz’s (in)famous theatre state and cockfight merely constitutes the top of the iceberg. The literature on performance and shamanism; philological, anthropological, linguistic, and historical accounts of Wayang Kulit in Indonesia and Malaysia; intricately detailed studies of choreology and “organology” for both mainland and insular Southeast Asia: the field is rich, historically deep, and constantly developing.

Report >
Southeast Asia

By Matthew Isaac Cohen

Panel Report from
EUROSEAS

Regrettably, the EUROSEAS conference only provides a mediocre index of Southeast Asian performance scholarship, represented by a solitary panel convened by Catherine Diamond of Soochow University (Taipei) and with individual papers scattered through other panels (Another planned performance panel, organized by Felicia Hughes-Freeland and focusing on the performer, was cancelled). The single panel devoted entirely to performance focused on the theme of theatre in contemporary Southeast Asia. Presenters were: Matthew Isaac Cohen (University of Glasgow), Solehah Ishak (UKM, Malaysia), Kittisak Kerdarunsukri (University of the Thai Chamber of Commerce, Bangkok), and Diamond herself (Soochow University).

The contributors followed a liberal interpretation of “Contemporary”: while some of the papers looked primarily at the most recent theatrical developments in Thailand and Malaysia, others discussed theatres of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Much common ground was found, though, across all the papers. The relatively modest numbers in attendance at the panel and its tight focus contributed to lively dialogue.

Kittisak Kerdarunsukri presented on a new form of Thai Khon (masked dance-drama) created in 1997 by Phatravadi Mejudhon, and combining dance with shadow puppetry. Based on his description and a video, panellists and others found obvious similarities to contemporary Indonesian forms, such as Wayang Ukur; it came out in discussion that Phatravadi Mejudhon had participated in ASEAN theatre workshops and performances prior to her 1997 “invention”. Diamond’s paper on English language and Malay theatre since 1969, closely related in theme to Solehah Ishak’s contribution on “traditional” bases of contemporary Malay theatre, generated a charged discussion concerning invented Malay heritage and its stifling effects on theatrical production.

Cohen’s paper on the Eurasian Auguste Mahieu and the Komedi Stamboel, while grounded in century-old archival material from the Netherlands Indies, provoked thought about nationalist historiography and identity politics in today’s Indonesia and Malaysia.

The large number of participants at the international conference held in Leiden in 2000 on audiences, patrons and performers in Asian performing arts had already then demonstrated that there is a definite European interest in East, South, and Southeast Asian performance. Other scholars also noted the conference’s strong orientation on the political and economic at the expense of anthropological and humanistic matters. It is to be hoped that future EUROSEAS conferences will feature more panels centred on performance and interpretation studies. <

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Editors’ note >

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Caught between Three Fires:

The Javanese Pangulu under the Dutch Colonial Administration (1882-1942)

Research >
Southeast Asia

As a high government institution in the Islamic kingdoms in Java, the *pangulon* had been in existence since the founding of the kingdom of Demak in the early sixteenth century. Together with two other top executive offices, those of the *patih* (chief minister) and the *adipati* (military commander), it was but one level below the sultan and was headed by a *pangulu* (chief religious leaders). The general duties of the *pangulon* were guiding the kingdom's subjects in observing Islamic Law (*Syariat Islam*) and overseeing religious administration, from the level of the palace to that of the villages. For this reason, this administrative hierarchy ran parallel to that of the civil government. Specifically, the office of the *pangulon* administered law and justice, which, when it was founded, covered both religious and secular legal matters.

By Muhamad Hisyam

When the Dutch came to Java in 1593, the office of the *pangulon* was fully established, both in the centre of the Islamic states and in the areas under their authority. The VOC then slowly began to establish its control over Java until the end of the eighteenth century when the entire island fell under its authority. Early on in the establishment of its control in Batavia, the VOC wanted to subject the territory to European law. This initially failed, because the people of this area already had their own system of law which they generally obeyed. Yet, working through local rulers, the VOC was gradually able to impose its laws. It succeeded primarily in those aspects of law that were the basis of its power, such as criminal and civil law, which could easily be divorced from the administration of Islamic Law. Those aspects of law that could not be separated from Islamic Law continued to be administered in the customary way. It was for this reason that the institution of the *pangulon* continued to exist as the focus of the application of Islamic Law.

Until its demise in the last year of the eighteenth century, the VOC considered the *pangulu* to be the primary native legal officials. The *pangulu* were, therefore, included as advisors to the general court for native affairs established by the VOC. It was thought that they knew best the laws current among the native peoples. This advisory role continued with the establishment of the Netherlands Indies in the nineteenth century and endured until the end of Dutch colonial power in 1942.

The religious courts and the administration of Islam that had fallen under the authority of the *pangulu* were left to function as they had in the past. As a result of this continued practice, it often happened that the jurisdiction over a particular case would be unclear: should it be judged by a civil court or by its religious counterpart? Another problem was that traditional methods of administration and the *pangulu's* minimal professional skills (in 'modern' colonial eyes) resulted in the religious courts often returning decisions that failed to satisfy the contending parties. Nevertheless, wiping out the dual justice system or, in other words, raising the ire of the *pangulu* court, was something the colonial government was not willing or able to do, because it would have created tensions that would threaten its own existence. Hence, a policy incorporating the religious courts into the colonial administration was adopted by *Koninklijk Besluit* (Royal Decree) No. 24 of 2 January 1882, published in the *Stb.* 1882/152. The court was officially called the *Priesterraad* or Council of Priests, but because there are no priests in Islam, it was generally known as the Religious Court (*Raad Agama*).

Session of the Landraad, ca 1901-1902. Sitting in the centre is Mr. I.M.Ch.E. Le Rutte, the president of the Landraad. To his right are the clerk, the *jaksa* (prosecutor), and the *pangulu*. The prisoner is sitting on the floor opposite the Landraad President.



One obvious change after this incorporation was the shift in the authority to appoint *pangulu* from native authorities, the *bupati* (Regents), to the colonial government, the Residents. This change immediately indicated a lessening of the *bupati's* authority. They lost control of an institution that until then had been a factor in maintaining their power. The *pangulu* themselves now felt their position had them caught "between three fires" (*tussen drie vuren*). The first "fire" was God, to whom they owed their spiritual allegiance. The second "fire" was the colonial power, the entity that now gave them the authority to carry out the administration of religious affairs. The third "fire" was the people, whom they had to serve. These three sides differed not only in character, but also in aspiration. This study does not discuss the first "fire" as this is a difficult matter to identify, both because of its personal character and because of its meta-social nature. Even so, it is fully realized that this "fire" was a motivating as well as a controlling force over the behaviour of the *pangulu*.

In the relationship between the rulers and the people, the role played by the *pangulu* and the religious officials beneath them was obviously that of mediation. Javanese and Madurese Muslim radicalism during the nineteenth century forced the colonial government to be on its guard at all times against the possible rise of anti-colonial fervor.

Owing to this mediating role, the various *pangulu* and their subordinate religious officials became the target of the expression of feelings of disappointment during the early decades of the twentieth century, when Islamic socio-political movements began to emerge. Their leadership position grew weak, because they were considered to have become "lackeys of unbelievers." The critique from the movements not only challenged the mediating function they performed, it also questioned their competence in acting as *pangulu* and the way in which they collected money. Competition for leadership between formal religious leaders (the *pangulu*

and their subordinate religious officials) and the informal ones (*ustadz*, *ulama* and *kiyai*; religious teachers and elders) had indeed long existed, but the rise of informal popular leaders through modern organizations, seriously marginalized the position of the *pangulu* and the religious officials. The low level of competence of the *pangulu*, which the colonial government also recognized as a problem, not only caused new movements to aspire to raising their quality, but also led to a revision in the position of the *Raad Agama* under the colonial administration. This disappointment felt by the modern Islamic movement reached its peak when the movement attempted to establish a *Raad Ulama* (Council of Ulama/religious teachers), as a challenge to the *Raad Agama*, at the end of the second decade of the twentieth century. Other large Islamic organizations, such as the *Muhammadiyah* (founded in 1912) and the *Nahdatul Ulama* (founded in 1926) were also critical of the *pangulu's* position.

How did the *pangulu* and their subordinate officials feel about this crisis? Evidently, as far as the efforts to improve the competence of the *pangulu* and the *Raad Agama* were concerned, they fully supported it. Simply put, the various *pangulu* themselves felt that the colonial government had not made them or the *Raad Agama* a legitimate part of the governmental apparatus; the *pangulu*, being religious judges, were not paid by the government, so they bore the costs of running their own offices. On the one hand, the *pangulu* were pushed to try to obtain funds for salaries and the operation of the Courts in ways that were at times excessive. On the other hand, it pushed the *pangulu* to support attempts by Islamic organizations to promote the interests of the Muslim people. There were indeed *pangulu* who were against, for example, the Sarekat Islam (Muslim Union/the most revolutionary association of Muslims) but many of them and their subordinates were involved in the Sarekat Islam's activities, of which they

approved and even led. This was true especially of efforts to promote the development of the Islamic community, which were carried out by Islamic organizations using a cultural approach, such as the *Muhammadiyah*. This organization, which had originated among the *Kauman* (headquarters of religious officials) of Yogyakarta, was among those that received broad support from among the *pangulu*. Consequently, even though members of the modern Islamic movement were critical of the *pangulu*, the latter defended their critics as well as they could against the suspicions of the colonial government. There were indeed a few points on which the interests of the *pangulu* and those of the Islamic movements differed. This is not surprising because, whatever the case was, the *pangulu* were religious leaders who also felt responsible for the existence, care, development, and progress of Islam and its adherents. This involved, for example, opposing the efforts to propagate Christianity in the community. Nevertheless, these two groups were able to present a united front when confronted with government regulations contrary to the interests of Islam, as happened in 1937, when the colonial government transferred authority over Islamic inheritance matters from the Religious Courts to the civil courts (*Stb.* 1937/116).

The change in the function of the *pangulu* as a result of the incorporation of the Religious Courts in 1882 demanded a sharpening of their skills in matters of modern colonial administration. Recruitment to the office of *pangulu* and to the *Raad Agama* became selective, even if this was not as stringent as might have been required. Fulfilling the skills requirements by aspiring *pangulu* was indeed difficult. Although the government made demands for certain skills, it did nothing by way of creating schools or programmes to train candidates for their role; candidates were responsible for their own training. Stimulated by the need to fulfil the government's cri-

teria on administrative skills, as well as the knowledge that would be needed to run a modern religious administration, *pangulu* began to support the founding of *madrasah* (Islamic schools) in various locations. In 1905 the *madrasah* Manba'ul 'Ulum in Surakarta was started as a result of the efforts of the *pangulu*, under the patronage of the Sultan. This was the first native "modern" school to be established. The teaching of Islam using modern methods was then copied by many *pangulu* in the *kauman* areas of several other cities in the second and third decades of the twentieth century. The rise of *madrasah*, which at first aimed to fill the need for new *pangulu* and religious officials who could run a modern religious administration, went on to develop into a modern religious educational institution throughout Java and Madura.

The disappointment of those in the Islamic movement with the *pangulu*, and the instability of the *Raad Agama*, did eventually stimulate efforts by the colonial government to improve the *Raad Agama*, first through the establishment of a commission to reform the *Raad Agama* 1922, and later by its reorganization in 1931. The *pangulu* in turn tried to create unity among themselves and the subordinate religious officials by forming an association. An initial attempt to set up an association of *pangulu* and religious officials was made in 1919; however, this only took concrete form in 1937, after the above-mentioned regulation had been promulgated. This association, called the *Perhimpunan Pengheloeloe dan Pegawaiinja* (PPDP/Association of *Pangulu* and their employees), played a political role in its external relations and worked towards the improvement of quality within its ranks, from its establishment in 1937 until the Japanese occupation in 1942.

Generally speaking, it can be said that, in fulfilling their "sacred mission", the *pangulu* tried as much as possible to formally apply Islamic Law among their Muslim clients, even though they were under the authority of a non-Muslim colonial government. The appearance of modern Islamic movements in the twentieth century, driven by independent Islamic leaders, caused the marginalization of position of the *pangulu* among the socio-religious leadership. Conflict occasionally arose between the interests of the colonial government and those of the Muslims, both as a whole and in the form of modern organizations. In these conflicts the *pangulu* played a mediating role in order to reach a common ground, that is, giving form to the social order. In this way the role of the *pangulu* was determined by the way they gave meaning to their primary task and the manner in which they manipulated this meaning to be able to act within the structure of the society that had created them. <

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Overcoming Terminological Ethnocentrism

Terminological ethnocentrism is an insidious, and often unrecognized, problem in cultural description. It occurs when words of one language/culture, typically English, are uncritically used to describe deeply cultural meanings of another language/culture, with an inevitable distortion of meaning. Scholars often view the so-called “problem of translation” as intractable, but new research in linguistics suggests a way forward.

Research >
Southeast Asia

By Cliff Goddard

A solution is offered by the programme of semantic research led by the distinguished linguist Anna Wierzbicka (1996, 1997). The key idea is that there is a small set of simple, basic meanings (semantic primes) which can be expressed clearly and precisely in all languages; for example:

*I, you, someone, something,
people, do, happen, say, think,
know, want, good, bad,
this, other, the same,
when/time, where/place,
because, if, can, not, like.*

Semantic primes offer a way around terminological ethnocentrism while at the same time allowing culture-specific concepts to be explicated with great detail and clarity.

Three Cultural Key Words of Malay

As concrete examples from my own work (Goddard 1996, 1997, 2000, 2001), consider the following explications, phrased solely in semantic primes, for three “untranslatable” cultural key words of Malay (Bahasa Melayu). Of course, explications like these are unfamiliar and may seem peculiar, but unlike most semantic descriptions they are very clear and they can be transposed virtually word-for-word into Malay. To begin with *malu*, it has a broad meaning, usually glossed in Malay-English dictionaries as “ashamed”, “shy”, “embarrassed”. One anthropological classic describes it, with a dash of ethnocentrism, as “hypersensitiveness to what other people are thinking about one”. It is one of the prime forces for conformism in the Malay *kampung* (village). Explication [A] presents *malu* as an unpleasant and unwanted feeling due to the thought that other people could be thinking and saying bad things about one. Notice the lack of negative connotations, in contrast to English “ashamed”.

[A] person-X *rasa* (“feels”) *malu* =
X thinks something like this:
people can know something about me
people can think something bad about me because of this
people can say something bad about me because of this
I don’t want this
because of this X wants not to be near people
because of all this, X feels something bad

Secondly *maruah*: it is variously glossed as “self-esteem”, “dignity”, or “pride”. Explication [B] presents it as a two-sided concern with the self: to maintain a positive view of oneself, and to maintain a positive profile in the eyes of others. In particular, to avoid being “looked down on” by others. Concern for *maruah* motivates one to do some things and to avoid others. (Like many culturally important Malay words, *maruah* originates from Arabic, but its meaning has since shifted somewhat.)

[B] person-X *ada* (“has”) *maruah* =
X wants to think good things about him/herself
X wants other people to think good things about him/her
X doesn’t want people to think about him/her:
this person is someone below me
because of this, X wants to do some things, X doesn’t want to do some other things
people think: it is good if a person is like this

Finally, *menghormati* (the verbal form of *hormat*) is usually glossed as “to show respect”. One sociologist has described it as “deference that is owed to a social position”. According to [C] the idea is to show someone that you recognize his/her higher standing and that you want to avoid his/her disapproval; and that to this end you behave in a deliberately selective way in terms of what you do, what you say, and how you say it. (Malay culture emphasises linguistic etiquette to a much greater extent than in European cultures, e.g. avoidance of the pronouns *aku* “I”, and *kau* and *awak* “you”, use of various honorific words, and using a refined (*halus*) speech style.)

[C] person-X *menghormati* person-Y =
X thinks things like this about Y:
Y is someone above me
I don’t want Y to think anything bad about me
X wants Y to know this
because of this, when X is with Y
X does some things, X doesn’t do some other things
X says some things, X doesn’t say some other things
X says some words, X doesn’t say some other words

Three Malay Cultural Scripts

Semantic primes can also be used to formulate so-called cultural scripts, in place of conventional complex, English-specific descriptors such as “indirect”, “polite” or “collectivist”. The general layout of a cultural script is illustrated in [D]. This is intended to capture characteristic Malay concern for caution and prudent action; cf. everyday phrases such *fikir dulu* “think first” (*fikir panjang* “think long”, *fikir dua kali* “think twice”, etc.) and the proverbial saying *Ikut rasa binasa, ikut hati mati* “follow feelings suffer, follow heart die”. Note that cultural scripts are not intended as a model of how people actually behave, but as a model of what “people think”, i.e. about a kind of interpretative backdrop for social action.

[D] people think:
I don’t want something bad to happen because I do something
because of this, it is good if I think about it before I do anything

The next two scripts show the close links between the culturally preferred communicative style and Malay key words sketched above. They can be compared with the following quotation, which is typical of conventional ethnographic descriptions: “The social value system is predicated on the dignity of the individual and ideally all social behaviour is

regulated in such a way as to preserve one’s own amour propre and to avoid disturbing the same feelings of dignity and self-esteem in others” (Vreeland et al 1977: 117).

Script [E] spells out the cultural priority placed on verbal caution and premeditation, particularly in relation to hurting the feelings of others, cf. phrases such as *jaga mulut* “mind your mouth”, *jaga hati orang* “watch over other people’s feelings”, *memilihara perasaan* “look after feelings”. This concern is not purely altruistic, in virtue of the strong cultural theme that people are likely to take to heart any offence against their *maruah* “dignity” or *nama* “reputation”, and to retaliate (*dendam* “revenge, pay-back”) in often subtle and calculated ways. As the saying goes: *Rosak badan kerana mulut* “The body suffers because of the mouth”.

[E] people think:
it is not good if when I say something to someone, this person feels something bad because of this, when I want to say something to someone, it is good to think about it for some time before I say it

[F] people think:
it is not good to say something about someone, if other people might think something bad about that person because of it
if I do this, something bad might happen to me because of it

In a short article like this it is impossible to justify these semantic analyses adequately in proper detail or to describe the research process, so I have concentrated on the methodological angle. I hope it is clear that despite its small size the vocabulary of semantic primes offers a promising new medium for linguistic and cultural description, a medium which can improve precision and clarity while at the same time reducing the invisible ethnocentrism which comes from basing the language of description on English alone. ◀

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Madame Butterfly in a Robinson-Reading: A Note of Discord in Colonial Indonesia¹

Research >
Southeast Asia

In the face of the recent developments in Indonesia, it almost appears ignorant (and certainly very much against the trend) to do research on literature, even more so if dealing with texts that date back to the colonial period and earlier. I am convinced, however, that a crucial prerequisite for understanding the present lies in an appropriate reflection upon the past. *Madame Butterfly* prompts associations with opera, Italian lyrics, and refined tunes, with box-office hits such as the musical *Miss Saigon*, and, of course, with a world famous, heart-breaking romance created by Western culture. At the same time, *Madame Butterfly* represents an internationally embraced image of the dominating white man and the devoted Asian woman, a celebrated and applauded image of the naive and trustful Asian tricked and used by the superior Westerner. This is also the theme that was picked up by two indigenous authors in colonial Indonesia who retold the story from a different point of view – their point of view.

By Doris Jedamski

In 1887, the French author Julien Viaud alias Pierre Loti published the novel *Madame Chrysanthème* and created a story with a Japanese setting and colonial overtone that was to have a long-lasting impact on audiences and artists all over the world and far beyond the boundaries of literature. In 1898, John Luther Long's short story *Madame Butterfly* appeared in the US-American *Century Magazine*. David Belasco's stage version of this short story had already been a great success on Broadway when Puccini saw the theatre play in London in 1900. Four years later, his opera of the same title was staged in Milan, although not received well. The reworked version, presented shortly afterwards, was to become the world success it is today.

The subject matter of love and (forced) marriage was first popularized in colonial Indonesia during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century by the so-called *nyai* stories. These were primarily based on newspaper reports of real events and then fictionalized mostly by Eurasian writers. The heroines of these stories were young indigenous women or girls who had been sold off by their fathers, often enough out of poverty and despair, to become mistresses of well-paying European or Chinese men. The tragic heroine Madame Butterfly revived the *nyai* theme and gave it new impulses.

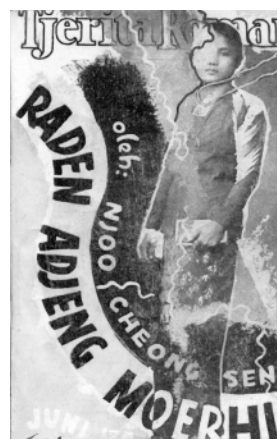
The indigenous adaptations viewed the relationship between colonizer and colonized from a slightly shifted angle, although, linked to the discourses on modernization and women's emancipation, the free choice of partner remained the focus of the debate. This is not at all to say that these texts advocated women's liberation or the equal rights of both sexes. In fact, most (Sino-) Malay men had only very little sympathy for such modern ideas, which threatened their position of power within the indigenous gender hierarchy. Male writers regularly created heroines who, if they did not clearly distance themselves from the "evil" impact of Westernization, would endure misery and meet a tragic end (often death). As in other cultural contexts, the female body also served as foil for the confusion, fears, and anxieties of the male part of society. In the colonial context, however, these novels also provoked a surrogate discourse, which was directed against the colonizing power.

It is not yet known whether it was through Loti's novel or Puccini's opera, through recordings, radio broadcasts, by way of stage performances, or through oral reports or printed reviews that the story of Madame Butterfly reached colonial Indonesia. When, in May 1933, the multi-talented Chinese-Malay Njoo Cheong Seng published a

four-page summary of *Madame Butterfly* in the Sino-Malay journal *Liberty*, he was probably already working on his theatre adaptation of the theme. The famous *stamboel* theatre group *Dardanella Opera* performed the play *Raden Adjeng Moerhia* around 1933/1934, starring the author's wife, Fifi Young, as the young Javanese, Western-educated woman Raden Adjeng Moerhia. According to the (admittedly limited) documentation of *stamboel* theatre activities of the time, the play was often and successfully performed throughout Indonesia.

It is even harder to obtain reliable data concerning the reception of the 87-page novel which appeared under the same title in March 1934 in a Sino-Malay "Penny Dreadful" (*roman majalah*). The text perfectly translates all crucial structural elements of the Western model into the context of colonial Indonesia at the beginning of the twentieth century. The focus, however, is shifted from the individual tragedy of a single woman to the story of a family and, in fact, a whole community. The author composed this adaptation to be a warning to all indigenous women, as he explicitly states in the foreword: "This book has been respectfully put together for the young Indonesian women who are at present happily busy competing in the wave of modernism, hoping to achieve their highest ideals. But don't you breach the boundary of our sacred East-Ness, because, as Kipling said: East remains East, West remains West, and they will never meet." In the course of the story, the heroine voluntarily and against the will of her family becomes a young Dutchman's mistress (*nyai*) to endure, in the end, the same fate as Madame Butterfly. *Raden Adjeng Moerhia* is an openly critical and anti-colonial text that champions the ideology that East and West are not compatible. It can only be guessed as to why Dutch authorities did not intervene and why this highly counter-discursive text was not subjected to censorship, as it was usually the case with films or critical press and book publications.

Njoo Choeng Seng's second adaptation of *Madame Butterfly* also first came



Book cover of the novel *Raden Adjeng Moerhia*, by Njoo Cheong Seng, published in 1934

Book cover of the novel *Antara Doea Doenia* bij Sahiboe 'l Hikajat, published in 1939.



Publisher: Poestaka Islam: Medan

out as stage play, as well (*Timoeriana*, between 1937 and 1939). Only in 1941, did he produce a revised book rendition of his theatre version. While Njoo Cheong Seng's first adaptation, *Raden Adjeng Moerhia*, can clearly be classified as *nyai*-story, his second adaptation takes on the character of an ethnographic text with an exotic ambience. It is no longer set in the midst of the Javanese community in colonial Sumatra (which is already noteworthy), but given a place on the periphery far away from the colonial centre, however, not yet *outside* the colonized world: Dilly, on the island of Timor.

It is remarkable enough that one Western text would inspire an indigenous author to produce not only one adaptation, but also four variations of the same theme (two novels and two stage adaptations). It is just as remarkable that, in 1939, and apparently in response to Njoo Cheong Seng's theatrical version, the Sumatran Islamic writer Sahiboe 'l Hikajat came forward with his own adaptation of *Madame Butterfly*. It is conceivable that it was this "Medan novel" entitled *Antara Doea Doenia* ("Between Two Worlds") that provoked Njoo Cheong Seng to publish his book version of *Timoeriana*. For reasons still unknown, Seng used his pen name Monsieur d'Amour and explicitly labelled the novel a *Timoerische Fantasie*.

It does not take much scrutiny to see that Sahiboe 'l Hikajat's novel *Antara Doea Doenia* was heavily inspired by the Sino-Malay theatre play *Timoeriana*. The resemblance of the structure of the plot and the correspondence of many narrative elements is striking, to list only two:

- 1 Both heroes are Englishmen and named Anthony/Tony (in the Western version Pinkerton is an USA naval officer).
- 2 In both indigenous versions, the protagonist falls in love with the chief's daughter, but in the end he leaves her, although reluctantly, in order to return to London (Pinkerton rents a house "including" Geisha with the intention of returning to his American wife at the end of his five years of service).

Most strikingly, both indigenous versions suggest a *Robinson Crusoe*-reading or, to be more precise, an anti-*Robinson Crusoe*-reading. It seems that the indigenous adaptations of *Madame Butterfly* also hold a delayed response to Von de Wall's "adapted translation" of *Robinson Crusoe*, which came out in 1875 and was reprinted many times. The *Madame Butterfly* adaptations finally perform the change of perspective that Von de Wall could not yet carry out. The perspective of the ignorant, superior, white male with the attitude of a colonizer is literally turned around. The "camera" is now resting on Tony/"Robinson" as the object; no longer is he in control of the situation; he is even no longer in control of his perception or the narration. In the Western version of *Madame Butterfly*, Pinkerton arrives on board of a battleship to be stationed in town – just like a conqueror. In both indigenous versions the hero is shipwrecked and stranded on a remote island, the sole survivor, unconscious, absolutely helpless and passive, exactly like Robinson Crusoe. Only, when these Robinsons regain consciousness, they find that the island is not theirs to explore and to occupy. On the contrary,

both heroes are found and rescued by a "native tribe".

The proposed "Robinson reading" implies a strong anti-colonial message. It is the "dark-skinned native" who saves the stranded white man. It is not the white man who is in control but the indigenous community. He is not the master but merely a guest. It is the white man who has to adjust and who has to learn from his host. The power relation between colonizer and colonized is not only negated but, in fact, reversed. Both indigenous authors present a "corrected" vision of the colonial situation: the white "intruder", singularized, is confronted with the well-functioning indigenous community. He may stay, provided that he accepts and follows the given rules.

It is, alas, the indigenous woman who now takes Friday's place as the dependent, obedient, and devoted native. Only, her bond with the white man is not based on inferiority and moral debt but on love. The heroine's love for the white man is assessed discrepantly by the authors. In accordance with his stage version of *Timoeriana* (and his first adaptation *Raden Adjeng Moerhia*), Njoo Cheong Seng still refuses to allow the intercultural relation a promising future. The Sumatran Malay text, however, never doubts the rightfulness of Tony and the heroine's relationship. She does not have to wait in vain for her lover; being tired of Western civilization, he eventually returns to her – a happy ending in perfect Hollywood style.

A first comparison of *Timoeriana* and *Antara Doea Doenia* suggests that both authors actively began to use certain literary devices for example, the perspective the narrative takes. The literary figures function to convey the authors' visions of a future Indonesian society and to redefine both their own position as well as their view of the colonizer's future standing. In contrast to *Robinson Crusoe* and *Madame Butterfly*, these adaptations also construe a subject unable to exist outside the firm structures of family and community. Both texts unanimously refuse to see the individual as an autonomous unity but deal with the subject as but one factor within the bigger scheme. ◀

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Notes >

- 1 An extended version of this article discussing parts of my current research was presented as a paper at the 3rd EUROSEAS Conference, 6-8 September 2001, in London. I wish to thank Claudine Salmon for her kind support.

Colonial Armies in Southeast Asia

The Leviathan's Military Arm

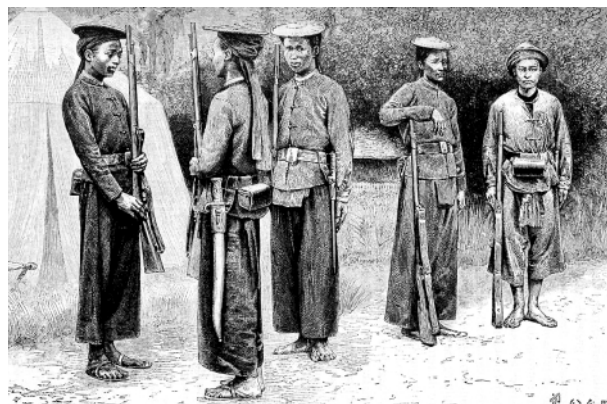
The EUROSEAS panel on "Colonial Armies in Southeast Asia" - organized by Tobias Rettig and chaired by Ian Brown, both SOAS - tapped into the recently expanding interest in colonial institutions and in particular the history of colonial armies. Ten scholars from five countries presented papers that raised interesting and stimulating questions concerning the similarities and differences of the region's variegated colonial armies.

Report >
Southeast Asia

Panel Report from
EUROSEAS

By Tobias Rettig

Robert H. Taylor opened the well-attended panel with a paper on the history of the British colonial army in Burma and the struggle of Burmese nationalists to be included in an army that was primarily made up of Indians and the



Tirailleurs Tonkinois.
Gravure after two
original photographs
from Hocquard,
1884 or 1885.

Dr. Hocquard, Une campagne au Tonkin, Paris: Hachette, 1892, Page 7.

colony's ethnic minorities. In his longitudinal study, Karl Hack examined locally raised forces as a prism for British imperialism and decolonization in the Malay region between 1874 and 2001. Both papers took the long-term view, demonstrating that the structure and nature of colonial armies - at least the British ones - underwent changes due to evolving local and metropolitan needs, geo-political developments, and the rise of nationalist movements. Hack, in particular, explicitly argued that the historiography of colonial armies would profit from a "systems approach".

The following two papers reinforced some of the insights of these long-term studies. Gerke Teitler dealt with policy discussions and decisions regarding the fighting power of ethnically mixed companies in the Dutch colonial army in the 1890-1920 period. Henri Eckert explained how French military-civilian rivalries about the uses and status of Indo-Chinese troops and militia forces prolonged the conquest and postponed the "pacification" of Tonkin and Annam until a compromise solution was found in the early 1890s. Both contributions brought to light the amount of experimentation,

that was involved in the creation of armies in which the twin aims of having both a safe and effective tool of defence and internal security often opposed rather than complemented each other.

The most dreaded of colonial fears was that the colonized people, and those in the armed forces in particular, would suddenly refuse to obey or even turn their weapons against their colonial masters. Both Richard Meixsel and Tobias Rettig looked at such worst-case scenarios by analysing colonial mutinies. Thus Meixsel's excellent paper analysed the context and causes of the Philippine Scout Mutiny of 1924 - little-known, perhaps because it was resolved without bloodshed - whilst Rettig explored the drastic and far-reaching changes of military policies in French Indo-China resulting from the far more violent Yen Bay Mutiny of 1930. The main difference was that the former constituted a "loyal" mutiny aiming towards improving service conditions, whereas the latter, like the Singapore Mutiny of 1915, clearly intended to overthrow the existing political order by violent action.

To prevent such mutinies, colonial regimes devised structures and mechanisms of divide and rule aimed towards maintaining soldiers' obedience and including purposeful under-representation of majority populations in the army. Michel Bodin traced the history of the use of Indo-Chinese ethnic minority soldiers in the French Expeditionary Corps during the First Indo-China War, but also painstakingly tried to reconstruct their day-to-day lives. Vladimir Kolotov challenged the audience by arguing that the French had masterminded an informal "collective security system" that used Cochinchina's religious sects (Cao Dai and Hoa Hao) and criminal organizations (Binh Xuyen) to combat the Viet Minh. In contrast to the traditional resort to ethnic or Catholic minorities, the reliance on religio-political and criminal organizations that had emerged from within the predominant ethnic group constituted a novel variant of divide and rule.

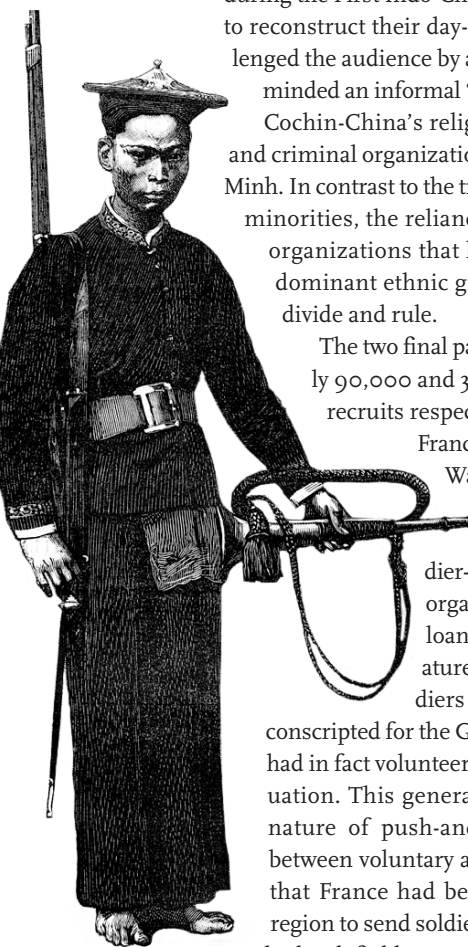
The two final papers dealt with the dispatch of nearly 90,000 and 35,000 Indo-Chinese soldier-worker recruits respectively to serve "their" *mère-patrie* in France during the First and Second World War. Marie-Eve Blanc compared how

French social control over these predominantly Vietnamese soldier-workers and the latter's anti-colonial organization differed in both wars. Kimloan Hill challenged the secondary literature for exaggerating the number of soldiers that had against their own will been

conscripted for the Great War, by emphasising that many had in fact volunteered to escape their dire economic situation. This generated a passionate debate about the nature of push-and-pull factors and the difference between voluntary and forced service, but also revealed that France had been the only colonial power in the region to send soldiers to Europe to sustain its war effort on the battlefield, as well as in industrial and agricultural production.

One of the great spin-offs of the panel was that it served as a catalyst for several publication projects. Thus five of the ten papers will be part of a July 2002 special issue of *Southeast Asia Research*, a SOAS-based journal. Furthermore, two book projects are now under way. Marie-Eve Blanc and Gilles de Gantès from the Marseille-based IRSEA are editing a book for their institute to appear in the Presses Universitaires de Provence. It explores indigenous and colonial armies in Southeast Asia from the pre-colonial period to the present day, with particular emphasis on indigenous soldiers and sociological questions; paper proposals are welcome until 10 May 2002 (E-mail: Marie-eve.Blanc@newsup.univ-mrs.fr). A second book project on colonial armies in Southeast Asia, directed by Karl Hack and Tobias Rettig, is also on the way. <

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Tirailleur Annamite
(Annamite rifleman)
from Cochinchina,
1884. Gravure after
original photographs
from Hocquard.

Indonesia across Orders

Research >
Southeast Asia

By Eveline Buchheim, Peter Post &
Remco Raben

Preparations for the start of the research programme "Van Indië tot Indonesië. De herschikking van de Indonesische samenleving" - on the decolonization and restructuring of Indonesian society during the 1930s to 1960s are in full swing.

In the spring of 2001, the Dutch Ministry of Public Health, Welfare and Sports (VWS) commissioned the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation (NIOD) to develop a historical research programme on the history of the Netherlands East Indies and Indonesia between the 1930s and 1960s, with specific reference to the social and economic effects of the Japanese occupation and the subsequent episodes of revolution, decolonization, state formation, and nation building for the various groups and strata of the Indies' and Indonesian population.

To be carried out by NIOD, in close cooperation with Dutch and Indonesian counterparts, the research programme is part of a set of policies by the Dutch government concerning the Indies' community that came to the Netherlands in the aftermath of the Pacific War and Indonesian independence. Part of the research will be devoted to specific problems related to the Indies' Dutch community: the material losses suffered during war and revolution, the attitude of the respective authorities towards damages, the arrears of salary payment, and claims for compensation. Other parts of the programme will concentrate on the effects of war, revolution, and decolonization in the fields of economy, urbanism, crime, and security.

The aim of the programme is to create new insights in the vicissitudes of the various communities in the Netherlands East Indies and in Indonesia during the turbulent decades between the 1930s and 1960s. The changes wrought by the chain of events of crisis, war, revolution, and the creation of national

structures can be grouped under the term "decolonization". Usually, decolonization is seen primarily in terms of "the end of empire", the withdrawal of (formal) colonial rule, a departure that was often accompanied by war, rebellion, and drawn-out negotiations. In this programme it denotes the entire range of developments related to the withering dominance of the colonial sectors and the increasing self-assertion of the Indonesian peoples.

The programme will offer an analysis of war and decolonization across the traditional boundaries of history and nation. Contemporary research often concentrates on a specific period, be it the colonial period, the years of Japanese occupation, the revolution, or the post-independence era. By doing so, many dynamics of history are neglected, and the more long-term developments are often obscured. In contrast to the traditional approaches, the entire period between the 1930s and 1960s: the war period, the revolution, nation building and the ensuing social and political disruption, can be seen as a protracted period of transition, in which the internal relationships of power and wealth in the Indonesian archipelago were thoroughly reconsidered and redistributed. This not only involved the expropriation of possessions of Europeans and Eurasians - most of whom left Indonesia in the period 1945-1962 - but also the advent of new entrepreneurial groups and new political elites. While giving rise to new styles of business, new authority structures, it deeply changed the patterns of life and the everyday environment.

The colonizer's departure on the one hand and the adjustment to new political, social and economic realities by the inhabitants on the other made society subject to radical change, influencing

the lives of most inhabitants of the Indonesian archipelago in a variety of ways. This process was highly unevenly distributed among the different regions, communities, and classes in the archipelago. A sensible way to investigate the different patterns of changing relationships in the archipelago is to concentrate on local and regional developments: on the ups and downs of specific enterprises, on changes in specific urban neighbourhoods, on the evolution of crime and order in a selected number of regions.

The research will be carried out by an international group of historians and social scientists, and will be institutionally chaperoned by LIPI (the Indonesian Institute of Sciences), several Indonesian universities, the IIAS, and KITLV in Leiden, the University of Utrecht, and NIOD. As most research themes will zoom in on events at the regional level, cooperation is sought with local research groups at universities in Indonesia. Local academic knowledge, archives, newspapers, and oral sources, will constitute the bone and marrow of the researches.

The research programme will start in the second half of 2002 and will run for four years. Its output will consist of at least four monographs, a research report, and several edited volumes. Apart from catering to the academic community, the programme provides a range of activities that appeal to a wider audience. Regular symposia, film programmes, a website, and participation in educational television broadcasts, will highlight specific themes from the researches and bring the results to a larger audience. We hope to be able to inform you on the programme's progress in future articles in this newsletter. <

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Editors' note >

This is a more extensive version of a panel report previously published in ASEUSUK News, vol. 30, Autumn 2001.

Decolonizations, Loyalties, and Nations

The colloquium on “Decolonizations, Loyalties, and Nations” addressed the issues of loyalty and dissidence during the wars of decolonization in Vietnam and Indonesia during the late 1940s and 1950s. Using a comparative approach it attempted to recover some of the diversity of options that were open to individuals who became entangled in the conflict and analysed the post-colonial crystallization of national images in Vietnam, Indonesia, France, and the Netherlands. As the value of national ideologies and historical interpretations superimposed by the central states diminished the deconstruction of national, monolithic images gained a new relevance.

Report >
Southeast Asia

28 November –
1 December 2001
Amsterdam,
the Netherlands

By John Kleinen & Remco Raben

The first day of the colloquium was devoted to the subject of conflicting loyalties during the decolonization wars. A survivor of the war, General Do Trinh, opened the meetings with an official view on the options the Vietnamese had around 1945 when the French returned to retake their former colony. French scholar Christopher Goscha presented a paper on foreigner volunteers in the Viet Minh and the moral taxonomies of desertion and treason in the context of decolonization. His choice for the term “crossing-over” enabled him to highlight the complexity of loyalties in the situation where many ideologies, ranging from anti-colonialism to anti-fascism and anti-communism, fought for prominence.

Richard Chauvel of Victoria University in Melbourne focused on Papuan and non-Papuan participation in the struggle for independence. What was seen as a sideshow at the time, turned out to be an important moment for Dutch and non-Dutch contemporaries to take sides in a belated struggle for decolonization. This easternmost area of the

Indonesian archipelago and of the Netherlands East Indies provided an interesting site for discussions on the issue of the Indonesian mental and geographical territory. Hans Meijer (Leiden University/Veteranen Instituut) treated the issue of “mixed blood”, arguing that most Eurasians were torn between their loyalty to the Netherlands, their attachment to their country of birth, and Indonesians’ growing anti-colonialism. Their problem was not one of political choice, but of decreasing opportunities.

Nguyen The Anh (École Pratique des Hautes Études, in Paris) nicely illustrated the issue of diminishing choices, giving an excellent overview of the options for Vietnamese politicians experiencing the effects of the power vacuum following the Japanese surrender on 15 August 1945. Nelyca Delanoë (American Studies at the University of Paris X) presented insightful views on the fate of Moroccan veterans fighting in the French colonial army. After the war, they returned to their home country to face their own struggle for independence. Frances Gouda (University of Amsterdam) provided an analysis of America’s Cold War interests and its view of national identities in Southeast Asia. Influenced by an increasing anti-communist atmosphere, but also by other global concerns Washington’s decision-making was fairly inconsistent. While supporting the decolonization of Indonesia, the US stood squarely behind the French efforts in Indochina.

Veterans & Deserters

On the second day, post-war interpretations and the highly controversial issues of veterans and deserters were reviewed. Benjamin Stora (Inalco, Paris) discussed French

films on Indochina produced during the 1950s and highlighted the atmosphere of isolation and abandonment that surrounded the participants in the conflict. Compared to the war in Algeria, French film-makers encountered little opposition from government censors.

The Indonesian anthropologist Budi Susanto (Universitas Sanata Dharma, Yogyakarta) gave an analysis of the Indonesian armed forces’ perspectives on the history of the revolution and the unity of the nation, drawing on the “Spirit of ‘45”. He illustrated his lecture with well-selected cuttings from newspapers and advertisements, which demonstrated how these views are increasingly being contested. Dutch historian Stef Scagliola (Erasmus University, Rotterdam) presented a sharp analysis of Dutch public reactions to the first revelations of war crimes that were disclosed on television in 1968.

The symposium concluded with a series of personal reminiscences by Vietnamese, Indonesian, and Dutch veterans, and a debate on “traitors and traumas”. Eyewitness accounts were given by General Do Trinh (Vietnam), Francisca Fanggiday (Indonesia), and Joop Morriën (the Netherlands). Historian Pierre Brocheux pointed out how the Boudarel case in France was not a matter of false memory, but an attempt by the political right to silence the difficult choices of the past. Henk Wesseling (Leiden University/NIAS, Wassenaar) led the subsequent debate on “traitors and traumas”. They dealt both with theoretical issues of “collective memory” and the production of “nationalized” images in the four countries. <

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Colloquium >

The colloquium was hosted by Maison Descartes, NIOD, the ASiA-group, and the IIAS. In addition, photographs taken by the Dutch reporter, Alfred van Sprang, who visited northern Vietnam between 1950 and 1955, were simultaneously exhibited at the Maison Descartes. The workshop concluded on Saturday evening with the screening of two films on the war of independence in Indochina: the original version of Dien Bien Phu made by Nguyen Thien Loi and a later version by the French film-maker Pierre Schoendoerffer.

Conference on Hideyoshi’s Invasion of Korea

Report >
East Asia

20-25 August 2001
Oxford,
United Kingdom

By James Lewis

As East Asia (China, Korea, Japan) regains its historical position as a world centre, information about the history of regional relations becomes ever more critical. Because European language studies on regional relations are rare, dated, too broad, or provided for a political or economic agenda, we invited various scholars to prepare papers on Hideyoshi’s invasion of Korea (1592-1598). The seven-year long war (called the Imjin Waeran in Korea) involved China, Korea, Japan, the Ryūkyūs, Southeast Asia, and Europeans, giving it the dubious distinction of being an “East Asian World War”. It was part of the reunification of Japan, a serious concern for the Ming empire, and severely damaged, but did not shatter, Korean society, politics, and its economy. Interpretations of the war upheld by Japanese and Korean scholars were surprisingly similar, although differences did emerge.

The conference “The ‘Imjin Waeran’ - Hideyoshi’s Invasion of Korea: Problems and Perspectives” focused on five themes. The first theme addressed the international and domestic situations of Japan and Korea over the sixteenth century. Dr Han Moon-jong, (North Chōlla University, Korea) offered “The Korean Domestic Situation and Relations with Japan on the Eve of the Invasion” that outlined Korean relations with Japan, the Korean political and social economy, and explained the lack of Korean military preparedness. Professor Saeki Kōji (Kyūshū University, Japan) presented “The Relationship between China, Korea, and Japan in the 16th Century” that described Japanese relations with China and Korea as marred by violent incidents and the slow reappearance of Japanese piracy.

The second theme turned to the war itself and the peace negotiations. Professor Kitajima Manji (Kyōritsu Women’s University, Japan) gave us “The Imjin Waeran: Contrasting the First

and the Second Invasions of Korea” that described a Hideyoshi who set out to conquer China, met with frustration in Korea, and reduced his goals to the permanent seizure of Korean land. Professor Min Deakkee (Ch’ōngju University, Korea) presented “Chosōn’s Position and Response to Peace Negotiations during the Imjin Waeran”, which discussed the pragmatic military and diplomatic concerns of the Korean court and explained how these concerns conditioned Korea’s eventual acceptance of making peace with Japan. In “The Japan-Ming Negotiations”, Professor Sajima Akiko (Fukuoka Jogakuin University, Japan) examined Japanese-Chinese negotiations and sought to explain Japanese atrocities by depicting a pre-war Hideyoshi who already viewed Korea as Japanese territory in revolt.

Results of the invasion were treated in the third theme. We lacked presentations connecting the structures of political economy with events, but we did have a paper on cultural and biological exchanges. Professor Ha

Woo-Bong (North Chōlla National University, Korea) presented “Post-war Cultural Exchanges” in which exchanges going in both directions were discussed. To various Japanese locales went Korean Confucianists and information technology (metal type and book collections that became the core of major Japanese libraries). Military technology, chilli peppers, and tobacco went to Korea.

The fourth theme focused on the memory of the invasion preserved in different literary forms. “Post-war Han Source Material on Hideyoshi’s Invasion of Korea”, presented by Professor Murai Shōsuke (Tokyo University, Japan), introduced and offered vignettes of leisure, administration, and army-civilian relations from the memoirs of ordinary Japanese soldiers. Professor Choi Gwan (Korea University, Korea) presented “Literature on the Imjin Waeran”, outlining the relevant fictional and non-fictional genres in Korea and Japan and suggesting that these accounts created long-lived chauvinist attitudes in both cultures.

The fifth and final theme considered the Chinese connection. Dr Han Myung-gi (Kyujanggak, Seoul National University, Korea) offered “Chaejo chiūn and Chosōn-Ming, Chosōn-Later Jin Relations in the seventeenth Century”, which examined the ideological and propaganda role of Korean ‘gratitude and dependence’ towards the Ming. “Korea and China after the Imjin Waeran”, presented by Professor Kuwano Eiji (Kurume University, Japan) examined the imposition on Korea of particular state rituals celebrating a Chinese god of war, living Chinese generals, and departed Ming soldiers, thereby offering an operational measure of official Korean commitment to the Ming and the Qing. Professor Harriet Zurndorfer (Universiteit Leiden, the Netherlands), in her paper “Wanli China versus the Dragon’s Head and the Snake’s Tail”, dispelled the images of a weak Wanli Emperor and put into perspective the impact of the war on imperial finances. Professor Namlin Hur (University of British Columbia, Canada) delivered “The Celestial Warriors: A

Drama of Military Aid and Corruption in the Korean War, 1592-98” that examined Korea within Chinese geopolitical concerns and offered a Korean view on the burdens of hosting Chinese forces.

Commentary was provided by invited discussants from Japan, the Netherlands, and the USA. Support was provided by The Korea Foundation, The Oriental Institute of the University of Oxford, The Great Britain Sasakawa Foundation, The Japan Foundation, The Northeast Area Council of the Association for Asian Studies (USA), The British Academy, The Daiwa Anglo-Japanese Foundation, The International Institute for Asian Studies (the Netherlands), Wolfson College (Oxford), and The British Association for Korean Studies, which organized the conference. <

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Photographic prints at the Kern Institute, Leiden

Java through the Eyes of Van Kinsbergen

“As a painter he produced the most, as an opera singer he moved many a heart, as a photographer he earned the most, and as an impresario he provided most with delight.”

Research >
Southeast Asia

With these words, Victor Ido characterized the Dutch artist Isidore Van Kinsbergen (1821-1905), who was the soul of colonial artistic life in Batavia in the second half of the 19th century. As the photographer of the famous archaeological series “Antiquities of Java” and “Borobudur”, both available at the Kern Institute, Van Kinsbergen contributed impressively to the “revealing” and appreciating of classical Indonesian art.



Four-armed Visnu from the Dieng Plateau, kept in Wonosobo and brought over to Museum Nasional in Jakarta. Negative 1865. Print ca. 1876. (image no. 2094)

By Gerda Theuns-de Boer

Van Kinsbergen was born in 1821 in Brugge, at that time part of the Southern Netherlands. After his training in Paris as a singer and decoration painter, he came to Batavia in 1851 as a member of a French opera group. The group left Batavia, but Van Kinsbergen was there to stay for ever. Besides being engaged in the performing arts, he got interested in the new medium photography. According to Ido, Van Kinsbergen was the first to apply the albumen print process in Batavia.

Government Commissions

Van Kinsbergen's first government job came in February 1862, when he was invited to accompany the General Secretary of the East Indies, Mr. Alexis Loudon, on his mission to Siam (Thailand). Loudon's directive was to give substance to the 1860-Treaty of Friendship, Trade and Navigation between the Netherlands and Siam, and it was Van Kinsbergen's task to photograph “all curiosities of the country”. The 1914 list

of prints identifies thirteen images of “temples, etc.”

Meanwhile, the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, to which archaeological research and conservation were directed at that time, became interested in the promising new medium. The gift of some excellent prints of the statues and reliefs of ‘Boro Boeddho’ and antiquities at ‘Brambanan’ by the Governor-General of the East Indies, Sloet van de Beele, inspired the Society to decide to draw up an agreement with Van Kinsbergen in December 1862. They felt that the outer world should meet with the variety of Javanese culture as expressed in ancient inscriptions, architecture, sculpture, and handwork, and this could be accomplished with a series of about 300 prints. All wet-plates (clichés) were to be taken according to the directions of J.F.G. Brumund, Reverend of the Batavian Evangelic Community and specialist on Javanese antiquities, who, at that very moment, was on an archaeological tour for the Society to select and describe antiquities. Van Kinsbergen's

prints were meant to illustrate Brumund's publication. Van Kinsbergen was contracted to make the clichés in three years and to deliver six prints of each. All clichés would become government property and extra printing was allowed only by government order.¹

Antiquities of Java

In May 1863, Van Kinsbergen left for West Java. About four years later – instead of the agreed three years – the “curtain fell” quite abruptly, as he ran out of chemicals when photographing the Panataran Hindu temple complex in East Java. The Society, anxious about more delays, did not allow him to return to Batavia for new supplies. In fact, Van Kinsbergen used up so many clichés on the reliefs of the Panataran complex that he was unable to head for the Borobudur (res. Kadoe) as intended.

Van Kinsbergen's reputation was not affected by these shortcomings. On the contrary, the work he was able to deliver met with great approval with the Society's board. His photographs were shown at the annual meetings and Van Kinsbergen was bestowed the title “the Society's Photographer” in 1864. His efforts on the Dieng Plateau to restore the water management in order to photograph the oldest group of Javanese Hindu temples properly were avidly praised. In 1865, the board decided that Van Kinsbergen was no longer obliged to follow Brumund's directions, but should photograph according to his own vision. Later that year, Van Kinsbergen accompanied the Governor-General of the East Indies, Sloet van de Beele, on his trip to Madura and Bali.

It is clear from the minutes of the Batavian Society that European experiments in lithography were eagerly followed, as the Society sought the technology to have Van Kinsbergen's prints reproduced. In October 1864, Mr. Weitzel, a member of the Society in the Netherlands, visited the Dutch lawyer E.J. Asser, known for his articles and experiments on photography and photolithography, and three clichés had been sent from Batavia for experimentation. Asser was impressed by the work of Van Kinsbergen; however, the Society was not satisfied with Asser and Tooveij's (Brussels) results and, in the end, decided to publish Brumund's archaeological work together with a photographic album by Van Kinsbergen. Brumund's work was published by 1868, but it wasn't until four years later, in February 1872, that Van Kinsbergen's first installment of the series was ready! Despite its lateness, the board of the Society spoke “with one voice” to express its admiration of the quality. It



Two panels on the main wall of the first gallery of Candi Borobudur showing the Buddha's First Encounter (top) and the story of the virtuous Sibi King (below). Negative 1873. Print 1874-1890. (image no. 2203)

was then decided to arrange the prints into five portfolios furnished with a lithography designed by Van Kinsbergen and accompanied by a small printed catalogue. Six complete sets were agreed upon, and they were ready for transport in November 1872. After that, separate images could be ordered for two guilders each, later for three.

Borobudur

Meanwhile, the Batavian Society drew up a new agreement with Van Kinsbergen to photograph the Borobudur monument and to make mouldings for casts.² All sorts of problems prohibited Borobudur from inclusion in the Antiquities of Java series. Although F.C. Wilsen and C. Leemans just recently published a set of drawings with descriptive explanation, it was the prevailing opinion of the board that they were imperfect representations rendered obsolete by the realism felt to be inherent in images produced by photography. In April 1873, Van Kinsbergen set off. Cleaning, digging, and technical difficulties (his mission was half archeological) took so much time that the photographing could only start in August. Van Kinsbergen selected the best preserved and prettiest statues and panels for photographing. In December, the wet West Monsoon made it impossible to proceed, leaving the series at forty-three photographs, although photographing the entire monument (which would have taken 1,400 clichés) was out of the question. The Society was disappointed with the resulting amount, but satisfied with the quality. As for the cast experiments, they failed. The volcanic stone was too weathered to give good mouldings and the reliefs were far more ‘haut’ than ‘bas’ and, for that reason, difficult to copy.

The “imagining”

How can one describe Van Kinsbergen's archaeological corpus that officially amounted to 375 prints? Van Kinsbergen was a perfectionist. Although his artistic freedom was hampered by the supervision of a special commission of Society board members and by Brumund's (who had died of a liver-trouble in March 1863) pre-selection of topics, he did feel free enough to choose his own way of “imagining” sites and objects.

Van Kinsbergen preferred a non-frontal angle, which better showed the depth of the relief and the skills of the maker. Van Kinsbergen stressed the timeless beauty of each piece of art by regularly skipping the background not by holding up black curtains, but by blocking the negative. If we look at the photo of the four-armed Hindu god Visnu it is hard to believe that the stele, which came from the Dieng Plateau, actually stood at one side of the drive to the residency of the Assistant Resident of Wonosobo, while at the opposite side was an image of Siva in the same style.

The Society was fully satisfied with the prints, but there is always space for criticism. It's true that the series is not fully representative of ancient Indonesian art, it is not really balanced, misses details in the darker parts, is without indication of measurements, is not properly described, and is not archaeological in essence. But... his prints are of a superb quality; the beauty of the classical art is perfectly shown and stone figures come to life by a touch of light. They were shown to the public at both the 1873 International Exhibition of Vienna and the World Exhibition in Paris in 1878, inspired other artists (e.g. Gauguin), and...were finally rewarded by a medal. Attention for Van Kinsbergen's work is once again on the rise. Prints have been shown in Dallas, San Francisco, Bilbao, and most recently, in the National Museum in Amsterdam. But what remains starkly absent is a good biography and bibliography! <

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Erratum >

In the article by Gerda Theuns-de Boer entitled “Photographic Prints at the Kern Institute: The Boar as an Image of Creation”, published in *IIAS Newsletter* 26, p. 22, the photo captions should be switched (please see IIAS website for correct captions), and the sentence which reads “With his tusks, he took the form of Varaha in order to lift the earth from the waters” should read as “He took the form of Varaha in order to lift the earth with his tusks from the waters”. We apologize for the errors.

Notes >

- 1 The total costs were 37,500 guilders, even for today an amazing amount, which can only be explained by the high government salaries up to 1888, the appreciating of the new medium as such, and the high costs of equipment, transport and sojourn. Van Kinsbergen's personal salary was 1,000 guilders a month; for that same amount thirty workers would clear, clean, and dig at the Dieng Plateau during four months!
- 2 Making casts was a popular technique at that time for displaying antiquities back in Europe and had already been successfully accomplished with Egyptian and Assyrian reliefs.

Visual Ethnography

New Horizons for Social Research Using Digital Media in Southeast Asia

Report >
Southeast Asia

19-20 February 2001
Singapore

A workshop on "Visual Ethnography: New Horizons in Social Research Using Digital Media in Southeast Asia" was hosted by the Department of Sociology, National University of Singapore in February last year. It brought together documentary film-makers from within and beyond the Southeast Asian region, local media practitioners from Singapore, and around fifty participants, for discussion and screenings of recent works by the speakers. The intention was to generate an exchange of ideas on the potentials of new digital media technologies and how these will transform ethnographic film-making.

By Aileen Toohey & Roxana Waterson

The workshop was structured around four sessions: "Interplays, initiatives and directions in ethnographic film"; "The challenges of teaching visual media"; "Documenting social issues"; and "New directions for digital media in Southeast Asia". First to speak was Paul Henley, Director of the Granada Centre for Visual Anthropology, Manchester University. In his historical overview of ethnographic film, Henley discussed how the presentation of central characters had moved from romantic archetypes to increasingly more individualized characterizations. He showed the range of fabrications involved in the making of these films, which led to a discussion of what constitutes documentary truth, an issue with obvious parallels to the writing of ethnographic texts. Arguably, the reflexive turn in anthropology since the 1980s has enabled a fuller appreciation of film within the discipline.

Picking up on the interrelationships between technology and ethnographic film, Ms Judith MacDougall from the Centre for Cross-Cultural Research, ANU, Canberra, argued that digital technologies will bring new ways of thinking about film, a more sophisticated understanding of the techniques involved and a deeper appreciation of the filmic image. MacDougall argued that film has remained an underused medium in the social sciences. For this to change, film-making would have to be acknowledged as an act of research equivalent in value to other forms of fieldwork. The power of film to depict experiential knowledge and to represent social phenomena as complex wholes embedded in other events should be recognized. Referring to her latest film, *Diya* (2001), she commented on the advantages that digital technologies offered in terms of subtitling while still in the field, and the possibilities of editing versions for different audiences.

Mr Kidlat Tahimik, Artistic Director of Sunflower Cooperative, makes films which are at once highly personal and deeply political, concerning issues arising from the long history of colonization in the Philippines. Notable among these are *Perfumed Nightmare* (1978) and *Turumba* (1984). Kidlat's current interests include a collaborative project with Ifugao villagers that encourages interested individuals to use digital cameras as a means of preserving and documenting their own culture. Such footage will become part of their living legacy and can be integrated into the local school curriculum.

The third session, "Documenting social issues", aimed to position ethnographic film as a genre within the wider realm of documentary film. Mr Alan Rosenthal, visiting film-maker with Ngee Ann Polytechnic's Film and Media Studies Programme, and Professor of Communications at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1971-2000), has directed over fifty TV documentaries and docu-dramas. Since docu-drama is, in effect, an extension of investigative journalism, its credibility depends on a commitment to accurate research. As an illustration, Rosenthal screened *The Holocaust on Trial* (2000), which recreates the libel case brought by historian David Irving against Deborah Lipstadt, author of *Denying the Holocaust* (New York: Free Press, 1993). Using courtroom transcripts as the trial proceeded and released within a fortnight of its conclusion, this film was able to make its impact while the issue was still topical.

Mr Sitthipong Kalayane is Managing Director and co-founder of Images Asia, an alternative media organization in Chiang Mai, Thailand, that provides video training to ethnic minorities and socially concerned NGOs. Sitthipong has produced a number of significant documentaries on social issues in Burma and Thailand. He showed two recent examples: *Smiles* (a critical appraisal of hypocrisy in Thai politics, made to celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the UN Declaration of Human Rights), and *Road to Nowhere* (2000), concerning forced labour in Burma. Local practitioners Jason Lai and Tony Chow, who run their own small production companies, showed excerpts of their documentaries made for local television, and discussed their

work and the frustrations of editorial interference from TV producers.

Professor James Fox added a historical dimension with an account of his own long involvement with ethnographic film-making and teaching, and his collaboration with Timothy Asch on several documentaries in eastern Indonesia. He recalled the almost insuperable problems of carrying 300 kilos or so of equipment through Indonesian customs, and conveying it to remote island locations. Today, he noted, the digital video camera is increasingly becoming "part of the kit bag" for the anthropologist, as much as a notebook and still camera.

Participants in the concluding session, "New directions for digital media in Southeast Asia", included Michele Gnutzman from Ngee Ann Polytechnic, Leong Wai-Teng and Mr Joe Peters from NUS, and Ms Gauri Krishnan from Singapore's Asian Civilizations Museum. Topics included innovation in museum displays, research in musicology, and the presentation by Ms MacDougall of a remarkable multimedia programme, the Joborr Project, devised by the Anbarra Aboriginal community of north-central Arnhemland, in collaboration with anthropologists and film-makers.

An important question raised in the ensuing discussion concerned the nature of the relationship entered into with those who agree to be filmed. The attitude of ethnographic film-makers to their subjects is generally highly sympathetic, even protective, and the film may become, in some way, a record of their dialogical relationship. But subjects, however sophisticated or enthusiastic, are hardly ever aware of the full implications of being filmed. MacDougall stressed that consent was a matter of continuing negotiation. Broader political contexts, changes of government, or questions of censorship also complicate the issue.

This issue of censorship was a second important theme. It had, indeed, been an aim of the workshop to facilitate a discussion of the constraints within which regional film-makers must operate, and to debate how far they may be able to open up new spaces for the depiction and discussion of social and cultural issues. Within Southeast Asia, government investment in IT, degrees of media censorship and surveillance, the affordability of digital equipment, and levels of personal access to the Internet all vary widely, while political sensitivities oblige film-makers to deal subtly with certain topics, or avoid them altogether. Such conditions are not unique to this region, however. Henley described how his most recent film, *The Enemy Within* (2000), which depicts the workings of the European Parliament, had been withheld by the BBC, which judged it too controversial. Besides an awareness of these limitations, participants also gained much

insight into the creative potentials which digital technologies are bringing to visual research.

This workshop is one of several initiatives in NUS's Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Other related developments include a Programme in Information and Communications Media, and the opening in January 2002 of an undergraduate module on Visual Ethnography in the Department of Sociology, which has attracted intense interest from students. In November 2001, Karl Heider lectured here on his use of film in teaching anthropology, and in April 2002, students will be privileged to enjoy a visit from another well-known ethnographic filmmaker, Peter Crawford. He will be talking and showing his work, as well as evaluating student exercises. We hope to organize more workshops in the future, and expand the training we can offer in video research. <

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- *Road to Nowhere Chiang Mai: Images Asia* (2000); 30 mins
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- Woodhead, Leslie, *The Holocaust on Trial*, BBC (2000); 90 mins.

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Group of speakers and some of the participants at the workshop. Back Row, L-R: Paul Henley, James Fox, Michelle Gnutzman (4th from left), Judith MacDougall (5th from left). Front Row, L-R: Roxana Waterson, Sitthipong Kalayane, Leong Wai Teng, Tony Chow, Kidlat Tahimik (6th from left), Aileen Toohey.

The Logic of Japan's Mori-bund Politics

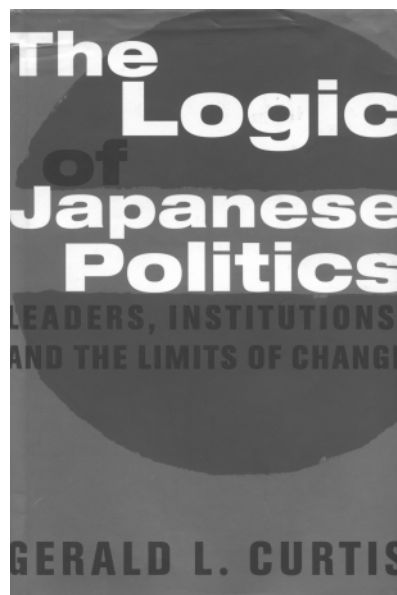
Forum >
East Asia

The extraordinary popularity of Koizumi Junichiroo, who won the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) presidential election and became prime minister in April 2001, reflected the hope that at last Japan had found someone who could break free from the years of political stagnation, the brute immobility of which was encapsulated in the person of his predecessor, Mr Mori, a man seemingly trapped in the past like a fly in amber. Koizumi was swept to power by the rank and file of the LDP and in the teeth of some formidable old guard opposition. He whetted the popular appetite with the appointment of five female ministers to his first cabinet. Then, in the Diet he spoke frankly, directly, and in his own words, not from a prepared draft, scripted by the bureaucracy. Above all, the words he spoke were those of reform and renewal; of paring back the state, of reducing the jobs for the boys (amakudari), of confronting the nagging, seemingly intractable problems of bad loans and of weak and too numerous banks. Wow!

By Richard Boyd

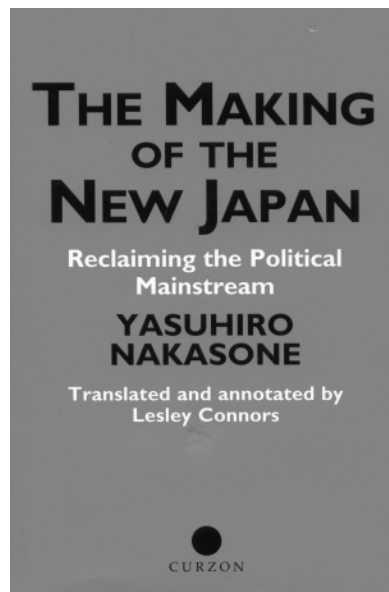
Ten months later and the picture is not quite so rosy. There are pluses. The cabinet has approved a plan to streamline 163 state-backed institutions, but this is a diluted version of the original proposal. The challenge on the economic front is greater still; here the Bank of Japan, at his prompting, has made moves to stabilize the financial system (by increasing the monthly issue of government bonds from Y600 Bn. to Y 800 Bn. and by increasing the amount of reserves the commercial banks are required to deposit with the central bank from Y6000 Bn. to a target of Y10,000 Bn. to Y 15,000 Bn.), but few observers are persuaded that these reforms will have much impact. His is no easy task. Resistance to reform is deep-seated within the government apparatus and within the LDP itself. Fifty-three LDP members formed a group to challenge his policies last autumn. Reform means jobs lost and networks of influence disrupted, and is bitterly resented. The strength of the opposition and concomitantly the prospects for real reform was measured in the January 2002 Diet session and will be known by the time this review is published.

One thing at least is clear before then. For all his personal qualities and ambitions, Koizumi is locked into the same set of institutions and is faced with precisely the opportunity structures that constrained former Prime Minister Mori. In short, the success of the reform effort will hinge not upon its 'genuineness' or otherwise but upon the strategic skills of Koizumi and his supporters in exploiting and managing that institutional matrix. As he prepares for the coming struggle, he could do worse than read Gerald Curtis's latest book, *The Logic of Japan's Politics*; it would, at a minimum, acquaint him with a political world he knows only too well. That is praise indeed. Too often with some of the more turgid social scientific writing about Japan's politics one is left wondering how readily the world depicted therein would be recognized by a Japanese official or politician. Little enough of this lit-



Books reviewed >

- Culter, S., *Managing Decline: Japan's Coal Industry Restructuring and Community Response*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press (1999); ISBN 0-8248-2145-9 (pb), ISBN 0-8248-2060-6 (hb);
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- Nakasone, Yasuhiro, *The Making of the New Japan: Reclaiming the Political Mainstream*, Translated and annotated by Lesley Connors, Richmond: Curzon Press (1999), ISBN 0-7007-1246-1
- Christensen, Ray, *Ending the LDP Hegemony: Party Cooperation in Japan*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press (2000), ISBN 0-8248-2295-1 (pb).



erature is read in Japan other than as a means of learning what the foreigners think now. Curtis is a significant exception. He is deeply knowledgeable about Japanese politics, indeed he is personally acquainted with some of its leading figures and can analyse it in terms simultaneously comprehensible to Japanese practitioners and compatible with comparative political study. He has an easy, lucid style of writing, and he is careful and judicious in his judgements.

The focus of the book is the LDP's loss of power in 1993 (the pivotal event in politics in Japan since the creation of the LDP in 1955), and the tortuous course of coalition making, and of parties and prime ministers popping up and disappearing at regular intervals since then. This, in turn, necessitates an explanation for the demise of the so-called 1955 system, that is to say the political configuration that emerged in Japan as the Showa Constitution of 1947 was interpreted and shaped by political practice. The lynchpin of the system was the LDP's monopoly of power. As a result, we end up with an account which touches upon much of Japan's post-war politics and which shows how deeply domestic politics were fashioned in response to the dictates of the Cold War. In the process, Curtis corrects some of the more famous accounts of Japan's politics. Thus, "the theory of the capitalist developmental state exaggerates both the extent and the uniqueness of the power of the Japanese state over the market and of bureaucrats over politicians". As for the antithesis to the capitalist developmental state thesis, namely rational choice theory, this "grossly underestimates bureaucratic power and exaggerates the extent to which the LDP can employ control mechanisms to keep bureaucrats in line" (ibid. p.59). This is a superb book. If you were only ever to read one book about Japan's politics, this might well be the one.

Christensen's painstaking study, *Ending the LDP Hegemony: Party Cooperation in Japan*, deals with similar themes but from the perspective of the opposition parties which he seeks to emancipate from a paradigm of failure, incompetence, complacency, and ideological rigidity - a laudable concern. It can usefully be read alongside Curtis to afford a nuanced account of the electoral process itself and of the enormous difficulties a fragmented opposition confronted in the 1955 system.

Former prime minister, Nakasone Yasuhiro, was equally persuaded that the end of the Cold War and the emergence of a new world order had great domestic as well as foreign policy implications for Japan. His call for a "Third Opening" of Japan (on a par with that of Meiji and of the "Macarthur Reforms") is the conclusion of his autobiography carefully translated and annotated by Lesley Connors. The international dimensions of the challenge are plainly indicated: Japan must revise and extend the scope of her foreign policy but should do this cautiously and with humility. The principle domestic implication of this is that Japanese political leaders must recognize the goal setting and leadership potential of a presidential interpretation of the office of prime min-

ister. Japan has no president but since, "in Japan, the executive and the legislative are in principle fused... the prime minister's influence over the Diet is far greater than that of the US president over Congress. The prime minister, by exercising his powers under the present constitution can occupy a stronger position within his country than the US president". Hope there for Koizumi perhaps, but Nakasone was, in his own words, a "foreign affairs" prime minister and, arguably, there is greater scope abroad for a presidential role than at home. His own efforts at administrative reform met with real, if limited, success.

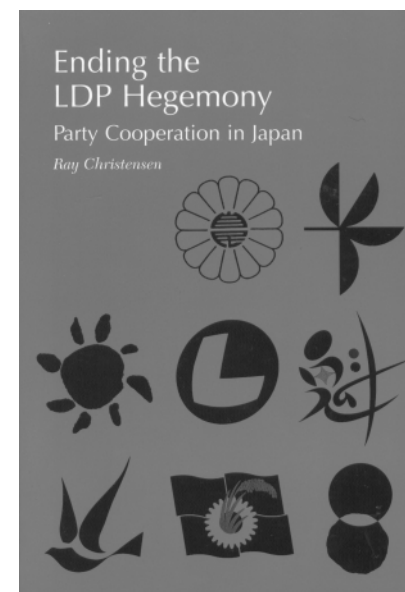
Nakasone set his sights on high office at a young age and his preparation for the conduct of foreign relations was remarkable preferring at one stage to volunteer for a junior cabinet position as Director General and the Self Defence Agency so as better to study the security basis of the Japan-USA relationship. Eventually he won a certain success in international summitry that eluded other Japanese leaders. It is all the more intriguing to be reminded of how wide of the mark his views of some of the specifics of the new world order were. He correctly divined the marginality of the United Nations, but Yasu of the Ron-Yasu relationship could not have been more wrong about the USA. It is at least curious to read, post-September 11 2001, that "with the disappearance of its long term enemy the Soviet Union, the United States too is experiencing a weakening of its own unity... it is on the verge of losing its leadership role". If a week is a long time in politics, the decade since Nakasone wrote this had better be measured in light years.

There are gems aplenty in the work to justify Lesley Connors' sterling efforts as translator. Here, self-indulgently, four favourites:

1. Nakasone's casual, but deeply revealing, comment, circa 1960 and as a minister of state, that as a naval officer, a bureaucrat and a politician he had always been on the side of the rulers and had not been accustomed to take account of the feelings of the ruled.
2. The portrait of the famous politician Miki Bukichi, garbed in traditional Japanese dress of *hakama* with *zoori*, hobbling along the red carpet of the Diet with a stick, eyes glaring, cajoling, teasing and barking at junior colleagues as he whipped up support for the creation of a single LDP out of the multiple factions, clubs and parties of the right.
3. The terse reminder that in the end, for all politicians, all politics comes back to "how can I form a cabinet, and how can I bring the cabinet down?"
4. And to the Director General of the Self-Defence Agency who arranged for the new provision of essentials earlier provided by the men at their own expense, a poem: Toilet Rolls are now standard issue
We wipe our bottoms with this tissue
With great thanks.

More prosaically, the problems that confront Koizumi are as much economic as political. He can take heart, perhaps, at Japan's earlier successes in managing economic problems. Whereas the precise contribution of government action to the promotion of growth (the capitalist developmental state thesis alluded to above) remains hotly debated, there seems to be general agreement that when Japan's policy makers turned their attention to industrial restructuring they were broadly successful. The problems were common to all OECD nations and their "rustbelt industries" (higher labour costs than in the NICs, high energy costs post the OPEC oil price hike, excess capacity nationally and globally and so on), their

continued >



Tak-Wing Ngo's Hong Kong's History

Review >
Hong Kong

Recent publications on the history of Hong Kong tend to focus on its transition from British to Chinese rule, discussing the problems of this transition and, not seldomly, warning the reader of the presumed negative consequences for the hitherto flourishing capitalist economy of Hong Kong following the takeover by the Communists of mainland China. The books that concentrate more strictly on the history of Hong Kong itself mainly emphasize the advantages of British colonial rule and administration, in particular for the economy and thus, in the eyes of their authors, also for the people of this former "barren-rock island".

By Angela Schottenhammer

Meanwhile, other publications, mostly Chinese ones, seek instead to highlight the humiliation to which China was exposed by and because of the Opium Wars, and the brutal way in which the British, when they took Hong Kong, opened a new market – China. Equally, they underline the anti-colonial struggles of the indigenous Chinese population against British rule. A Western inclined standpoint, stressing the British contribution to the development of a market economy in Hong Kong, thus contrasts with the description of China and Hong Kong as the victims of colonialism, which often bears the traces of a nationalist Chinese point of view. Both narratives tend to be biased, although it may of course not be denied or contested that the British takeover of Hong Kong was, in fact, a colonial-imperialist political measure, in disregard of Chinese sovereignty and accompanied by a plethora of extortionary measures that the British exerted on the weaker Chinese Qing Empire.

Against the background of these two contradicting views, which regard Hong Kong's historical course as either positive or negative, the present volume wants to present "an empirical and historically rooted account of state-society relations in the making of Hong Kong that differs from recent celebrations of British colonialism and anti-colonial Chinese nationalism, [by] highlighting the roles of a variety of actors' (preface). As the editor, Tak-Wing Ngo, puts it, most narratives share the common deficiency that "they ignore the complexity of British colonial rule in Hong Kong" (p. 2). Consequently, by comprehending the complexity of colonialism, the contributors to this volume wish to open new avenues of research for historians of the colonial past to pursue (p.11). "Evidence shows that colonial policies both advanced and constrained Hong Kong's development". The most obvious case of positive intervention has been the colonial state's contribution to Hong Kong's commercial and trade development, whereas it played a clearly negative role in discouraging any industrialization before World War II as well as in blocking the opportunities for industrial upgrading in the 1960s (p. 8).

The volume's promise to show the reader more aspects of the complex colonial rule in Hong Kong is fully redeemed by the authors. The articles provide a wealth of information not widely known about the history of Hong Kong. They reveal many aspects of British rule in Hong Kong that were hitherto rather neglected. Details of Chinese collaborators and compradors (John M. Carroll, pp. 13-29; Hui Po-Keung, pp. 30-45), and of the criminal justice system, investigating some particular issues of justice and oppression (Christopher Munn, pp. 46-73), are expounded on in the first three contributions. Stephen W. K. Chiu and Ho-Fung Hung (pp. 74-100) comment on the rural policy of the British concerning, for instance, the commercialization of the land and the reasons behind the low occurrence of social unrest among the farmers in response to state intervention. Also discussed are the role of social movements and their public discourse (Tai-Lok Lui and Stephen W. K. Chiu, pp. 101-118), the reference to and control by British rule of the local economy - far from being the outcome of a free enterprise response to free markets - (Alex H. Choi, pp. 141-161), and the changes and flexibility in the manufacturing sector (textile, garment, and electronics industry) (Kim-Ming Lee, pp. 162-179). In all the contributions, details normally neglected or even suppressed in the established historiography are brought to the reader's attention. Tak-Wing Ngo devotes one article to the refutation of the myth or common belief ("constructed belief", p. 119) that Hong Kong's economic success was a result of a "laissez-fair" policy. Writings on and interpretations of Hong Kong's history have followed and presently continue along a biased path moulded according to political standpoints, thereby neglecting many parts of the whole story; consequently, it is necessary to view and investigate more aspects of Hong Kong's history.

It is, of course, a matter of honour not to judge historical developments a priori, either positively or negatively, and thus to try to be objective. The authors of the volume are certainly correct and untiring at stating that, unfortunately, it is only all too often that this is refrained from in modern historiography. This is not to say that the analysis of a great number of detailed facts should not converge on general conclusions about the history that have been investigated. One should be careful not to confuse objectivity with drawing no conclusions at all, thereby obviating the pronouncement of any general judgement about colonialism - the focus of concern. In the 19th century, the British used force and did not think twice about taking those military and political measures they regarded as necessary against the Chinese in order to open up China and its market. Their goal was that the latter would become a market for British products and thereby help to accumulate capital for British enterprises and to strengthen British industry, from which the government as the politico-economic entity profited. This is a simple historical reality which can be deduced from what had happened before, during, and after the Opium Wars. Far from simple, subjective partisanship for the Chinese and anti-Britishness, it is an objective conclusion derived from historical facts. Nor is this historical reality reversed by, for example, the fact that the indigenous people were often very willing to collaborate. Without exception, such willingness existed in colonial systems, though admittedly to different extents.

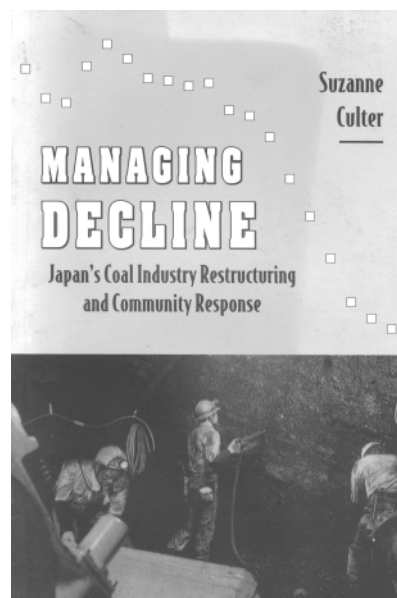
The present volume is neither a conventional account of Hong Kong's colonial history nor a linear description of its economic development (preface). It does, in fact, reveal various aspects of state-society relations hitherto obscured in Hong Kong's history and, consequently, it may help to revise the simple, conventional picture of the history of Hong Kong. What it does not provide is an explanation of the British colonial policy and aims when they acted in a particular way. An enumeration of as many aspects as possible is no substitute for an explanation of an historical phenomenon: in this case, British colonialism and its impact on Hong Kong. In order not to have Hong Kong's history completely reduced to an accumulation of details and aspects, it would have been desirable for the authors to have laid a little more emphasis on general causes and explanations. Yet, for all those wanting to learn more details about and aspects of the history of Hong Kong, which are normally not included in relevant publications, and - this must be highly valued - for everyone who has grown tired of reading all the relevant biased publications, this volume constitutes a collection of articles which are really worth reading. ◀

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Bookinfo>

Ngo, Tak-Wing (ed.), *Hong Kong's History: State and Society under Colonial Rule*, London, New York: Routledge Studies in Asia's Transformations (1999), xii, 205 pp., ISBN 0-415-20868-8 (pbk), tables.



responses were highly variable. Japan's approach sought to anticipate and ameliorate the costs and consequences of adjustment. It included direct government assistance to firms and workers, incentives for labour retraining and mobility, the orderly scrapping of excess capacity, and the restructuring and upgrading of remaining capacity. This stands in sharp contrast to the approach of the USA, Canada, New Zealand, and Australia where import protection was used to buy time for adjustment to take place through domestic market mechanisms.

The measure of successful industrial adjustment is the reduction of its social costs, the avoidance or minimization of the human suffering consequent upon plant closures, redundancy, and the loss of incomes. These costs are all the greater when the depressed industry is the local monopoly employer, as is often the case in the shipbuilding and coal-mining industries. Then everyone suffers, whether directly employed by the mines or not. People without incomes do not purchase goods and services. Curiously for all that the impact of adjustment upon the individuals involved is the test, the tendency has been to analyse industrial restructuring from a macro-level perspective, to look at the role of government agencies, the processes and players of the industrial sector, and so forth, rather than at the communities that bear the impact of adjustment policy. Suzanne Culter takes the correction of this misguided emphasis as her point of departure in a meticulously worked case study of industrial adjustment in the coal industry. Her aim in *Managing Decline: Japan's Coal Industry Restructuring and Community Response* is to contribute a view of the lives of workers and citizens from a coal-mining community in Hokkaido, a community that has long been dependent on the coal company for employment and services and that lost its major industry as a result of industrial policy for restructuring'. The community is Yuubari, a major source of coal production at its peak, with seventeen mines, 16,000 labourers, and a total population of 107,972. That was the 1960s. By 1990, the last pit had closed and seventy-five per cent of the population had gone. The details are as bleak as the outline. An industrial estate was opened and subsequently failed in the 1980s. The town received massive financial assistance, the main targets of which were, appropriately enough, the coal miners and yet we learn that they were the group who lost the most: jobs and community, income and meaning. If they wanted to work, they had to leave Yuubari as the replacement jobs were few in number and low in income. Young people, workers, and retirees left in droves. Those left behind were old and/or on low incomes. Twenty-seven per cent of shops closed. Fifty-seven per cent of small eating and drinking establishments went with them. Essential services, firemen, Post Office workers, teachers, and medical personnel declined at a similar pace. On the other hand, mental health disorders increased to more than double the regional average. Is this a success story? Culter is reluctant to judge, mindful of the great efforts of the municipality to reinvent Yuubari as a tourist town. Arguably, the town was saved and the workers were lost without any challenge to political order. Small comfort here for Koizumi? We shall see. ◀

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“Lee Kuan Yew

The Beliefs Behind the Man”

Review >
Southeast Asia

When reading or listening to scholarly analyses on what a certain writer or poet wanted to express when composing their work, I never forget one such person who, when asked if he had been guessed correctly, reacted succinctly “Hell, no!” Yet, the effort of trying to trace the beliefs behind a man should not be rejected out of hand. In our case, gratitude and respect are due to Michael D. Barr, a research scholar at Queensland University of Technology for updating and modifying his PhD thesis of the same title.

By András Hernádi

His undertaking to explore “the development of Lee Kuan Yew’s political thought”, that is of a person still alive and as controversial in his evaluations at home and abroad as Mr. Lee happens to be, is in itself praiseworthy. Yet readers must hardly be able to conceal their amazement as to why and how the author could resist the inevitable temptation to ask Mr. Lee to give him at least one appointment. (Barr points out in his Introduction that he has “never met Lee, and so” has “not been overwhelmed by his formidable person”.) In my view, though, he might just as well have given the former Prime Minister - now still Senior Minister - of Singapore the chance to react, if for no other reason but to obey the old Latin proverb, *audiatur et altera pars*, i.e. let the other party also be heard. The author’s initial “fairly uncritical”, later “critical” admiration of Lee may well have stood in his way. Barr’s words (fully shared by this reviewer) summing up Lee’s accomplishments would by no means have insulted this “figure of international stature” who “is credited not only with Singapore’s economic miracle, but with being a leader of economic development throughout Asia. He is also a leading figure in the contemporary revival of Confucianism throughout the Chinese world and was the principal architect of the “Asian values” campaign of the 1990s (p.2).

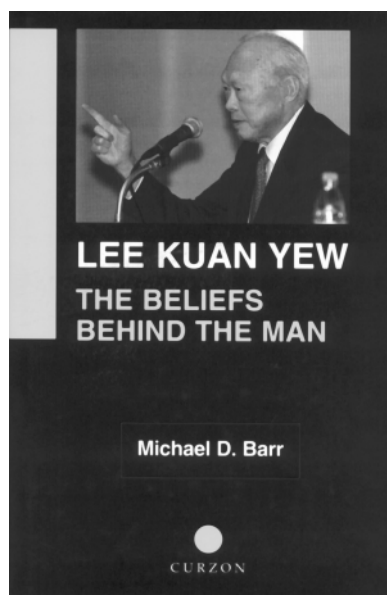
It is to Barr’s credit, even if he underlined at the outset that he was not going to write a biography, he was clever enough to do so in Chapter 2 (Father of the Nation) in such a thorough and interesting way that his words could be selected as required reading material in Asian Studies for college and university students alike. Who would have thought, for example, that when, at the age of seventeen, Lee and his class

mates had to write an essay on the future of the world, their principal at Raffles Institution returned the essays with the comment that “out of this class one of you will be Prime Minister of this country” (p.10), without doubt referring to Lee?

Barr’s efforts to trace such tidbits, if necessary even by making use of personal interviews and correspondence with former classmates or colleagues of Lee, do not tail off as the book progresses. His precision and thoroughness are best illustrated by the fact that each of his chapters is followed by a notes section, normally one-third or one-quarter the length of the chapters themselves.

The chapters elaborate Barr’s views on Lee’s progressivism, elitism, cultural evolutionism, and geneticism, then to move on to analyse Lee’s political technique, followed by his achievements. Each chapter is wittily headed by a motto-like citation either from Lee himself or coined by his biographers, thus giving readers regarding a hint about the “message” to follow. Such “aids” do come in handy, especially when the analysis is not very easy to digest.

Barr should definitely be praised for his treating Toynbee’s “Challenge and Response” thesis as one source for Lee’s model of crisis-driven development (pp. 82-85). Although a method widely applied by politicians fearing or even fighting their domestic and foreign adversaries, the new element worth our attention here is that, in my opinion,



Lee was using it not just as a tactic but also as a strategy and, most importantly, not in his personal interest, but in that of his country. It is equally important to point out that progressivism was something Lee himself felt to be a must. When globalization took off as a catchword, “Lee had adapted his theory of the elite to the new world order” (p. 119). Barr later cites Lee as declaring in 1967 (!) “The moment we cease to change, to be able to adapt, to respond effectively to new situations, then we have begun to die” (p. 171). And finally, despite showing all “-isms”, concepts, and theories which have played a role in forming the beliefs behind the man, the author points out that “Lee was not interested in ideas ‘as ideas themselves’, but only “insofar as they can galvanise ... society” (p. 174).

Judging by the immense amount of excellent, straight-to-the-point citations, Barr must have gone through so many sources, it would make him an ideal candidate to set up special archives on Singapore and Lee himself. As the former is rightly considered the most successful example of a Third World country that has joined the ranks of the First World, while the latter is thought to be by many fellow politicians one of the brightest statesmen in the world today it may be well worth the effort to set such archives up. One of the founding volumes, his own book, has already been written. Congratulations Mr. Barr! <

reference

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The Rise and Fall of a Javanese Saint

Review >
Southeast Asia

It was with some surprise that I discovered that the book under review was not about a Muslim saint in Java. Through his close association with an enigmatic popular figure and the movement that coalesced around him in the area of “Lively Rock”, Raharjo Suwandi traces how one Javanese sought enlightenment and placed himself in absolute distinction from colonialism, the state, and even Islam as “foreign accretions” to Javanese culture. Not until page 70 of “A quest for Justice” is it explained that he was popularly assigned the name of “Wali” (the Islamic term for a saint) in recognition of his spiritual prowess.

By M.F. Laffan

Through biographical reconstruction, Suwandi shows how Embah Wali embraced extant Javanese notions of hierarchy, placing himself among “the little people” (*wong cilik*), and developed his own bipolar theory of “reality” (*nyata*) based on the *wayang* tradition and the experience of colonialism (pp.77 ff). Embah Wali resolved this in terms

of maleness (as positive giving) and femaleness (as negative taking) (pp.89-92); with all experiences contributing to the very nature of “life” (*urip*). On the path to developing his personal ideology, Embah Wali had experimented through periods of asceticism and withdrawal, enforced on one occasion by serious illness. Ultimately, though, he rejoined society acknowledged as a saintly authority by the crowds of people who visited his courtyard, a place where Embah Wali urged all to do as they saw fit. Embah Wali did not instil his ideology in others, although a select few chose to adopt and redefine it.

Suwandi gives a marvellous living picture of how a single figure can hold a movement together in contemporary Java. He explores Embah Wali’s aspirations for the then sultan of Yogyakarta, Hamengkubuwana IX, as the embodiment of the Just King or Ratu Adil foretold in the prophecy of Jaya Baya (pp.103ff). This millenarianism, enunciated through complex word-play and *wayang*, was but a part of the Embah Wali experience, an experience Suwandi first encountered as “another Java, locked in time and place of yesteryear” (p.3). Nonetheless the curious assem-

blies held in his compound in the tumultuous early 1970s, where some *wong cilik* sought supplication whilst others simply danced, reflected the inner turmoil of Indonesian society at the time (pp.109-38). That Embah Wali’s symbolic power was an alternative source of direction to the authoritarian state was most clearly demonstrated in a ceremony to complete a bridge spanning the two halves of Lively Rock in 1980 (pp.128-38). With the more stable years of Suharto’s rule, the Embah Wali phenomenon faded, hastened by the destruction of the bridge and the death of the sultan in 1987. With Embah Wali’s own death in 1990, Lively Rock became a disputed inheritance, and Suwandi felt able to transform his thesis into a book.

As a book there is much to enlighten, although one is distracted at times by needless repetition. But this is of minor concern. Rather, I am interested in the historicity of Suwandi’s approach. In his foreword, Jim Fox declares that this is “a work of anthropology that speaks to the history of Java” (p.vii), and observes that it is appropriate that it should find publication in the same series as Sartono Kartodirdjo’s *Peasants’ Revolt in Banten*.

(Sartono had once called for studies of millenarian movements on Java.) Certainly Suwandi has connected Embah Wali with the popular Javanese desire for justice as manifested in the person of the Ratu Adil. However the historical parallels he invokes require more cautious interpretation. As an example, Suwandi refers to the movement led by a certain Kiai Jasmani in 1888, which also invoked the prophecy of Jaya Baya, and with due reference to Sartono, Suwandi remarks on the anti-Dutch and anti-Chinese sentiment proclaimed by its leaders (p.27). In this there are parallels to Embah Wali’s critique of colonialism. However Jasmani’s movement, and probably the version of the Jaya Baya prophecy in circulation, was different. An examination of the *mailrapporten* of the time suggests that Jasmani’s movement was focused in Islamic terms, terms that Embah Wali would have rejected personally, but which might have been applied by his many regular visitors.¹

It would have been interesting for Suwandi to have developed the material on local Muslims beyond the footnotes of this work, as when Embah Wali is described by the men of the mosque as “the ugly old man” (p.147). Beyond questions of local Muslim attitudes to Embah Wali, the underlying “Indic” mode of Javanese civilization emphasized by Suwandi needs to be questioned with greater rigour (pp.142-42). Like Embah Wali, Suwandi seems to have screened out Islam as one more foreign accretion on the “true” Javanese

culture. But this is of course a personal bias, and *A Quest for Justice* remains an interesting and personal sketch of the genesis and decline of a popular figure in East Java. Doubtless several similar figures have arisen in the most recent turmoil of post-Suharto Indonesia. As Suwandi noted in his book, Embah Wali was but one holy man among many around Blitar. <

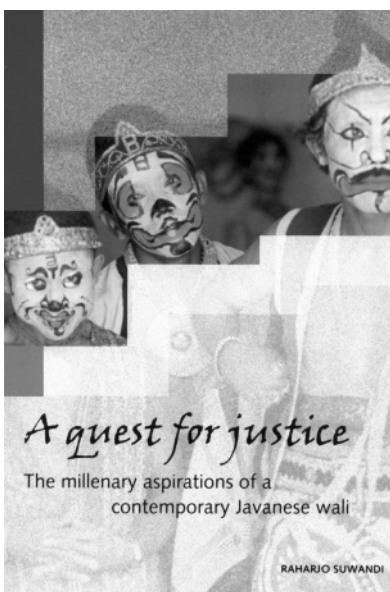
reference

- Suwandi, Raharjo, *A Quest for Justice: The millenary aspirations of a contemporary Javanese wali*. (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 182). Leiden:KITLV Press (2000), pp. x + 229, ISBN 90-6718-134-X, ill.

Dr M.F. Laffan completed his PhD on the history of Islamic nationalism in colonial Indonesia. His current research interests are Islamic perceptions of Meiji Japan, national identity in colonial Southeast Asia, and the interactions of indigenous informants with colonial scholars. In January 2001, he joined the IIAS project on “Islam in Indonesia: The Dissemination of Religious Authority in the 20th Century”.



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Note >

1 See Mailrapporten van 1888, nos. 597, 664, 728 and 740.

Atlas of Laos: Spatial Structures of the Economic and Social Development of The Lao People's Democratic Republic

Review >
Laos

The *Atlas of Laos* is overwhelming. So far little is known about this beautiful country, but with this new atlas counting 160 pages on which 285 flashing coloured computerized maps can be found, it feels like the "opening up" of knowledge about the Lao Peoples Democratic Republic (Lao PDR) is going too fast.

By Loes Schenk-Sandbergen

The authors of this atlas should be complemented with their painstaking and tedious work, as no doubt they have gone through a tough time in remaining in control of the huge pile of data. The data processed are based on approximately thirty variables extracted from the population and housing census from 1995, to which were added the socio-economic data provided by several ministries and provincial statistics bureaus (the latter also collecting data on district level). The atlas is based on the 133 districts into which the Lao PDR is divided and not on provinces (17 plus one special administrative zone) using the argument that the ecological and human environments to be covered are too heterogeneous for large-scale units to offer relevant information. This sounds convincing. With a total population of 4,575,000, on average each district contains 34,398 people, making this a very small-scale unit. Yet, even then, my anthropological experience in Laos showed that an enormous differentiation exists even per village, or ward (a part of a village).

The atlas reveals the spatial structures of Laos at a given point in time, rather than a process of change. The authors see the atlas as a base-line study to monitor future changes. The wider purpose of the atlas has two aims. "First, through the use of sectoral data, it seeks to assist the Laotian and international scientific community in their analysis of the territorial structures of economic and social development in Laos. Secondly, it is an instrument that enables Laotian planners to base national development strategy on scientific analysis and promote balanced utilization of the country's natural and human resources" (p.5). Indubitably these aims are sound, but they may conceal an inherent threat. The data

might become reified and can easily obtain an absolute "truth" status. The more so, as the authors claim that "the statistics gathered paint a *reliable* (italics added) picture of the situation prevailing in 1995 (census data) and in 1996 (socio-economic data)" (p.9). As an anthropologist I can hardly bring myself to believe that the data are as solid as the authors claim for their own work.

As an example we can mention for instance, that (p.48) in Sekong and Attapeu the lowest birth rate figures are found (3.36-3.88 per cent) but then it is a contradiction that in several districts of Sekong the household size of the population is the highest. What might the reason be? In the first place it is extremely difficult to obtain reliable figures on birth rates. This requires a door-to-door approach and building up rapport with village women by women interviewers and involves talking about the sensitive subject of deliveries and children who have died. Secondly, among the various groups different perception on the concept of "the household" are held. Are there specific ethnic groups in Sekong with low birth rates and other groups with a matrilineal tradition of large households? To answer these questions and to understand the reasons behind the figures, qualitative (gender specific) studies are necessary.

The atlas is divided into ten chapters as follows: territory, settlement, population dynamics, level of education, activity and employment, agriculture, industry, mining and energy, transport, post and telecommunications, trade and tourism, education, health and culture, and lastly, spatial organization.

Some fall out of the numbers and percentages inevitably turn up in a review on an atlas.

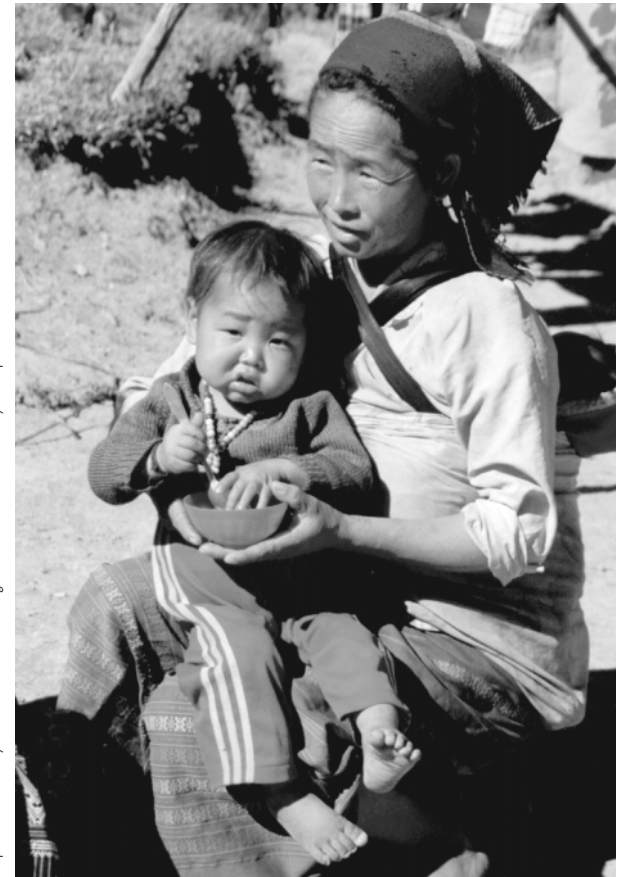
Therefore, some highlights: Laos is the least-populous country in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. The 1995 census

population is 4,575,000 (Compared with: Cambodia: 9.8 million, Myanmar: 46.5 million; Thailand 59.4 million, and Vietnam 75.5 million). The sex ratio of men to women after 25 years of peace is steadily increasing. It rose from 96.1 in 1985 to 97.7 in 1995. In particular in the age group 15-40, there are still far fewer men than women. Life expectancy, which is 52 years for women and 50 years for men at national level, exceeds 57 and 54 years respectively in the fast-growing provinces and Phongsaly and Oudomxay. The literacy rate for the country as a whole is 60 per cent, but this figure masks strong inequalities. Nearly 74 per cent of men are literate but only 48 per cent of women. Urban-rural (85-55 per cent) and ethnic origin (Lao 86, Khmu 60 per cent, Hmong 46 per cent) differences are substantial. It is interesting and confirms other findings that the female activity rate is slightly higher (71.2 per cent) than that of males (69.5 per cent of the population aged 10 years and over). It indicates the important role of women in the economy. The household size ranges between 5 to 8.1 members. While on average 84.4 per cent of the people work in agriculture, in most of the country this exceeds 92 per cent. Cash crops occupy only 6 per cent of the total area under cultivation: coffee, cotton, and a little tobacco. In the Lao PDR agriculture occupies approximately 15 per cent of the total land area, the rest is forest and mountains.

The Mekong basin is shared by six countries, with Lao PDR occupying 26 per cent, China and Myanmar 22 per cent together, Thailand 23 per cent, Cambodia 20 per cent and Vietnam 9 per cent of its territory. The authors emphasize the meridian structure of Lao PDR as a buffer state, which favours relations with neighbouring countries. What is not in the atlas is, that there is not even a single metre of railway in the entire country. There is one paved road (number 13) running from North to South (partly). Unfortunately, as that might explain the maps of the most hit areas from UXOs (unexploded ordnance, bombs), the Ho-Chi Min trail is not marked in the map of road networks. A study showed that in 42 out of 133 districts and 10 out of 18 provinces at least 35 per cent of the villages live under threat of these UXO.

The maps depicting Laos as within Southeast Asia provide an interesting view on land use, per capita income and human development index, and the official development assistance and foreign direct investment. Its average annual per capita income of US \$320, makes the Lao PDR appear richer in income terms than Cambodia (US \$240) and Vietnam (US \$190). Indonesia and the Philippines seem to be three times richer than the Lao PDR.

In the Lao PDR where 85 per cent of the households depend on agriculture and forest, it seems very difficult to estimate the money-value of, for example, forest products and firewood women collect and rats, birds, men hunt to supplement their daily meal or



All photos: Courtesy of Loes Schenk-Sandbergen and Outhaki Choulamany-Khamphoui

Hmong mother with child.

to sell. In the Human Development Index the Lao PDR ranks lower than Vietnam, which has better health and education systems. Within Southeast Asia, the Lao PDR is the biggest recipient of official development assistance per capita: US \$47.30.

Almost 67 per cent of this aid, which the IMF estimated at US \$142 million in 1992, comes from international financial institutions (World Bank, ADB, UN agencies, and IMF) and only 31 per cent comes from bilateral aid (Japan, Sweden, Australia, and the European Union) (see p.31).

I have some critical remarks about the classification of ethnic minorities in the Lao PDR. In his interesting atlas, *Atlas des Ethnies et des sous-ethnies du Laos* (1995), on ethnic groups in the Lao PDR Laurent Chazee distinguishes four linguistic groups and 130 ethnic groups and sub-groups. The authors of this atlas mention five linguistic and 47 ethnic groups recorded in the census. Firstly, the authors of the new atlas have included only those ethnic minorities that number over 25,000. Regrettably, this renders smaller minorities invisible, while it can be assumed that they

need extra attention in order to survive.

When seeing the result of their endeavours, it can easily be forgotten that the authors and co-authors have made their own personal selection of issues to be processed as maps. It is a pity that the authors have not selected important available gender 1995 census data. Maps showing the specific cultural tradition as, for instance, matrilineal kinship relations, matrilineal post-marriage residence patterns and customary land ownership of women would have contributed to an understanding of the unique characteristic of the country. <

reference

- Sisouphanthong, Bounthavy and Christian Taillard, *Atlas of Laos, Spatial Structures of the Economic and Social Development of the Lao People's Democratic Republic*. Copenhagen, Chiang Mai: NIAS, Silk Worm (2000) ISBN 87-87062-87-9

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Young woman threshing rice in Champasak

Tiptank fence for vegetable garden



The Atlas >

This impressive computerized atlas of Laos is the product of Franco-Laotian scientific cooperation, with the Swedish International Development Agency providing financial support for the data collection and publication of the English edition. Publishing the atlas results from an alliance between the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies (NIAS) and Silk Worm Books. There are Lao, English and French versions of the atlas.

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Universiteit Leiden
The Netherlands



Fictions of Desire:
Narrative Form in the
Novels of Nagai Kafu

Review >
East Asia

When writing this book, it is clear that Stephen Snyder was very conscious of the only other book-length study of Kafu (1879-1959) in English by Edward Seidensticker, *Kafu the Scribbler*, published in 1965. Indeed, it would go too far to say that Snyder argues a counter-case to Seidensticker (the two books are fundamentally different in intent), nevertheless Snyder uses Seidensticker as a kind of departure point for a number of his speculations. In that respect, Snyder's study conforms to an older and more traditional form of scholarship than many of his contemporaries, who have an unfortunate habit of pretending that previous scholarship on Japanese literature in English does not exist.

By Leith Morton

In his introduction, Snyder propounds his thesis that Kafu's best fictional works are examples of the self-conscious kind of literature associated with early twentieth-century Modernist writing, especially French Modernism. In Snyder's words, Kafu's stories "thematize the act of narration" (p.3).

The first chapter analyses the relationship between Kafu and Mori Ogai (1862-1922), one of the great masters of early twentieth-century writing. Actually, Snyder concentrates more on Ogai than Kafu in order to justify his reading of Ogai as one of the few Meiji era authors to have a genuine understanding of Western narrative technique. This understanding, argues Snyder, was passed on to Kafu.

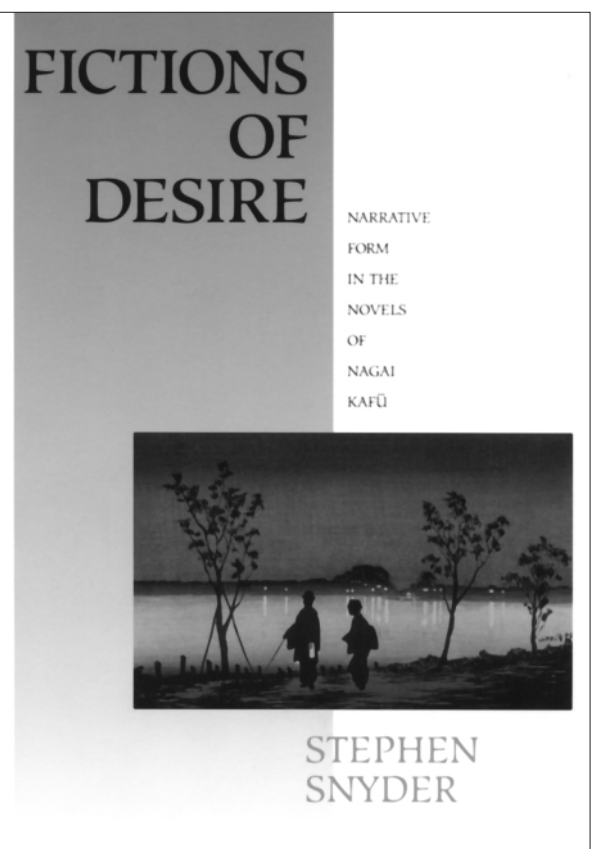
Chapter two takes up the argument that Ogai's mistrust of fiction results in a focus on rhetorical strategies, in other words, in a shift of interest from the story to the teller. Snyder's point is that this results in a "turning in of the narrative upon itself" which marks Kafu's later work, and that this is "a hallmark of ... modernist narrative invention" (p.44). The specific site of analysis is the influence of Maupassant on Kafu's *Amerika Monogatari* (*American Tales*, 1908). Snyder stresses the innovative nature of Kafu's "narrative within narrative", but he has already mentioned Ogai as using similar techniques in earlier stories, and the novelist Izumi Kyoka (1873-1939) had already demonstrated such a technique in his celebrated work *Koya Hijiri* (*The Holy Man of Koya*, 1900).

Chapter three takes up a theme introduced in the previous chapter: prostitution as a metaphor for male desire, and thus male power, and its relationship to writing, which, again, metaphorically (by taking the demi-monde as its theme) accomplishes the same end. Snyder's ruminations on these issues take the shape of a close reading of Kafu's novel *Udekurabe* (*Geisha in Rivalry*, 1917). Snyder praises the novel, both for the granting of subjectivity to its female protagonists, and also for its critique of capitalism symbolized by the licensed quarters where relationships, even erotic desire itself, are corrupted by money.

The next chapter draws the twin themes of prostitution and writing together to argue that the equation of art and sex results in "a product traded by prices, fixed by the arbitrary standards of mutual desire". Snyder's assertions are grounded in a close reading of Kafu's *Okamezasa* (*Dwarf Bamboo*, 1918). Seidensticker's views on this story create Snyder's starting point, but Snyder goes beyond his precursor to criticize a conventional view of the work as an evocation or modern rewriting of Tokugawa era literature. Snyder views the novel as providing an "intentional and systematic disappointment of reader expectations" (p.103).

The last chapter examines *Bokuto Kidan* (*A Strange Tale from East of the River*, 1937), perhaps Kafu's finest work. Here Snyder parts company from earlier American scholarship to argue a counter-case to Seidensticker's view of the novella. This is also the chapter in which Snyder asserts most forcefully that Kafu is a Modernist author on a par with his European contemporaries, especially Gide, one or two of whose stories provided a literary model for Kafu's work. This story is, for Snyder, a self-reflexive work par excellence. Some Japanese critics cited by Snyder make a similar case, but other critics, especially Snyder's American forebears, take quite a different perspective, viewing the work as seriously flawed.

Snyder's case is strong and deserves our attention, although it is not all that different from that put forward by some contemporary Japanese commentators. Snyder notes that the "narrative within the narrative" can be read as a parody of the Japanese version of naturalism — this is a crucial point. Snyder believes the work is fundamentally about writing but, while not denying this is an important element, it



could also be about the nature of desire, or about the boundaries between desire and love. It may be that the narrative "frame" is presenting a contrast to the embedded narrative, which has the thematic focus on desire. Thus, Kafu is not merely proposing a case in favour of a particular kind of writing, but demonstrating that case by contrasting one view of love with another clearly more convincing.

The fact that the reviewer feels inclined to join the conversation is ample proof of the excellence of Snyder's book. Not all readers will agree with the arguments proposed by Stephen Snyder, but surely all will find their experience of reading the always entertaining Kafu much enriched by Snyder's meditations. This is a book which truly enhances a reading of this most enjoyable and important Japanese author, and thus can be called criticism in the true sense of the word. Snyder's style is clear and concise, and his use of narratological theory and literary history is deft, avoiding jargon and always linked carefully to the text he is expounding. I can confidently recommend this book to both specialists and students alike; another excellent product of the University of Hawaii Press. ◀

- Snyder, Stephen, *Fictions of Desire: Narrative Form in the Novels of Nagai Kafu*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press (2000), 195 pp. ISBN 0-8428-2147-5 (hb), ISBN 0-8248-2236-6 (pb).

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Madhumalati

An Indian Sufi Romance

Forum >
South Asia

Medieval literature only rarely reaches a worldwide audience. Partly this has to do with the lack of effective translations. The publication of a complete translation and extensive commentary of the sixteenth-century Hindavi romance *Madhumalati* by the Sufi poet Manjhan, in the Oxford World's Classics series is therefore a major feat. Aditya Behl joined up with Simon Weightmann to produce a translation of an example from a remarkable literary genre: the medieval Sufi-romances, written in Hindavi, or medieval Avadhi.

By Thomas de Bruijn

The works of the Indian Sufi poets were produced at the crossroads of literary and religious traditions of India and the Islamic world. During the first centuries of Islamic presence in India (fourteenth to sixteenth centuries), a rich body of literature by Islamic Sufi poets came about, written in the vernacular languages of the regions under Islamic rule. In this poetry, Indian stories and the symbolism from Tantric yoga meet with the elegance of Persian mystical poetry. The choice for Indian languages reflects the deep acculturation of the Indian Sufis, who, from early on, had established a firm position in the Indian religious landscape, seeking contact and even competition with local religious sects, ascetics and yogis for

patronage and the favour of pilgrims. The cult of the graves of Sufi saints became the focus of religious worship by both Hindus and Muslims.

Outside the court environment or the inner circle of a Sufi-convent (*dargah*) where orthodox, non-localized Islam flourished, a dialogue of cultural identities existed in which the struggle for political or cultural capital created alliances of many sorts. In the case of the Sufis, mystical speculation existed both as a purely theoretical framework within the closure of the *dargah* and as a practical meditational exercise in which many techniques from Indian yoga were adopted.

This eclectic cultural background created the perspective that is present in the romances in Hindavi. The poets took the poetical framework of the Per-

sian *matnavi*, but the aesthetics were based on Indian theories of *rasa* and *dhvani*. The story is not spectacular: prince Manohar meets princess Madhumalati at a young age and, immediately, they fall in love. After a short meeting the prince is carried off by fairies and separated from his beloved. Both have to overcome many obstacles and arduous journeys to find each other again and be reunited in lasting love. In the eyes of the mystic, the realization of a love that is "out of this world" is a metaphor for the mystic's path to knowledge and experience of the divine in this world. This hermeneutic forms the basis of the transformation of the love-story in which various Indian tales resonate into a mystical romance.

Whereas many of the tales that Indian Sufi poets used as sources for their

romances end in the union in death of the lovers, the symbolism of the love of Manohar and Madhumalati reflects a much more "benign" mystical doctrine that is particular to the Shattari order of Sufis, to which Manjhan belonged. Behl and Weightmann explain the details of this symbolic scheme in an extensive and thoroughly researched introduction. Weightmann adds an article in which he speculates on even more elaborate symbolical structures in the work. In the introduction the translators also convincingly connect the poet's approach to the religious and political background of the period. This gives the text a locus in time and space, which greatly helps the reader to enjoy the translated verses.

The translation covers the complete Hindavi text, including the lengthy panegyric introduction to the poem, which refers to rhetorical devices of Persian *matnavis*. The translation is in blank verse and does not follow the rhyme or metre of the original. This is an excellent choice because it gave the translators more headroom. The translation is never forced or lost for correct rhyme-words and makes an easy reading while still maintaining the embellishments and stylistic quality of Manjhan's Hindavi. For a modern reader the rich descriptions and elaborate metaphors can appear superfluous and an impediment to the action. Behl and Weightmann have succeeded in making evident that it is the style and manner of narrating that is at least as captivating as the narrative in this genre.

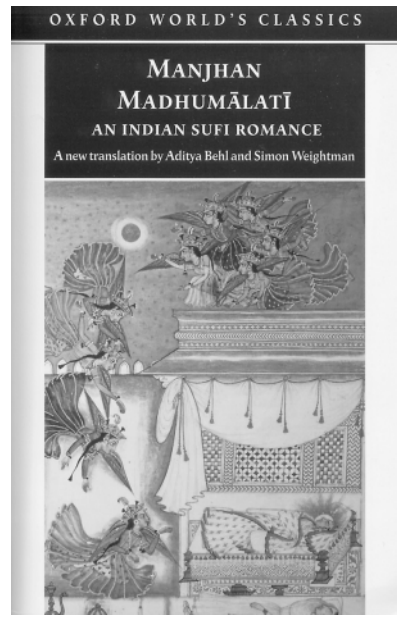
One cannot but complement the translators as they have combined philological precision with poetical fluidity and thus created a very readable translation. It has brought this remarkable text to the attention of a worldwide readership as the *Madhumalati* has not been translated into a non-Indian language before.

This translation shows that works by the Indian Sufi poets are remarkable pieces of literary art. Current research into this genre provides us with a more profound insight into the complex composition of cultural identities in the Indian subcontinent which modernity has flattened into binary opposites. Behl and Weightmann's translation of the *Madhumalati* shows that medieval Indian literature requires intense, erudite attention to reveal the subcontinent's cultural riches. <

reference

Rajgiri, Mir Sayyid Manjhan Shattari, *Madhumalati: an Indian Sufi Romance*, Translated with an Introduction and Notes by Aditya Behl and Simon Weightmann. With Shyam Manohar Pandey. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2000), Series: Oxford's World Classics, pp.336, ISBN 0-19-284037-1

Dr Thomas de Bruijn is a specialist in early and modern Hindi and Urdu literature, was the Guest Editor for the special theme issue on South Asian Literature in IIAS Newsletter 21, and is an affiliated fellow with the IIAS, Leiden. E-mail: Th.de.Bruijn@bb.leidenuniv.nl



Agniyuger Agnikatha "Yugantar"

Review >
Bengal studies

Bandyopadhyay, Amshuman, *Agniyuger Agnikatha "Yugantar"*, Pondicherry: Prakashana Bibhag, Sri Aurobindo Ashram (2001), pp. 40+XXII+923, no ISBN. Available from: Shabda, Pondicherry 605002; Sri Aurobindo Bhavan, 8 Shakespeare Sarani, Kolkata - 71; Sri Aurobindo Institute of Culture, 3 Regent Park, Kolkata-40.

Agniyuger Agnikatha "Yugantar" offers a complete reprint of the Bengali revolutionary nationalist weekly *Yugantar* (New Era), which began in September 1906 and was finally closed down by the Police in June 1908 on charges of sedition. Even more than the daily paper *Bande Mataram* in English, the vernacular *Yugantar* brought the anti-British revolution to the lower middle-classes in imperial Calcutta and the *mofussil* towns in the hinterland. The numerous editorials written in the same period by Sri Aurobindo (Arabindo Ghose in British intelligence reports) were indirectly seditious. But the content of *Yugantar*, which was chiefly written by his associates, was closer to direct revolutionary propaganda (among others in articles describing the art of guerrilla war and the making of explosives!) than anything else.

British intelligence in Calcutta and Shimla regarded the *Yugantar* with supreme distrust. In 1918 the Rowlett Report (the report on seditious and revolutionary activity in British India and abroad), called *Yugantar* "poison". Many issues of *Yugantar* were proscribed on the charge of sedition and waging war against the King-Emperor. The exemplary influence of *Yugantar* (its office indeed harbouring the guerrilla group headed by Sri Aurobindo younger brother Barin) can be understood from the fact that the Punjabi revolutionary Har Dayal started a *Yugantar* Ashram in San Francisco in 1911. From this Ashram Har Dayal published his Urdu journal *Ghadr* (Mutiny) in much the same vein as the proscribed *Yugantar* from Calcutta. *Ghadr* also formed a guerrilla group that fought the British in India (the famous Bhagat Singh was a member of this group). *Yugantar* had set an important trend in the Indian Freedom movement: revolutionary propaganda through cheap journals in the vernaculars (*Yugantar* had cost only one paisa) and a band of armed revolutionaries dedicated to liberate the motherland.

The present book is unique because it gives a complete historical source that was hitherto almost inaccessible. Even the India Office Library in London does not have a full set. The complete collection had been preserved by the founder of the Sri Aurobindo Institute of Culture, Mrs Joya Mitter. In the introduction, Amalendu De highlights the historical importance of the documents. This source-publication - although all in Bengali - throws much light on the dissemination of nationalist consciousness in the formative period 1905-1908. < Dr Victor A. van Bijlert (BPCL Chair), IIM Calcutta

Bengal: Rethinking History

Review >
Bengal

Bandyopandhyay, Sekhar, *Bengal: Rethinking History. Essays in Historiography*, New Delhi: Manohar (2001), International Centre for Bengal Studies, Publication No.29, pp. 326, ISBN 81-7304-400-7.

If a single volume of which it is eminently appropriate that is published by the International Centre for Bengal Studies exists, it would be the present one. Dedicated to the memory of the distinguished historian of and from Bengal, Amalendu Tripathi, this book contains ten well-argued and extensively researched essays on the historiography of Bengal (undivided in the sense that it comprises both modern Bangladesh and the State of West Bengal). The great theme that runs through the essays is: what directions can historians take after the demise of nationalist top-down history, the fade-out of orthodox Marxist historical analysis, the (now) insipidity of the Subaltern studies and lastly the challenges of postcolonial and postmodern history writing. With *Bengal: Rethinking History*, here's a book that at least takes a stance in these matters. The editor already observes in his introduction that postmodern "relativism has [...] destabilized history" (p. 13). This occurred in a "market-driven post-modern world" (p. 13).

The historiography covered in this book moves through all the important topics in Bengal's history: the East India Company, peasants and tribals, labour, the "Bengal Renaissance", Muslim identity, caste and class, women, and lastly, nationalism. This rich work offers a much-needed and long-due exposition of the state of affairs in present-day history writing about Bengal. Moreover, the importance of colonial Bengal as the base of the expanding British-Indian Empire is never lost sight of. Bengal was the first area to undergo the dual experience of colonial hegemony and indigenous dialectical reactions to it. Thus this book is a relevant contribution to our understanding of the highly problematic and deeply contested rise of modernity and nationhood in South Asia as a whole. < Dr Victor A. van Bijlert (BPCL Chair), IIM Calcutta

Bengal Studies >

Contributions to this Bengal Studies page as well as letters with suggestions can be sent on paper, floppy or through e-mail (ASCII format) with the name and the address of the contributor to:

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A Journalist's Encyclopædia on the Democratic Movement in Nepal

Review >
South Asia

A defining moment in the political history of modern Nepal was the "Movement for the Restoration of Democracy", also known as the "People's Movement of 1990". Over a period of sixty days in the spring of that year, citizens of Nepal struggled to regain the democracy which they had briefly tasted some forty years earlier. In just a few months, the "partyless Panchayat system" was overthrown and a parliamentary constitution was established, with comparatively little bloodshed in the process. For scholars and students of Nepal who were not in the country during these momentous times (such as myself), it has long been difficult to get a real grip on the sequence of events as they unfolded in and around the Kathmandu valley and elsewhere in Nepal. My understanding of the movement was impressionistic and sketchy at best, based on second-hand information from individuals whose descriptions were tinged with a nostalgic sense of the inevitability of eventual success. Kiyoko Ogura's meticulously researched *Kathmandu Spring* fills an important niche in my understanding of the movement and, by providing such a wealth of detail, she has made an invaluable contribution to the growing literature on the restoration of democracy in Nepal.

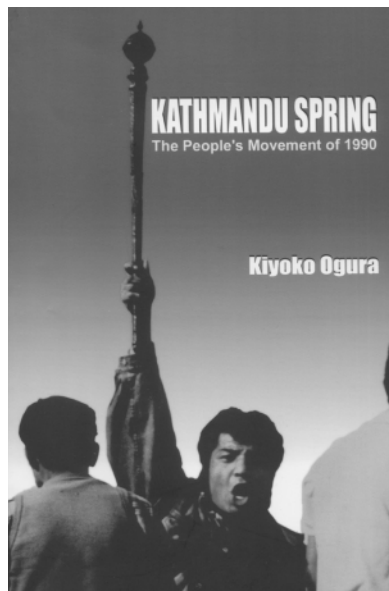
By Mark Turin

Ogura, a respected journalist and writer, first published this book in Japanese as *60 Days of a Shaking Kingdom* in 1999. Thankfully, Nepal-based Himal Books saw the value of an English edition and *Kathmandu Spring* is the result. Much to her credit, the author does not try to force history into tidy packets of pre-determined and logical fact, and nowhere is this approach more appropriate than in a country like Nepal. A sense of uncontrolled chaos pervades her account, whether in the innocent bystanders unwittingly caught in the middle of violent clashes (such as the nurse Vidya who leans out of the window to see what the noise is all about, and is hit by a stray bullet), or in the confusion about whether messages have reached their recipients across town given the difficulties presented by the imposition of a curfew. This 'real-time' tension is one of the most powerful features of *Kathmandu Spring*.

The book provides a detailed account of a modern political movement unfolding in a country with very little

modern infrastructure and a notable lack of access to communication technology. Not only was the uprising organized without mobile phones, e-mail, and television, but its leaders were under house arrest or in jail, the media was state controlled, and telephones were few and far between. Such a news vacuum is hard to imagine in the present international climate of pervasive media coverage. The account that emerges is one in which, despite these manifold difficulties, there were brave if uncoordinated underground activities, with activists in Patan not knowing what their colleagues across the river in Kathmandu were planning or doing. Ogura masterfully paints a picture of sporadic demonstrations loosely held together by a shared vision of democracy, but with diverse means and varying motivations.

The choice of subtitle reveals an important feature of the book: *An Account based on the Oral Testimony of 1050 People*. As Ogura informs us in her preface, the "contents of this book are only a small part of the massive testimonies I collected from more than one



thousand individuals". This encyclopaedic breadth is both the strength and the weakness of her work. *Kathmandu Spring* is, for want of a better pair of adjectives, both exhaustive and a little exhausting. While the text reads well and is at many points genuinely engaging, her documentary and journalistic style offers, by definition, little

dramatic tension or denouement. As a consequence, while the history lesson is welcome and important, the manner of narration and documentary style is reminiscent of a reference book, and reference books are dipped into more than they are read. The position of *Kathmandu Spring* as a source book on the democratic movement in Nepal is further brought home by the pages of dense type listing all the interviewees: terribly impressive, but also rather daunting. Ogura does include an appendix of major players, or "Dramatic personae, post-1990 Movement", for the convenience of the reader, but this does little to change the fact that we are confronted with new names, places, dates, and political parties on every page.

Finally, the "Foreword" by Kanak Mani Dixit, a noted Nepalese journalist, raises some interesting issues. In under five pages, he neatly summarizes the importance of Ogura's work and provides the reader with a brief political history of Nepal. Rather than shying away from the emergence of the Maoist movement, active in the country since

the mid-1990s, Dixit confronts it head on. The Maoists, he suggests, are moving the nation "towards a political precipice" (ix). While the People's Movement that Ogura so carefully describes was largely an urban uprising, the Maoist insurgency affecting Nepal today is primarily active at a village level. Perhaps a suitable follow-up study for Ogura would be to turn her journalistic attention to the People's Movement from the perspective of rural villagers, many of whom feel themselves to be largely untouched by the events of 1990. ◀

reference

- Ogura, Kiyoko, *Kathmandu Spring: The People's Movement of 1990*, with a Foreword by Kanak Mani Dixit. Kathmandu: Himal Books, (2001), 232 + xi pages, 17 B&W photographs, fold-out map of Kathmandu, ISBN 99933 13 09 2.

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Tibetan Pilgrimage Texts

Pilgrimage is one of the more popular and visible rituals performed in Tibetan societies. Tibetans undertake pilgrimages to temples and sacred objects, to famous lamas and saints, and also to the holy sites of the Buddha in India, in much the same way as worshippers do in other neighbouring Buddhist regions of Asia. However, what makes Tibetan pilgrimage culture unique is the special ritual attention given to the remarkably extensive network of empowered natural landscape sites, especially mountains, lakes, and caves located throughout the rugged grandeur of the high plateau and the Himalaya.

Review >
Central Asia

By Toni Huber

In *Pèlerins, Lamas et Visionnaires*, Katia Buffetrille focuses our attention on the importance of such natural holy places for an understanding of Tibetan pilgrimage traditions. Buffetrille's book is one of a series of recent works dedicated to this topic, although it is neither a critical study of Tibetan pilgrimage culture as such, nor a detailed documentation of any particular pilgrimage ritual. The work is primarily intended as a scholarly sourcebook, one that offers an interesting and well-presented collection of textual materials to readers of French or Tibetan. Its contents represent a valuable resource for studies of the status and representation of natural holy sites in Tibetan religious culture.

Buffetrille divides the various texts she has selected into chapters, which concern eight different sites located around Tibet (west, east, and central) and Nepal (east) respectively. Readers will find the original texts, lightly edited for spelling and in Tibetan script, printed on left pages. A reliable and well-annotated parallel French translation is given on the opposite pages. The book is complemented by an excellent set of indices and also several maps, one of which is an example of inscribed native cartography of the Solu Khumbu region of Nepal, and which is included as an A2-sized reproduction stored in a pocket inside the back cover. With only one exception, the texts themselves are all Buddhist in origin, and their composition dates range from at least the beginning of the seventeenth century up until recent decades.

After reading through the bulk of the texts, one is struck by how little the style and content of these examples of Tibetan pilgrimage literature have changed over the past four centuries.

For non-specialists, the most interesting chapters of this book are likely to be those dedicated to Mount Kailash (or Gangs Ti se in Tibetan), and sites in and around the Sherpa country at the foot of Mount Everest in Nepal since such places are now quite well known in the West thanks to tourism, mountaineering, and a colonial fascination with the once forbidden "roof of the world". While a number of the texts in this collection have been published before in various forms, and thus have already been available to specialists, scholars of Tibet will welcome the inclusion of some oral texts, particularly songs, which Buffetrille has managed to collect and edit. Another unique feature of the work is that Buffetrille has been able to present a more or less complete range of textual genres concerned with the cult life of the holy mountain, Amnye Machen, in eastern Tibet. These sources include different guidebooks for the mountain from both Buddhist and Bon authors, as well as prayers, songs, narratives for the fumigation rite, and traditional eulogies. One can thus begin to appreciate just how sophisticated and literate the worship of Buddhist cult mountains in Tibet is. Accompanying a few of the texts in the collection, readers will also find biographical materials on the Tibetan authors who wrote some of the pilgrimage guides translated in this work.

Reading through this wealth of Tibetan material, one soon realizes why a book concerned with sacred sites in the natural landscape is entitled *Pèlerins, Lamas et Visionnaires*. Tibetan lamas and yogis completely dominated the way in which landscape features came to be defined as empowered or holy in Tibet, and thereby the way in which they are understood by ordinary pilgrims as being important destinations for ritual journeys. The pages of all Buffetrille's Tibetan sources are peppered with the myriad clichés of the lamas' discourse about the natural landscape thoroughly understood through the lens of visionary, Tibetan-style, Vajrayana Buddhism. Under the weight of this textualized hegemony, precious little of the alternative local and more chthonic Tibetan worldview shines through. Viewed from this perspective, the popular practice of pilgrimage to mountains, lakes, and caves in Tibet is, in a sense, a recurring ritual testimony of the extent to which a Buddhist elite has managed to redefine the world in the image of its own interests. This is just one of many possible insights into which we may gain inspiration by studying the sources now available in Katia Buffetrille's *Pèlerins, Lamas et Visionnaires*. ◀

- Buffetrille, Katia, *Pèlerins, Lamas et Visionnaires. Sources Orales et Écrites sur les Pèlerinages Tibétains*. Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, (Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, Heft 46), (2000): 377 pp., maps, No ISBN.

Dr Toni Huber is Senior Lecturer in Religious Studies at Victoria University, Wellington, an Alexander von Humboldt Fellow (1997-1998), and author of several books and numerous articles on Tibetan culture and society. He also has research interests in ritual, conceptions of nature, and hunting.

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Kantanjur and Tibetan Information Technology

Source >
Central Asia

The Kanjur and Tanjur, together the Kantanjur, form two of the mainstays of the Tibetan Buddhist canon. They record the words attributed to the historical Buddha as well as subsequent commentaries.

By Tashi Tsering

The Kanjur, as a collection, is characterized by Buddhist teachings that traditionally are attributed to Shakyamuni Buddha. Comprising 108 volumes, it includes the three *pitakas* (*vinaya, sutra, and abhidharma*) as well as the four classes of *tantra* and forms a major section of the Tibetan Buddhist canon. The Tanjur consists of commentaries on the Kanjur and related Buddhist literature by subsequent scholars and translators. Comprising about 225 volumes, it includes, among others, the canons of philosophy, literature, art, language, astronomy, medicine, and architecture. The Kanjur and

most of the Tanjur are translated from Sanskrit. Tibetan and Mongolian monasteries nearly always house a set of the Kanjur and Tanjur, and most Tibetan and some Mongolian families aspire to have a set in their homes. An essential part of certain ceremonies, the Kantanjur is recited for special occasions and is revered as a sacred object by Tibetan Buddhists. Obviously it is very important material for Tibetological research.

Since Buddhism was introduced in Tibet in the seventh century, many copies of the Kanjur and Tanjur have been produced in both Tibet and other parts of China. Woodblocks for about thirteen different editions of the Kanjur have appeared in the past. Not only do the versions vary from one publishing house to another, variations in a particular publisher's woodblocks have been introduced over time. Some have different characters, different syllables, different sentences and even different texts. Of the many woodblocks of the Tanjur, the Derge edition is recognized as superior, with its rich content, unique format and clear layout. Although having been consistently used for more than 200 years, the Derge woodblocks of the Tanjur are still undamaged.

In 1986, the National Centre for Tibetan Studies at Beijing began to collect and collate the different editions of the Tanjur. With the Derge edition as the base, it was compared sentence by sentence with three other Tanjur editions, with each difference added as an annotation appended to the end of each text. Thus having a collated edition of the Tanjur is tantamount to having many editions. A group of Tibetan experts and laity are carrying out the project in Chengdu. So far, the complete Derge edition of the Tanjur with comparative annotations of three other woodblock editions has been entered into computer-files, half of which the National Press for Tibetology has published in a modern layout. In the next two years, all of the Tanjur books will be published. For the Kanjur, eight editions of woodblocks have been collected and the work of collation will be finished next year. The input into computer-files has begun autumn of 2000.

Because of the low price, search and retrieval capability, ease of storage and delivery, and the rapid advance of electronic publication technology and the Internet, the National Press for Tibetology is planning to publish the Kanjur and Tanjur in electronic form. It is also hoped that in the future the Kanjur and Tanjur can be made available worldwide via the Internet. This article marks the beginning of this undoubtedly great project and monumental task.

A Digitized Kanjur and Tanjur

The electronic publication of the Kantanjur (EPKT) aims to fulfil the

needs of two types of users: one is the scholar engaged in research, the other monasteries and homes, primarily using the Kantanjur for recitation and storage. It is not necessary to go into detail regarding recitation and storage, as these are not complicated issues. For research and selected recitation, however, user inquiries to the EPKT must be all-inclusive. The programme must be able to handle diverse queries from any user. An analysis of user queries to the EPKT is one of the purposes of this article. The types of query which have been identified to date are listed below:

- Search for a text in the canon by caption;
- Search for a text by the name of the translator or author;
- Search for a text by category;
- Search for a text by category and a volume sign within the category;
- Enter the name of a paragraph, then search for the text or texts that match the name;
- Enter a string of Tibetan characters, then search for the text or texts which match the string, regardless of whether they are in captions or the body of the text. The string could be the name of a person or a master, a sentence, and so on;
- Enter any combination of the above items, then search for the text or texts that match the conditions;
- Link any caption of a text to the body of the text. Display the text by clicking the caption of the text at any point;
- Statistical function: calculate any statistics which users may desire, i.e., number of texts in a category, number of texts translated by the same translator, and so on;
- An online Tibetan dictionary.

A Design Structure for the Electronic Publication of the Kanjur and Tanjur

The electronic publication programme manages the data and responds to the users operating the database. The Kanjur and Tanjur database must be arranged by text, because the text is the main element of the books. Operations to data are based on the user-requirements listed above.

Each text in the Kanjur and Tanjur has many attributes, which must be dealt with in the database. When a page of any text is opened, there are some attributes linked to the page and to the text. They are:

Book Name (Kanjur or Tanjur); Caption: caption of the text; Category; Translator's Name or Author's Name; Text; Paragraph Name; Volume Sign; Serial Number of the text in the Kanjur or Tanjur; Serial Number of the volume in any category; and lastly Annotation of Differences between the different editions of Kanjur and Tanjur.

The primary database key is the serial number of the text. The texts in the database are stored in serial number order, but every entry in the database contains all ten of the items listed above. Each text is stored separately in its own file.

The functions of the Kantanjur electronic publication programme are

based on the user queries listed above. Depending on the query, there are two types of functions: information retrieval and data presentation. The information retrieval functions are:

- Category Retrieval: the user enters the name of a category or clicks on it, the programme lists the captions of texts of that category, then the user can click on a caption to display the text;
- Caption Retrieval;
- Translator or Author Retrieval;
- Serial Number Retrieval;
- Volume Sign Retrieval: the user enters a category and a volume sign;
- Volume Number Retrieval: the user enters a category and a serial number of a volume;
- Paragraph Retrieval: the user enters a paragraph or part of a paragraph;
- Text Retrieval: the user enters a string of Tibetan characters (a word, more than one word, part of a sentence or a whole sentence, even a paragraph);
- Combination Retrieval: the user submits a query using a combination of items listed above to find a text or texts, which meet the conditions.

The programme holds standard data presentation functions, such as edit, print, and zoom functions, choice of layout, background, sound, online dictionary, view annotation and colour, and statistical functions.

Nine information retrieval functions and nine data presentation functions have been noted in this article. We hope to receive feedback and advice from relevant specialists all over the world in order to improve the design structure of the electronic publication programme.

Kantanjur and Tibetan Information Retrieval

Large publications such as the Kanjur and Tanjur call for an excellent retrieval system, which may exact a high toll on resources of time and space. In order to reduce the expense, the operation of the information retrieval system must be optimized.

For the Kanjur and Tanjur, all forms of retrieval, except for text retrieval, must be based on a database system and hyperlink model (for instance: caption retrieval or translator retrieval), which will improve the speed of retrieval and save system space. Text retrieval must be based on Tibetan syllables, i.e., the smallest unit of retrieval must be a syllable, not a character. The submitted content or query from a user must be a string of Tibetan syllables. For optimizing the retrieval, spelling and grammar of the string must be checked before retrieval, which means that a spelling and grammar check must be included in the retrieval system. A spelling and grammar check, running under a Tibetan DOS-system, is in fact already in existence. Preparing one for Tibetan Windows system should not be too difficult.

Other applications

Apart from the above-mentioned aspects of Tibetan information technology, electronic publication of the Kanjur and Tanjur may also involve

many other aspects of Tibetan information processing. Such as: sorting or ordering Tibetan in computer; a Tibetan online dictionary; a computational analysis of Tibetan; a Tibetan knowledge library; and a machine translation for Tibetan.

The Kanjur and Tanjur contain important Tibetan classics. To preserve and present them to people all over the world is our genuine desire. Computer technology can play a very important role in their (electronic) publication, thus combining Tibetan culture and modern technology. To enhance this process, we hope that experts from all over the world will come together to advance the development of Tibetan information technology. <

This article is a shortened and adapted version of the paper: "A structural design and programming for the project of electronic publication of Kanjur and Tanjur", which Tashi Tsering presented at the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies.

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This article on the Kantanjur and Tibetan Information Technology, by Tashi Tsering, is the seventh contribution to the Tibetological Collections & Archives Series, which is devoted to important projects on cataloguing, 'computerization' (inputting and scanning), editing, and translation of important Tibetan language text-collections and archives. In this series various colleagues briefly present their initiatives to a larger public, or update the scholarly world on the progress of their already well-established projects. Some are high-profile projects, of which at least Tibetologists will generally be aware, yet some may also be less well known. Nevertheless, I trust that it will be useful to be informed or updated on all these initiatives and I also hope that the projects presented will profit from the exposure and the response that this coverage will engender. If you are interested in any of the projects described, feel free to contact the author of the article. In case you would like to introduce your own (planned) work in the field, please contact the editors of the IAS Newsletter or the author of this introduction. We should very much like to encourage our contributors to keep us informed on the progress of their projects by regular updates. <

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Erratum >

In IAS Newsletter 26, p. 20, in the article "Haimendorf's Laptop: An Ethnographic Archive in the Digital Age", part of the Tibetological Collections and Archives Series, the photograph entitled "Chorten at Gyantse Monastery, 14.10.33 Gyantse, Tibet" (also on this page) was not taken by the co-author of the article, Sara Shneiderman, as noted in the credit reference, but rather by Sir Frederick Williamson. We apologize for the error.

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Editorial

It seems appropriate that at a time when much of the Western world is reflecting on long-held conceptions of the Middle East and Central Asia, the IAS Newsletter should illustrate some of the key issues of relevance in Afghanistan and regarding Islam. Indeed, the IAS mandate of highlighting current developments in the broad field of Asian Studies has perhaps assumed a greater resonance in North America, and Europe to a lesser extent, where citizens and politicians have been presumably “waking up” to a world beyond its borders but not beyond its impact. It is with these goals in mind that, as the new editor for this section, I have elected to change its title from Asian Art and Culture to Asian Art and Cultures.

This seemingly minor change aims to reflect the diversity that is “Asia” while, at the same time, it raises important questions about the definition of culture as a means of determining essential distinctions between groups of people. Are cultures embedded in the human mind or are they shaped by their external social conditions; can something called “culture” be extracted and interpreted from a nation-state, or from a religion? Asian culture is not a thing that can be abstractly found on a map; rather, Asian cultures are part of what constitutes identities around the world. The problems, or insights, offered by these queries point to the need to recognize that a singular culture, or even a sole conception of culture, can only artificially be applied to a geographic region such as Asia and a global population of Asians. This section will continue to explore Asian Art from a global perspective as it shapes, expresses, and offers reflection within disparate cultural conditions. The arts can also examine our dominant impressions of cultures. For instance, the label of “Asian Art” is ambiguous; does the location of the artwork or the citizenship of the artist make art “authentically” Asian? It is my desire that the articles in this section will continue to challenge and redefine notions of art and Asia, eventually destroying narrow assumptions about cultures that constrain and divide the world. Art and literature may alone have the power to expose the constructions of culture that threaten global understanding, and therefore offer us alternative visions of our reality.

Finally, I would like to invite readers and potential writers to share their comments and suggestions of themes and articles for this section and for the IAS Newsletter in general. Please e-mail me at k.phillips@let.leidenuniv.nl. I look forward to our future discussions and editions of the IAS Newsletter. < (KP)

Kristy Phillips is a doctoral candidate at the Department of Art History, University of Minnesota, USA. Her current research explores constructions of nationalism and identity in the National Museum of India.

Empty Hands:

Iranian Feminists Reach Out (and it's our turn to listen)

There is an unsettling assumption that seems to have taken root in the imaginations of many of us living in predominantly European-styled societies. Fueled by media representations and misinformation, many believe that women are subjugated in the Islamic religious tradition and thus come to see the veil as a symbol of this oppression. This singular focus on the veil, however, limits our vision, and thus hampers cross-cultural dialogue. “Islamic” feminists are forced to choose between engaging in a dialogue with “Western” feminists – which means a great deal of educating about Islam, its history, and practice, before getting to the issue at hand – or pursuing their own goals outside of the larger discourse. Because neither choice is optimal, feminist activists, scholars, and artists in the Islamic Republic of Iran have been exploring the space in-between these choices during recent years.



By Alisa Eimen

One particular success is *Empty Hands*, a short eight-act play performed by amateur actors and karate students this past December 2001 in the small Moulavi Theater near the campus of Tehran University. These undistinguished circumstances, however, belie the play's gravity. Written one year earlier by Fatemeh Arabshahi, with the assistance of Nasrin Pakkho, this play's message is one that transcends cultural distinctions. Not only does it challenge all of us to see beyond our differences; it also poses some noteworthy challenges to social and cultural norms.

The story follows a young girl who sells newspapers in order to augment her mother's sewing income. One day, something in the paper catches the girl's eye, sending her on a quest to understand the significance of the phrase “empty hands.” She first goes to her mother with questions, but meets resistance. The portentous lesson her mother wishes to impart seems to be that curiosity leads only to frustration, or worse, and should thus be avoided. But the phrase continues to preoccupy the girl until she walks past a sign bearing the puzzling words. The sign is for a women's karate centre named Empty Hands, where renewed curiosity drives her to spend countless hours hovering just outside the door.

Peeking in through the doorway, the newspaper girl observes a range of women, including an older, beginning karate student, an advanced student with a Western father, a strong-willed, but somewhat shortsighted teacher, and a female janitor mourning the death of her only son. As the play unfolds, each person's inner struggle comes increasingly to the fore, until all simultaneously witness an anonymous woman's public execution for speaking out about the shared suffering of women around the world. All look on and listen. For a few seconds following her stabbing by the guards, the audience shares in the disbelief – and then the complicity in her murder. No one utters a word. Finally, the women on stage begin to grieve, especially the young newspaper girl, as an apparition of her mother floats across the stage, closing the seventh act.

This is the pinnacle of the play, the point where narrative meets metaphor. On the one hand, one can infer a certain degree of criticism towards the Iranian regime's status quo. However, this play is far less culturally specific than one might initially think, despite the headscarves and covered necks of

the women on stage. Certainly the janitor's mourning for her son, when understood in its Iranian context, carries layers of references. These include, for example, the many lives lost during the eight-year war with Iraq, the emphasis the state placed on procreation during this period, and the culture's long-standing pride in the first-born son. But the execution scene denotes more than the death of one unnamed, unseen woman. It also, and more significantly, indicates the importance of questioning traditions and norms.

When we first meet the imprisoned woman in Act Five, she states, “Do not look at my ties. I was a captive as long as I was tied to my mistaken customs and beliefs. Now that I have realized it, I am free!” Her message to feminists reminds us to look deeper than specific cultural trappings, in order to avoid mistaking the accoutrements of injustice for injustice itself. The execution scene two acts later signals at least one other death – or release – worth noting. It also marks the moment when the viewer should be able to release her or himself from the confines of the narrative. The women no longer represent individual characters; rather, as their distinctions blur, one begins to see the various, often conflicting, aspects, which comprise any individual, regardless of age, class, culture, or even gender.

The play's conclusion reinforces this reading while also resolving the narrative. The women gather at the karate centre and attempt to remember what the anonymous woman said as well as the sequence of events, but cannot. It is this forgetting that compels the young girl – curious, self-possessed, and increasingly aware – finally to enter the building and relate the events. At last the women acknowledge and gather around her, listening intently and passionately. Whether one sees the young girl simply as the curious newspaper seller or as a symbol of what each denies or forgets in her or himself over the years, the message is powerful. And like many of the key moments throughout the play, the meaning is punctuated by a karate move. The women march forward, and in unison, each breaks a board with their empty hands. The lights dim. <

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... from the field

A Serendipitous Sojourn

Research >
Southeast Asia

My only disappointment during my recent three months in Leiden was that I was unable to parlay my reading knowledge of Dutch into an ability to converse. I lay the blame for that failure squarely at the feet of my Dutch colleagues: it would have been ludicrous for me to bog down our conversations with my tongue-tied attempts to speak their language, because they all spoke such excellent English. So I was at first surprised when they did not understand the word “serendipity,” until I remembered that it was a fad word in America a couple of generations ago and had gone out of fashion long before my Dutch colleagues, being much younger than I, had begun to learn English.

By Thomas Cooper

But it's still a nice word, occasionally useful to describe a happy and unexpected discovery made by a prepared mind. The event that first recalled this word to my mind in Leiden occurred almost 100 years ago, when W.O.J. Nieuwenkamp, the Dutch artist, travel writer, and art dealer, discovered the identity of a gifted North Bali artist who had made a number paintings for the Dutch language specialist, H. N. van der Tuuk, a generation before Nieuwenkamp's first visit to Bali. Before leaving the Netherlands for Bali in 1906, Nieuwenkamp studied the collection of paintings which had been commissioned by Van der Tuuk in the 1880s and were now kept in the library of Leiden University. He had copied many of them in order to “master the style,” and later used those copies to illustrate his articles and books. He also commissioned I Ketut Gedé (and other painters) to produce paintings which he sold in the Netherlands.

While visiting a household temple in Singaraja (north Bali), Nieuwenkamp saw a painting very much like one of those he had copied in the library at Leiden, and asked to meet the artist. He was introduced to an old man named I Ketut Gedé, who was amazed when Nieuwenkamp told him he knew he had made many paintings for “Toean Pandertuuk”. The encounter was a serendipitous discovery with some importance for the history of Balinese painting, since Van der Tuuk did not record the names of the artists he commissioned, and few of them signed their work. Even today, paintings in Balinese household and village temples are almost never signed: they are made by men who consider themselves craftsmen, like the sculptors and woodcarvers who also contribute their skills to adorn the temples. Thanks to Nieuwenkamp's prepared mind, we know the name of the man – I Ketut Gedé – to whom we can attribute, on stylistic evidence, a large number of the paintings in the Van der Tuuk collection.

The great majority of the traditional Balinese paintings preserved in public and private collections come from a single village in south Bali: Kamasan. For centuries the painters of this village were patronized by the court of Klungkung, the most prestigious and powerful of the various kingdoms in Bali. In the course of my research in old Balinese paintings I had become especially interested in the relatively few works that did not exhibit the characteristic Kamasan style, and I had come to Leiden to search for non-Kamasan works among the old Balinese paintings in Dutch museum collections.

The paintings in the Van der Tuuk collection were described and illustrated in a publication by Professor Hedi Hinzler in 1986, but in my previous studies I had ignored them because they were not “traditional” - they had been commissioned by a foreigner and executed using paper and paints furnished by him. But in Leiden, I had a chance to examine them at first hand, just as Nieuwenkamp had done almost 100 years before, and I realized their special significance for my work. Hinzler distinguishes the work of fourteen different painters in the collection, from different parts of Bali, and not one of them worked in the Kamasan style. Hinzler recounts Nieuwenkamp's encounter with I Ketut Gedé and, on the basis of stylistic evidence, identifies another example of his work: a handsome painting on wood in the collection of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden, dated 1901 and acquired by the museum from Nieuwenkamp.

As I expected, the great majority of the old Balinese paintings in the Dutch museum collections were from Kamasan, but I found a gratifying number of non-Kamasan paintings to enrich my database, perhaps 5 per cent of the total. Most of them were in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, in Leiden; the Tropenmuseum, in Amsterdam; and the Wereldmuseum, in Rotterdam. I take this opportunity to thank the curators and staff members of these museums especially for their patience and courtesy in allowing me to see and photograph their paintings, and for providing copies of the pertinent documentation from their files.

It was in the storage facility of Rotterdam's Wereldmuseum that I made my own serendipitous discovery: two large and beautiful paintings on cloth, which I immediately iden-



Original painting by I Ketut Gedé >

< Nieuwenkamp's copy of I Ketut Gedé's painting in the Van der Tuuk collection.

tified as the work of I Ketut Gedé, based on their distinctive style, which was quite different from the styles used by other traditional Balinese artists, and familiar to me from I Ketut Gedé's works in the Van der Tuuk collection.

These are large, colorful, well executed paintings on cloth, in excellent condition. They came to the museum in 1928 from the estate of the Dutch scholar, G. P. Rouffaer, unaccompanied by any information except that they were from Bali. Like most large traditional Balinese paintings, each of them depicts various episodes from a single traditional narrative. These narratives - myths and legends in the archaic Kawi language, also called Old Javanese - are set down in palm-leaf manuscripts (*lontar*), but they are familiar to the Balinese populace not from those manuscripts, but rather from performance in the shadow-puppet (*wayang*) theater. Traditional painting is called *wayang* painting by the Balinese; the figures in the paintings are immediately recognizable to the intended (Balinese) viewer by their close resemblance to the corresponding shadow puppets.

One of these two paintings illustrates scenes from a poem called Smaradahana (“The Burning of Smara”). In this tale, Heaven is threatened by a demon called Nilarudraka, so powerful that the gods themselves fear him. Indra sends for Siwa to do battle with him, but Siwa is deep in ascetic meditation. Indra directs Smara, the god of love, to arouse Siwa with thoughts of his beautiful consort Uma, and Smara does so,



Ratih (“Batari Rattih”) and Smara (“Batara Smara”), detail of painting by I Ketut Gedé illustrating episodes from the story Smaradahana.



shooting the meditating Siwa with his love arrows. Siwa, enraged at the interruption, sees Smara drawing yet another love arrow with his bow and incinerates him in a ball of fire. But inspired by passion he seeks out Uma. She conceives their son Gana (Ganesha), who is born with an elephant's head because Uma, while pregnant, was startled by the elephant steed of Indra. In the end Nilarudraka is killed through the power of the mature Gana.

The other painting illustrates scenes from an episode in the Adiparwa, a Kawi prose text based on the first book of the Mahabharata. In this episode, Garuda, the mythical bird, struggles to secure *amerta*, the elixir of immortality, from the gods and deliver it to the *nagas* (serpents) in order to ransom



his mother, Winata, from bondage to her co-wife, Kadru, mother of the *nagas*.

Like Nieuwenkamp almost a century ago, I, too, had the good fortune to study the paintings in the Van der Tuuk collection at Leiden University, and so was able to recognize I Ketut Gedé's style in both these paintings, not only in the figures but in his unique way of depicting rocks, and in the motifs he uses to fill empty space. Serendipity at work! <

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Siwa and Uma (“Batari Giriputri”), detail of painting by I Ketut Gedé illustrating episodes from the story Smaradahana.

“If any fool this high samooch explore
Know Charles Masson has been here before”
... Read about The Masson Project in this issue's theme section, p. 8.



The Gate Foundation is an international art foundation devoted to promoting intercultural exchange of contemporary art. The Gate Foundation aims to stimulate knowledge and understanding of contemporary art and artists, emphasizing non-Western and migrant cultures.

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Afghanistan: Iconoclastic Fury Unleashed Again

Asian Art >
Centra Asia

Religious fanaticism has made an indelible mark on what we see – or can no longer see – of art in the past. When, in 1566, what went down in history as the “Iconoclastic Fury” (*de Beeldenstorm*) was unleashed in Holland, hordes of zealous Protestants destroyed the most significant heritage of the Catholic religion that has ever existed in the Low Countries. On 26 February 2001, the Supreme Commander of the Taliban, Mullah Mohamed Omar, decreed the destruction of all the statues in Afghanistan. The political and religious leader thus sought to vanquish every trace of the “idolatries” permeating the country’s millenary history before the advent of Islam. In March 2001, Al-Jazeera, then CNN, and, as a result, the media throughout the entire world broadcast to our astonished eyes how the Bamiyan statues, the largest images of the Buddha in the world, were smashed to pieces.



Courtesy of La Caixa Foundation, Barcelona.

By Sebastian López

In the whole of Europe, one arts centre alone responded to this Taliban aggression. When the decree was issued, and before the Giant Buddhas were destroyed, La Caixa, a foundation in Barcelona, began to prepare *Afghanistan, a Millenary History*, an exhibition meant to offer a balanced view of Afghanistan’s artistic past. It has already been shown in La Caixa’s Cultural Centre in Barcelona, and it was on display in Paris at the Musée National des Arts Asiatiques (MNAAGuimet in February 2002.

The initiative is even more praiseworthy in the sense that La Caixa is not an arts centre devoted to Asian art. Unlike France, Denmark, Japan, and the United States, Spain has no Afghan art collections with works from Gandhara, Hadda, or Kafirstan, a fact that merits attention given that there are hundreds of centres and institutes in Europe that do spe-

The statue which Malraux refers to as “the Genius of the Flowers”. It represents a Bodhisattva holding a spouted flask. *Afghanistan, Hadda, 3rd to 4th Century AD, stucco, 55cm x 34cm x 19cm. Florence, Malraux Collection.*

cialize in Asian art. The destruction of the two Giant Buddhas generated such a wave of solidarity, however, that it was possible to organize such an imposing exhibition in just months, thanks to La Caixa and loans made by museums and private collections alike. The exhibition displays works belonging to the Harvard University Arthur Sackler Museum; the Musée de l’Homme, the Musée National d’Histoire Naturelle, and the MNAAGuimet, in Paris; the Musée des Arts Asiatiques, in Nice; the Museum für Indische Kunst, in Berlin; and the Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg.

Afghanistan, a Millenary History provides a two-part testimony: it starts with a broad documentation of the Afghan artistic heritage destroyed by the Taliban, and follows with a series of rooms with reconstructions of some of Afghanistan’s most splendid moments of artistic creation, organized by period, geographical location, and artistic school: Mundigak and Bactrian art from the Bronze Age, the art of the Kushans, Bamiyan art, the relationship between Afghanistan and Turkmenistan (Xinjiang); the reaction of Islam to invasions by the Mongols, Timurids, and Nuristanis.

The sections entitled “Art of the Kushans” and “Hadda, the Greek-Afghan School” are some of the most fascinating in the exhibition, due to the quality of the pieces and to the theories that have developed around them. Both render accounts of the artistic wealth generated by the cross-breeding of several artistic, religious, and cultural traditions. The first section contains pieces of early Buddhist art, in which the Buddha appears in human form and, as Pierre Cambon, curator of the exhibition, so aptly states, “is to transcribe in an almost definitive manner the golden legend of the historical Buddha, just as he continues to be portrayed throughout the whole Buddhist world.” In 1889, the Englishman Vincent Smith suggested that the sculptures of Gandharan art bear a parallel with those of classical Rome. Alfred Foucher, for his part, supported the thesis of a ‘Greek-Buddhist’ art in 1900. There is no doubt that, during the Kushan period, the Greek-Bactrian, Nomadic and Hindu traditions forged a dynamic relationship, something which is clearly visible in Gandharan sculpture. For Cambon, the excavation sites in the enclave of Hadda, near Jalalabad, “demonstrate the expansion of Gandharan art throughout the Afghan land (...) a purely local school, clearly Greek-Afghan, much more Hellenic than might be expected.”

Hadda is also an important crossroads for the Indian universe. Essential in helping to understand this art and its cultural cross-breeding, Hadda was host to several dozen Buddhist monasteries, and the Monasteries of Tope Kelam and Bagh-Gai provide some of the exhibition’s most fascinating pieces.

Genius of the Flowers (3rd to 4th Centuries), part of the André Malraux collection, is a moving masterpiece. In 1931, Malraux himself wrote in the *Nouvelle Revue Française* about this sculpture in stucco: “enigmatic crowns, familiar features to be found for the first time in Asian sculpture, the nature of the mystery engulfing this statue, unique in the world, as it stands now.” What Malraux wished to demonstrate was the artistic parallel between this sculpture and Gothic art. “It is customary to say,” he stated, “that similar causes produce similar effects: the two Gothics, this one (*Genius of the Flowers* is an exponent) and that of Rheims, show us the transformation of classical art through a religious spirit dominated

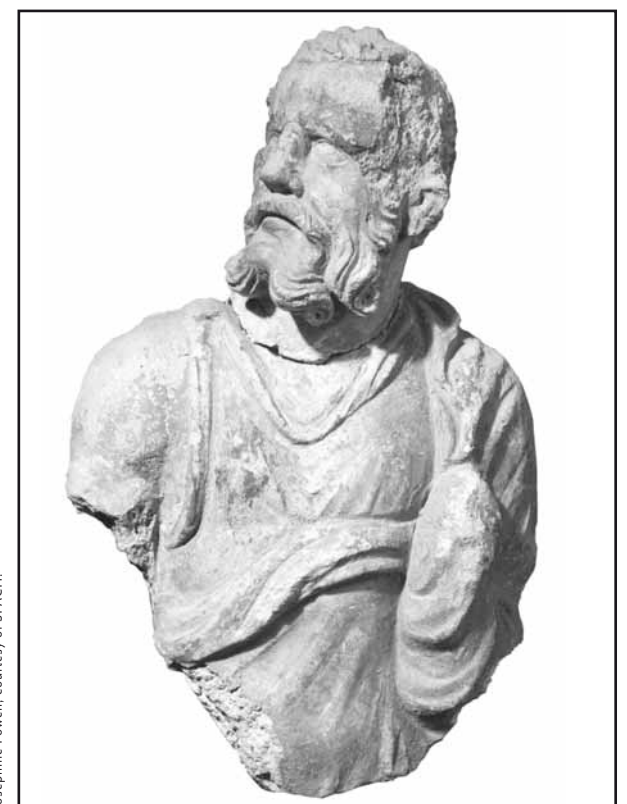
by piety.” This text by Malraux is one of many attempts to describe the art of Afghanistan, as others have referred to other countries in Asia, by making a series of comparisons based on “chronologies” and “styles”, following European art canons. In a way, the exhibition and its lavishly illustrated catalogue continue to discuss the works under display in these same terms. In spite of “stylistically” refuting Malraux, Pierre Cambon concludes that *the Genius of the Flowers* is “Gothic without being Romanesque”.

Today, when the world of contemporary art is busy translating so-called “transcultural” and “multicultural” issues into nationalistic readings, it is good to take a look at the fertile valleys of long ago in Afghanistan, where Greek-Roman bronzes stood side-by-side with Alexandrian ceramics, Chinese lacquers, and Indian ivories, following the flow of travelers, conquests and migrations. As Luis Monreal points out in the catalogue, “in the main enclaves of the silk route, the local coins show sphinxes of Greek, Iranian, and Hindu divinities. The uniqueness of such cultural cross-breeding has obliged historians to invent such terms as ‘Greek-Buddhist’, ‘Hindu-Greek’ or ‘Turk-Mongol’, attempting to apprehend the extraordinary artistic originality of Afghanistan, which finds its maximum expression in the Buddhas with ‘Apollinarian’ features and the classicism of Herat tiles.” <

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Exhibition >

Afghanistan: A Millenary History, was exhibited at La Caixa Foundation in Barcelona from 3 October to 23 December 2001. From 28 February to 27 May 2002, it will be on display at the Musée National des Arts Asiatiques (MNAAGuimet, Paris.



Bust of a man with moustache and curly beard, his left hand raised in front of the chest. Wears a pleated upper garment across the left shoulder. Stucco? Hadda, size unknown. Ca. 4th cent. AD Formerly Kabul Museum.

... see this issue's theme section, pp. 8-16.

Signs of Artistic Times in China

Every year there are about 400 exhibitions held around China featuring experimental art. These shows often take place in private galleries owned by foreign curators working together with Chinese partners. In China, these privately owned galleries often provide a vital alternative to some of the state-operated exhibition spaces, including the China National Art Gallery in the heart of Beijing. But, in order to position oneself even further into the laboratories of art making in China, one has to move more closely towards the edges of the field, and towards the independent art spaces where artists gather to create many new visual structures and continue the communication which constructs *art to come*.

Asian Art >
East Asia

By Thomas J. Berghuis

As in other parts of the world, the state-funded and even many of the commercially operated exhibition spaces often seem to position themselves somewhat behind the actual front lines of cutting edge visual structures, which take place in the field of artistic production at the many grassroot levels of late modern societies around the world. Where these institutions to a certain extent provide an important stage for periodical art collections by presenting 'signs of *certain* artistic times' to the interested members of the public, they also seem to serve a wide variety of discourses that aim at regenerating both public and artistic morality and, often, at expanding the order of 'true' artistic capital, thereby, they often exclude certain pieces and construct new contextualizations for those works that have been selected.

In practice, this means that anyone who works within the field of cutting edge artistic production, either as a commercial player or someone whose aim it is to provide explanatory and illustrative incentives to the art we witness, has to be aware of the canonical and sometimes ideological powers that stand at the basis of many overview exhibitions held in art institutes across the world. For the domains where art is constructed lie in those spheres that precede the institutionalized network, a network that often connects itself with terms like the "Avant-Garde", "Modern Art", and "Contemporary Art", a world of art galleries, museums, art fairs, biennials, television programmes, magazine and newspaper enclosures. In his Professorial Lecture at the University of Sydney on 1 May, 2001, Terry Smith uses the term "*the angle of contemporary art*", which takes us to the laboratories of art, to the inner spaces where art is made these days, alongside the artists who are working themselves to extremes for us"^[italics mine].¹

In China, these places where *art to come* is constructed and where artists work in making the conceptional and practical provisions for art itself, include art academies, studios, artists' villages, and independently operated exhibition spaces, as

well as privately organized art shows, which often last for no longer than a few hours. These locations together form the *experimental art* scene, a term that, at least in visual art, often indicates a process in which former visual structures become challenged and the artist makes room for new incentives, often allowing manifestations of a more personal, constructed perception on a given environment in the artwork. This means that experimental art can occur at any time and any place.

Experimental art, therefore, is most likely to set the domains of *art to come*. It indicates a continuing process of exploring a whole range of visual structures by the practicing artist. "Contemporary Art", is another term that has often been used to describe *art of our time*, but, at least with a capital C and A, the term also refers to "...the institutionalized network through which the art of today presents itself and to its interested audiences all over the world."² Experimental art rather, by contrast to this, allows for continuous improvisation and innovation within these existing structures, and might even become more useful in identifying the process of communicating *through* art, rather than bringing forth communications *about* art.³

In examining these early stages in which experimental art is made and former discourses are challenged, one enters the regions where artists are pushing themselves to extremes while creating a wide range of new visual structures, of importance, in that they constitute major shifts in communicating through the use of art in a wide variety of regions across China. Some such examples later became used in communications about art, both in China and abroad. This was the case with the shifts in artistic production that took place during the 1980s, shifts and which cumulated into the *China Avant-Garde* exhibition, held in February 1989 at the National Gallery of Fine Art in Beijing. For many viewers, in particular those coming from abroad, the exhibition came to be seen as part of a modernist movement. However, for many of the artists in China attending, the exhibition became important for its overview of a wide range of experiments in modern art that sprang up in various regions around the country over the preceding decade.⁴

More recently, the publication *Fuck Off/ Bu Hezuo Fangshi*, compiled by the Beijing-based art critics Ai Weiwei and Feng Boyi and accompanied by a satellite exhibition to the 2000 Shanghai Biennial in downtown Shanghai with the same title, showed similar attempts to present an overview of many of the experimental artworks produced during the second half of the 1990s.⁵ For many, however, the works in the catalogue came as a shock, in particular those by artists such as Sun Yuan (1972) and Zhu Yu (1970). Despite the fact that the publication did bring together reproductions of a large group of artworks produced in China during the 1990, however, it is already no longer part of *art to come*. Rather, the publication presents an overview of "signs of a *certain* artistic time" – namely, communication *through* art which had

taken place at a variety of locations in Beijing and Shanghai during the late 1990s, including the privately organized underground exhibitions *Post-Sense Sensibility – Alien Bodies and Delusion* (Beijing, 1999), *Food as Art* (Beijing, 2000), and *Bu Hezuo Fangshi/ Fuck Off* (Shanghai, 2000).

During the second half of the 1990s, and mainly outside the realm of large institutional structures, a great number of these privately operated art shows sprang up around China. These were often held at private locations outside the centre of major cities, such as Beijing, where the artistic community meets to collaborate in staging and documenting numerous private shows. Although these exhibitions seldomly last for more than just a few hours, they are the foundation of the *cutting edge* arts scene, and, therefore, provide an environment for continuous experiments in creating new visual structures and new instances of communicating *through* art. These locations also serve as spaces where the artist community can meet, discussing and sensing 'signs of *new* artistic times'.

One of the most recent examples of such an exhibition was *Post Sense-Sensibility: Spree*, held on 11 May 2001 at a local theatre in Beijing. The show was directed by Qiu Zhijie who, in 1999, had already organized the show *Post-Sense Sensibility – Alien Bodies and Delusion* together with the independent curator Wu Meichun. At 3pm the doors were locked and, for the next three hours, visitors were confronted with a series of performances that included Zhou Ren's *Massage*, Liu Wei's *Let's Get Happy Together*, Wang Wei's *Wedding*, and Wu Ershan's *Love is Like a Wave*. For his performance *Let's Get Happy Together*, Liu Wei hired a professional female striptease dancer, and together they danced inside a 2 sq. meter glass box. As their dance became more erotic, Liu Wei began covering the glass walls with pigs' blood, creating an orgy of ambiguous vulgarity, which seemed senseless and surpassing all reason.

Those visitors who had arrived after the official opening time found the entrance doors to the exhibition space locked and were only allowed to watch a live video recording of the show projected on a small television screen in the theatre's corridor. Some, anxious to find out more, used their mobile phones to call those inside the exhibition space in hopes that they could be let inside. Despite their efforts, the entrance door remained locked and, instead, those outside were confronted with a situation in which 'real time' information wanders in an 'unreal space' of visual representation. *Post-sense Sensibility*, therefore, described not merely a scene in which artists produced works that move beyond any form of sensibility, but, even more so, only by witnessing the making of an artwork in 'real time' and 'real space' is the recipient allowed to open all senses to the work. By contrast, the experiences of those watching a visual registration of the show often become connected to the selected medium of reproduction, and even more so when the work becomes part of a publication on art, or a feature about art. ◀

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E-mail: info@gatefoundation.nl

Notes >

- 1 See: Smith, Terry. *What is Contemporary Art: Contemporary Art, Contemporaneity, and Art to Come*. Published by Artspace Visual Art Centre as part of their Critical Issues Series, no. 6. Sydney: Artspace Visual Art Centre Ltd., (2001).
- 2 *ibid*.
- 3 Further comments on the way art functions as communication can be read in: Luhmann, Niklas. *Die Kunst der Gesellschaft (Art as a Social System)*. Translated from German by Eva M. Knodt. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, (2000).
- 4 In particular when taking into consideration the Chinese title of the exhibition, *Zhongguo Xiandai Yishuzhan, or Exhibition of Modern Chinese Art*.
- 5 See: *Bu Hezuo Fangshi/Fuck Off*. Beijing: Private Publication, (2000).

> Asian Art Online

With the continuing expansion of connections to the Internet, in early 2001 the Art Agenda started to follow this development in true multi-media style. Opening hours were replaced by links to the e-mail addresses and websites of the various institutes listed in the Asian Art Agenda. Now anyone with access to a server can log on to continuous information on Asian Art in cyberspace: "Link yourself..."

WWW.biennaleofsydney.com.au

Biennial of Sydney: Official website of the Biennial of Sydney. "Engage, Inspire and Belong" would most likely be the advice from the organization. The site includes a list of venues as well as a wide range of continuously expanding information on the participating artists. Of particular interest is the link to the website of the previous edition of the biennial in 2000. The direct link: www.biennaleofsydney.com.au/biennale2000/events.html gives you a general idea of the event.

WWW.koreawebarb.org/FUNK.html

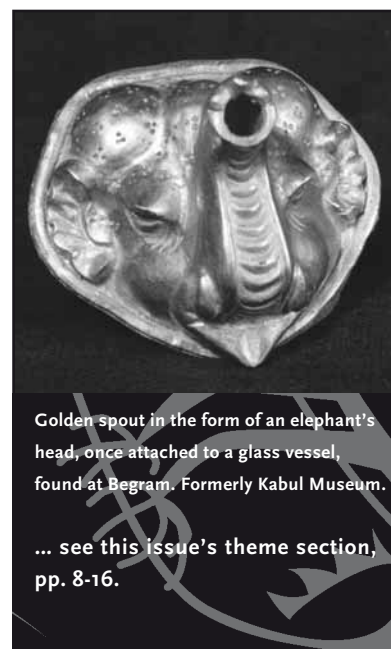
Korea Web Art Festival: There is something charming about the music played upon entering this site, linked to the main site of Multi Media Art Asia Pacific Inc. (www.maap.com.au), a non profit organization promoting innovative art and technology in Australia and the Asia Pacific regions. But the real "FUNK" starts by clicking on the various artists' links, in particular that of 0100101101010101.org, a.k.a. Nakamura. Typing these numbers is only the start of endless permutations. This is a warning: Don't link this to a computer you love. It is art, after all...

http://arts.tom.com/

The ARTUNION: One could get taken to court these days for pushing users into hooking up to one particular software programme. But, once you cross a wide variety of language barriers, it seems that Explorer (The one with the E instead of the N) is the way to go. Such as with this site, which is entirely in Chinese. If 'thou master the language' and be able to read the contents of this website, a world of art in China will become accessible: 'Chinese art for pros'. This site includes a range of critical reviews on many exhibitions in China, as well as a range of essays by artists and art critics working in China. 'Engage, Inspire and Belong' by logging on to one of the chat-rooms.

http://buddha.artgallery.nsw.gov.au

Buddha – Radiant Awakening: Official website on the recently held exhibition Buddha – Radiant Awakening at the Art Gallery of New South Wales in Sydney, Australia: This site uses Flash. This site gives information. But can I really 'visit Buddha'?



Golden spout in the form of an elephant's head, once attached to a glass vessel, found at Begram. Formerly Kabul Museum.

... see this issue's theme section, pp. 8-16.

The Art Agenda and cultural pages are produced by The Gate Foundation in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. Please send information about activities and events relating to Asian Art and Cultures to: The Gate Foundation, Keizersgracht 613, 1017 DS Amsterdam the Netherlands; Tel.: +31-20-620 8057; Fax: +31-20-639 0766; E-mail: info@gatefoundation.nl; Website: www.gatefoundation.nl

Australia >

Art Gallery of Western Australia
Perth Cultural Centre,
47 James Street, Perth WA 6000
Tel.: +61-8-9492-6600
Fax: +61-8-9492-6655
E-mail: admin@artgallery.wa.gov.au
Website: www.artgallery.wa.gov.au

27 June – 15 September 2002

Islamic Art and Patronage: Treasures from Kuwait

Biennial of Sydney

Sydney, CBD
(Museum of Contemporary Art, Art Gallery of New South Wales, Art-space, Object Gallery, City Exhibition Space, Custom House, and Circular Quay)
43-51 Cowper Wharf Road
Woolloomooloo, NSW 2011
Tel.: +61-2-9368-1411
Fax: +61-2-9368-1617
E-mail: art@biennaleofsydney.com.au
Website: www.biennaleofsydney.com

15 May – 14 July 2002

The Biennial of Sydney 2002 – (The World May Be) Fantastic
As one of the important art events in the Southern hemisphere, this year's Biennial in Sydney promises to feature a wide range of works by artists from around the world, including Asia. In addition to exhibitions, the Sydney Biennial will also feature lectures by artists, seminars, and workshops to be held at different locations in the city. Visit the website for more information.

Queensland Art Gallery

Melbourne Street, South Brisbane
Queensland, 4101
Tel.: +61-7-3840-7333
Fax: +61-7-3844-8865
E-mail: gallery@qag.qld.gov.au

Established in 1895, the Queensland Art Gallery has become well known for its notable links with the Asia-Pacific region resulting in numerous, well-organized exhibitions featuring a range of artworks from the region, such as the recent exhibition, Lines of Descent: The Family in Contemporary Asian Art.

Until 16 June 2002

Pushing Painting: Australian Painting from the 1970s to the Present

Examining some of the major developments in Australian painting during the 1980s and 1990s, the exhibition features works by Dale Frank, Imants Tillers, Robert MacPherson, and Susan Norrie, among others.

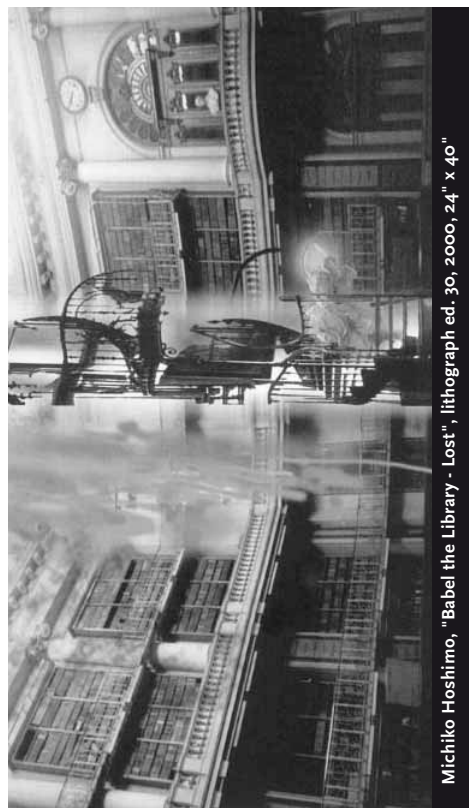
12 September 2002 – 23 January 2003

The Asia-Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art
In late December 2001, Minister for the Arts Matt Foley announced the official opening date of the 2002 edition of this important event. Over the next months a team of five Queensland Art Gallery curators headed by the Gallery's director, Doug Hall, will be selecting a range of artists from Asia and the Pacific. The Gallery has already secured the participation of Nam June Paik, Lee U Fan, Yayoi Kusama, as well as work from the late Montien Boonma.

China >

Courtyard Gallery

95 Donghuamen Dajie
Dongcheng District
Beijing, 100006
Tel.: +86-10-6526-8882
Fax: +86-10-6526-8880



Michiko Hoshimo, "Babel the Library - Lost", lithograph ed. 30, 2000, 24" x 40"

Courtesy of the Walsh Gallery, Chicago, IL

E-mail: info@courtyard-gallery.com
Website: www.courtyard-gallery.com

16 March - April, 2002

New Photography Group Exhibition

Spring, 2002

Chen Wenji New Works Exhibition

Eastlink Gallery

1133 Suzhou Road West
Shanghai, 200060
E-mail: eastlink@sh163c.sta.net.cn

Opened in 1999, the Eastlink Gallery has become an important member among the private galleries in China featuring a wide range of experimental works by artists in China and, in particular, by young artists from Shanghai. Recent exhibitions included the exhibition Stay in Shanghai, featuring work by Fei Xiao, Qing Lingguo, Huang Yan, Li Jianru, Wu Wei, Liu Bolun, Su Bing, and Wang Zheng. Contact the gallery to receive invitations for future exhibitions.

29 March - Early Summer 2002

Third Space of the Fourth World
Large exhibition organized by the Eastlink Gallery in Shanghai that includes the participation of a group of artists from China and the Netherlands. From the Netherlands: Tjong Ang, Charley Citroen, Renee Ridgway, Zhao Jianren and Peter Lelliott; and from China: Hu Jieming, Liu Chunsheng, Chan Shaoxing, Zhang Peili and Qiu Zhijie. Following the official opening of the exhibition on 29 March, a number of lectures will be given by the artists on 30 March, to be followed the next day by a Symposium.

Hong Kong Museum of Art

10 Salisbury Road
Tsimshatsui
Kowloon, Hong Kong
Tel.: +85-2-2721-0116
Fax: +85-2-2723-7666
E-mail: enquiries@hksd.gov.hk
Website: www.hksd.gov.hk/CE/Museum/Arts/index.html

15 March – 12 May 2002

Wu Guanzhong – A Retrospective

Wu Guanzhong was born in 1919 in Yixing county, Jiangsu Province. In 1936, he began studying both Chinese and Western modern painting techniques, first at the Zhejiang Academy of Fine Arts in Hangzhou, China. From 1947 until 1950, he continued his studies in Paris, France. After his return to China, Wu Guanzhong became one of the most important figures in Chinese art. The exhibition features around 100 of Wu's most recent works.

Para/Site Central

Hanart TZ Gallery, Level 2
5 Queen's Road Central
Hong Kong
Tel.: +85-2-2517-4620
E-mail: wleung@para-site.org.hk
Website: www.para-site.org.hk

Until 31 March 2002

Sculpting in Light – A work-in-progress by Tsang Tak-Ping

Situated in the Hanart TZ Gallery in Hong Kong, Para/Site Central has proven itself an important alternative exhibition venue. Until March 2002, the centre will feature the making of a specific installation by one of its founding members, Tsang Tak-Ping, who has become well known over the years in the international arena.

Germany >

Documenta 11

Museum Fridericianum

Museum Fridericianum
Friedrichsplatz 18
Kassel, 34117
Tel.: +49-561-70-7270
Fax: +49-561-707-2739
E-mail: info@documenta.de
Website: www.documenta.de

8 June – 15 September 2002

Documenta 11, The Final Platform

From June 8th until September 15th 2002, Documenta 11 will take place in several exhibition spaces in the city of Kassel. Projects and works by more than 100 international artists of every generation will be presented. The exhibition features a wide range of media, including sculpture, drawing, photography, architecture, film, video, performance, sound- and computer generated artworks.

Haus der Kulturen der Welt

John-Foster-Dulles-Allee 10
Berlin, 10557
Tel.: +49-30-397-8701
Fax: +49-30-394-8679
E-mail: info@hkwd.de
Website: www.hkwd.de

March – May 2002

Of the Silk Road – Art and Culture from Central Asia

Featuring a wide range of artworks from Kazakhstan, Kyrgystan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, the exhibition aims to present the dynamic and conflict-laden process of cultural and socio-political re-orientation in the Central Asia region following the break-up of the Soviet Union. The event will consist of a diverse and interdisciplinary programme, including live performances and panel discussions on the region.

India >

Visual Arts Gallery

India Habitat Centre
Lodhi Road
New Delhi, 110003
Tel.: +91-11-468-2001-09
Fax ++ 91-11-468-2010/468-2011

15-18 March 2002

Paintings by Indu Gupta

1-15 April 2002

Nalini Malani

India Habitat Centre Sakshi Art Gallery, Mumbai showcases the works of Nalini Malani one of India's most prominent artists.

29 April - 6 May 2002

Pakistani Art Show

1-12 May 2002

Auroville

During 12 days in May, the India

auspices of the Foundation Arc-en-Ciel. Since then, the museum has become known as the first Japanese museum to focus its activities solely on collecting, exhibiting, and supporting contemporary art from Japan and abroad.

26 January – 7 April 2002

Save the Date! – Design Now Australia
Featuring over thirty works, the exhibition presents an overview of the history and contemporaneity of modern design in Australia. Works on display include fashion design by young designers such as Helmut Lang and album jacket designs for records distributed in the Australian club scene. On 5 April, the designers team Wendy & Jim will conduct a workshop at the museum.

The National Museum of Art, Osaka

10-4, Expo Park
Senri
Suita, 565-0826
Tel.: +81-6-6876-2481
Fax: +81-6-6878-3619
Website: www.nmao.go.jp

14 February – 26 March 2002

Recent Works 27 O JUN

Solo exhibition featuring the work of O Jun, born in Tokyo in 1956. In 1982, O Jun graduated from the Tokyo University of Fine Arts, Department of Oil Painting. During the 1980s, O Jun began to stage a range of performances in Japan. In 1990, he moved to Germany for a period of four years and started to make a large series of photographic works. O Jun's works have received much attention in Japan during the last few years.

The National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto

Enshoji-cho, Okazaki
Sakyoto-ku
Kyoto, 606-8344
Tel.: +81-75-761-4111
Website: www.momak.go.jp

Until 11 February 2002

Splendors of the Art of Siena

As part of the celebration of 2001, the Italian Year in Japan, the exhibition focuses on the art from Siena from the early Renaissance to the eighteenth-century. Special features



Susan Choi, "Untitled"

Habitat Centre and the international community of Auroville will present a multimedia exhibition on the concept of 'Oneness in Diversity', which underlines the entire universe and is the real key to human unity, as well.

15-19 May 2002

Ritakshi Arora

An exhibition of recent works by Ritakshi Arora, who has received training from Sanjay Sharma and drives inspiration from India.

Italy >

Kunsthaus Meran

Merano arte
Via Portici 163
Merano BZ, I-39012
Tel.: +39-4-7321-2643
Fax: +39-4-7327-6147
E-mail: info@kunstmeranoarte.com
Website: www.kunstmeranoarte.com

Every year, Kunsthau Meran features an extensive programme in the field of visual arts, including a yearly exhibition on architecture, a biennial exhibition on contemporary multimedia art, and exhibitions of works by both regional and international artists.

Until 7 April 2002

Kunst & Kur - Ästhetik der Erholung

Exhibition featuring work by the Japanese-born artist Chiharu Shiota, whose work was also shown at last year's Yokohama Triennial, and Jin-ran Kim from Korea.

Japan >

Hara Museum

4-7-25 Kitashinagawa
Shinagawa-ku
Tokyo, 140-0001
Tel.: +81-3-34450651
Fax: +81-3-3473-0104
Website: www.haramuseum.or.jp

The Hara Museum of Contemporary Art was founded in 1979 under the

at the exhibition include works from the collection of Monte di Paschi di Siena Bank, which is renowned as the treasured inheritance of the city of Siena.

Korea >

Gwangju Biennale

City of Gwangju
(Gwangju Biennale Hall, The May 18 Liberty Park, Gwangju Railways)
Gwangju Biennale Foundation
San 149-2, Yongbong-dong
Buk-gu
Gwangju, 500-070
E-mail: biennale@gwangju-biennale.org
Website: www.gwangju-biennale.org

29 March – 29 June 2002

2002 *Gwangju Biennial*
P_A_U_S_E
The 2002 Gwangju Biennale has been carefully put together by Hou Hanru, art critic and independent curator presently working as a professor at the Rijksacademie in Amsterdam, the Netherlands; Sung Wang-kyung, professor of art theory at Inha University; and Charles Esche, director of the Rooseum Center for Contemporary Art in Malmö, Sweden. These renowned curators hope to present a "pause" in time for people to reflect on the past century and, at the same time, to look forward into the new century in places where visual art is being produced. Artists whose works will be featured at the exhibition include Yin Xiuzhen and Zhang Peili (China), Andar Manik/Marintan Sirait (Indonesia), On Kawara (Japan), Bui-dong Park (Korea), Kung Yu (Malaysia), and Post8 (Taiwan). For more information, visit the 2002 Gwangju Biennale website.

National Museum of Contemporary Art, Korea

San 58-1, Makey-dong
Gwancheon-si
Gyeonggi-do, 427-701
Tel: +82-2-2188-6000
Fax: +82-2-2188-6123
Website: www.moca.go.kr

Until February 2002

A Retrospective of Kim, Jeong-Sook's Artworks

Solo exhibition featuring works by Kim, Jeong-Sook, who is known as an important figure in the field of modern sculpture from Korea. The exhibition commemorates the death of the artist ten years ago.

The Netherlands >

Rijksmuseum Amsterdam

Stadhouderskade 42
Amsterdam, 1071 ZD
Tel.: +31-20-674 7000
Fax: +31-20-674 7001
E-mail: info@rijksmuseum.nl
Website: www.rijksmuseum.nl

12 January – 7 April 2002

400 Years of the VOC at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam
The year 2002 marks the fourth centenary of the Dutch East India Company (VOC). Commemorating the event, the Rijksmuseum has organized four exhibitions, starting with two photographic exhibitions featuring a selection from the Dutch Photo Collection at the Print Gallery, as well as photographic studies by Frederic André de la Porte at the Philips Wing of the museum.

12 October 2002 – 9 February 2003

The Dutch Encounter with Asia, 1600-1950
This is the central exhibition held at the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam commemorating the founding of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) 400 years ago in 1602, featuring a wide range of artworks and artefacts including paintings, prints, photographs, costumes, and ship models.

New Zealand >

City Gallery Wellington

Pataka Porirua Museum of Arts and Cultures
Civic Square
P.O. Box 2199
Wellington, 6015
Tel.: +64-4-801-3021
Fax: +64-4-801-3950
E-mail: art.gallery@wcc.govt.nz
Website: www.city-gallery.org.nz

September – December 2001

Techno Maori – Maori Art in the Digital Age

Held last year at the City Gallery Wellington and the Pataka Porirua

Museum of Arts and Cultures in Wellington. Visit the museum's website for more information and how to order a CD-ROM containing the full catalogue on the exhibition.

Sweden >

Östasiatiska Museet (Museum of Far Eastern Antiques)

Tyghusplan
Stockholm, Skeppsholmen
Tel.: +46-8-5195-5750
Fax: +46-8-5195-5755
E-mail: info@ostasiatiska.se
Website: www.ostasiatiska.se

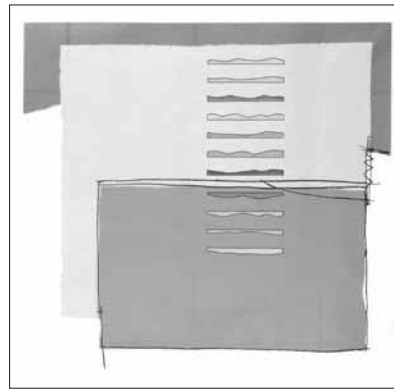
27 May – 2 June 2002

EurASEAA 2002
The 9th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archeologists (EurASEAA) will be held in Sigtuna, Sweden and hosted by the Museum of Far East Asian Antiques. During the course of the conference, a selection of its Southeast Asian collection will be on display at the museum. For further details, contact the EurASEAA 2002 Organization Committee. Mail: c/o Museum of Far Eastern Asian Antiques, P.O. Box 16176, SE-103 24, Stockholm, Sweden.
Tel: +46-8-5195-5750.
Fax: +46-8-5195-5755. E-mail: euraseaa2002@ostasiatiska.se

Taiwan >

Taipei Fine Arts Museum

181 Chung Shan North Road, Section 3
Taipei, 104
Tel.: +886-2-2595-7656
Fax: +886-2-2594-4104



Courtesy of the Walsh Gallery, Chicago, IL

Yoshisuke Funasaka, "My Space and My Dimension - M363", woodcut silkscreen, 2001, 59" x 56"

E-mail: tfam-1@ms2.hinet.net
Website: www.tfam.gov.tw

9 February – 31 March 2002

SOFT EMPYNESS – Solo Exhibition of Wu Yinghai

23 February – 31 March 2002

Floating on the Tide – A Solo Exhibition of Lin Huang-ti

Thailand >

Numthong Gallery

1129/29 Co-Op Housing bldg
109-111 Thodumri Road, Dusit Bangkok, 10300
Tel./Fax: +66-2-243-4326
E-mail: numthongs@yahoo.com

Private gallery in Bangkok, featuring a wide range of artists from Thailand and abroad. Recent exhibitions include *Views and Transference*, a solo exhibition by Natee Utarit; *Wild Orchid*, a solo exhibition by Niti Wat-tuya; and *Non Portrait*, featuring works by Orlan, Keiichi Tahara, Micael Shaowanasai, Kornkrit Jien-pitnum, and James Vernon. For more details on present exhibitions contact the gallery.

United Kingdom >

Royal Academy of Art

Burlington House
Piccadilly
London, W1J 0BD
Tel.: +44-20-7300-8000
Website: www.royalacademy.org.uk

27 April – 14 July 2002

The Return of the Buddha
Large exhibition featuring Chinese Buddhist Sculpture works, including recent discoveries from Qingzhou, Shandong Province.

United States of America >

Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts

Stanford University
328 Lomita Drive
Stanford, CA 94305-5060
Tel.: +1-650-723-4177
Fax: +1-650-725-0464
Website: www.stanford.edu/dept/SUMA/

13 February – 5 May 2002

The Southern Metropolis – Pictorial



Courtesy of the artist, at the exhibition "Give and Take" at the Serpentine Gallery and the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, UK.

Xu Bing, "Art for the People" (1999), dye on polyester, 1100 x 275 cm.

and the collapse of civil society in Afghanistan.

San Francisco Museum of Modern Art

151 Third Street
San Francisco, CA 94103
Tel.: +1-415-357-4000
Fax: +1-415-357-4037
Website: www.sfmoma.org

22 June – 15 September 2002

YES Yoko Ono
Organized by the Japan Society in New York, the first American retrospective of the work of pioneering avant-garde artist Yoko Ono, offers a comprehensive re-evaluation of her work. Featuring approximately 130 works from the 1960's to the present, it presents Ono as the pre-mitter of Asian thought to the international art world.

Walsh Gallery

118 North Peoria Street, Level 2
Chicago, IL 60607
Tel.: +1-312-829-3312
Fax: +1-312-829-3316
E-mail: info@walshgallery.com
Website: www.walshgallery.com

15 February – 6 April 2002

Contemporary Japanese Art
Exhibition on recent art from Japan featuring works by Yoshisuke Funasaka, Michiko Hoshino, Itsuo Kiritani, and Ryojun Shirasaki.

Walter Art Gallery

600 North Charles Street
Baltimore, MD 21201
Tel.: +1-410-547-9000
Website: www.thewalters.org

January – March 2002

Desire and Devotion
Exhibition featuring art from India, Nepal, and Tibet in the John and Berthe Ford Collection.

Vietnam >

Art XXI Gallery

1 Le Thi Hong Gam District 1
Ho Chi Minh City

Until Spring 2002

Works from the Gallery Collection
Art XXI Gallery is the most recent art space to have opened on the grounds of the Fine Arts Museum. During the coming year, the gallery plans to organize several exhibitions featuring artists from Vietnam. The present exhibition features work from the gallery collection including paintings by Bui Suoi Hoa, Ho Huu Thu, Nguyen Minh Phuong, Nguyen Than, and Nguyen Trung Pan.

Codo Gallery

46 Hang Bong Street
Hanoi
Tel./Fax: +84-4-825-8573
E-mail: codogallery@hn.vnn.vn

Until Spring 2002

Year of the Horse
Exhibition of works celebrating the Year of the Horse. Participating artists include Nguyen Quan, Phan Cam Thuong, Do Minh Tam, and Nguyen Xuan Tiep.



Courtesy of the Hong Kong Museum of Art

Wu Guanzhong, "Two Swallows" (1981), ink and colour on paper, 68 x 137 cm.

15 March 2002

Staff

Prof. W.A.L. Stokhof (Director)
S.A.M. Kuypers, MA (Deputy Director)
M. T. te Booij, MA (Executive Manager)
Dr R.B.P.M. Busser (Coordinator of Academic Affairs)

T.D. Chute, MA (Editor)

A.J.M. Doek, MA (WWW)

Denise Donkersloot (Secretary)

W. Feldberg (Project Coordinator)

E.F.P. Haneveld (IT-Manager)

H.M. van der Minne, MA

(Secretary Branch Office Amsterdam)

M. Rozing, MA (Project Coordinator)

Dr M.A.F. Rutten (Coordinator Branch Office Amsterdam)

M.F. Sijstermans, MA (Co-Editor)

Inge van Steijn (Secretary)

J. Stremmelaar, MA (Project Coordinator)

E.S.U. de Vries (Database Assistant)

Frank van der Zwaan, MA (Secretarial Assistant)

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Prof. M. van der Linden (University of Amsterdam/ISIG)

Prof. M. Sparreboom (Erasmus University, Rotterdam)

1 vacancy (University of Leiden)

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Dr C. Touwen-Bouwsma - Chairman (NIOD)

> IIAS Research Programmes and Projects

ABIA South and Southeast Asian Art and Archaeology Index

The ABIA Index is an annotated bibliographic database, which is compiled by an international team of specialists brought together in a project coordinated by the Postgraduate Institute of Archaeology of the University of Kelaniya, Colombo, Sri Lanka.

The database is freely accessible for searches via the Internet at www.abia.net. The ABIA website (with help functions) is under construction.

Selections from the database also appear in print.

ABIA Index vol. 1 (Kegan Paul International, London) includes over 1300 annotated and key word-indexed references to publications of 1996 and 1997. It is still available via the IIAS at: <http://www.iias.nl/iias/research/abia/a>

ABIA Index 2 (to be published by Brill, Leiden) will contain circa 2000 references to publications processed for the database between 1 September 1998 and 1 September 2001.

Teams at two regional centres participate in the production of the ABIA Index database. One at the Postgraduate Institute of Archaeology (PGIAR) in Colombo, Sri Lanka, under the guidance of Mr S. Lakdusinghe, director of PGIAR and the Chairman of the ABIA project, with support of the Central Cultural Fund; the other at the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) in Leiden, the Netherlands, under the guidance of Professor W. Stokhof, director of the IIAS. The ABIA project has branches in Indonesia and India, and correspondents in several other countries.

Contact: ABIA:
 In Colombo at:
abiapgiar@pgiar.lanka.net
 In Leiden at:
e.m.raven@let.leidenuniv.nl

Websites:
www.iias.nl/iias/research/abia/abia.html
www.abia.net.

CLARA: "Changing Labour Relations in Asia"

The Changing Labour Relations in Asia programme (CLARA) aims to build a comparative and historical understanding of labour relations in different parts of Asia which are undergoing diverse historical processes and experiences in terms of their national economies, their links with international markets and the nature of state intervention. This understanding will be based on the promotion of inter-Asian cooperation and that between Asian and non-Asian institutions.

The programme promotes several types of activities, namely: coordination of workshops; research projects; short-term research fellowships; networking; publications; and the setting up of a databank. CLARA is supported by the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) and the International Institute of Social History (IISH).

Programme coordinator:
Dr Ratna Saptari (rsa@iisg.nl)

Research fellow:
Dr Prabu Mohapatra, India (see: IIAS research fellows)

[Http://www.iisg.nl/~clara/clara.htm](http://www.iisg.nl/~clara/clara.htm)

"Islam in Indonesia: The Dissemination of Religious Authority in the 20th Century"

This 4-year cooperative research programme aims at studying and documenting important changes, which occurred in religious - especially Muslim - authority in Indonesia during the past century and which have contributed significantly to the shaping of the present nationhood. The programme focuses on four advanced research projects, being: (1) The traditional religious authority: Ulama and fatwa; (2) Mystical associations (tarekat) in urban communities; (3) Dakwah (Muslim propagation) activities in urban communities; (4) Education and the dissemination of religious authority.

The programme is implemented by the IIAS. It resorts under the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences (KNAW), administered by *Scientific Co-operation Netherlands - Indonesia*. Its main donor is the KNAW; co-sponsors are: the Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World (ISIM), Leiden, the Research School of Asian, African and Amerindian Studies (CNWS), Leiden, and the IIAS. The programme furthermore cooperates with several research institutions in Indonesia, such as the Islamic State Universities (IIAN), Jakarta.

Programme coordinators:
Dr Nico Kaptein and **Sabine Kuypers, MA** (iias@let.leidenuniv.nl)

Research fellows:
 Dr Mona Abaza; Dr Michael Laffan; Dr Johan Meuleman; Dr Andi Faisal Bakri

PhD students:
Jajat Burhanudin, MA; Noorhaidi, MA; Ahmad Syafi'i Mufid, MA; Moch Nur Ichwan, MA; Arief Subhan, MA; Muhammad Dahlan, MA

[Http://www.iias.nl/iias/research/dissemination/](http://www.iias.nl/iias/research/dissemination/)

the Yangtze River. On the theoretical side, it will systematically compare these descriptions and analyses in order to contribute to further development of the theory of language and the human language capacity; the development of such theories have hitherto been disproportionately based on the study of Western languages.

The project is a joint NWO/Leiden University/IIAS research programme. Programme Director:
 Dr Rint Sybesma
 (R.P.E.Sybesma@let.leidenuniv.nl)

Research fellows:
 Are to be selected.

PhD students:
Boya Li, MA; Joanna Sio, MA

[Http://www.iias.nl/iias/research/syntax/index.html](http://www.iias.nl/iias/research/syntax/index.html)

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Transnational Society, Media and Citizenship

This integrated multidisciplinary programme studies the complex nature of contemporary cultural identities and the role which the globalization of information and communication technologies (ICT's) plays in the (re)construction of identities. Although the programme is based in the Netherlands, the projects will be conducted at numerous fieldwork sites. The research programme will broaden our understanding of implications of new media and communications technologies in transforming political and religious forms, which transcend the nation-state and the relationship between consumption practices and identity formation.

The programme was initiated by the Amsterdam School for Social Science Research (ASSR) together with the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) and is executed with financial support from the Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Tropical Research (WOTRO).

Programme Director:
Prof. Peter van der Veer (vanderveer@pscw.uva.nl)

Research fellows:
Dr Shoma Munshi,
Dr Mahmoud Alinejad.

PhD students:
Mirriyan Aouragh, MA, Myrna Eindhoven, MA (see IIAS fellows).

[Http://www.iias.nl/iias/research/transnational/projectdescr.html](http://www.iias.nl/iias/research/transnational/projectdescr.html)

> IIAS Agenda

March – June 2002

2-5 April 2002

Paris, France - Co-sponsored by the IIAS
History of Translation in Indonesia and Malaysia

6 April 2002

Washington, USA - IIAS organized meeting in conjunction:
Asia - Europe Meeting (ASEM) at the Annual Conference of the Association for Asian Studies (AAS)

10-13 April 2002

Leiden, the Netherlands - Conference within the Asia-Europe Museum Network (ASEMUS) organized by the Dutch National Museum of Ethnology, National Museum Philippines, the Asia Europe Foundation and the IIAS
Asia-Europe Marketplace of Museums, Sharing Cultural Heritage

16 May 2002

Amsterdam, the Netherlands
Madrasa Workshop
 Workshop jointly organised by the IIAS an the International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern Worls (ISIM)

22-23 May 2002

Stockholm, Sweden
Mobility and Mobiles in China
 Organized by IIAS, CASS and the Stockholm School of Economics

29 May – 2 June 2002

Leiden, the Netherlands - IIAS Workshop, Co-sponsored by Stichting J. Gonda Fonds
Third International Vedic Workshop: "The Vedas: Texts, Language and Ritual"

6-8 June 2002

Groningen, the Netherlands - Co-sponsored by the IIAS
Groningen Oriental Studies Conference on "The Vākātakas. Indian Culture at the Crossroads"

6-8 June 2002

Leiden, the Netherlands - IIAS Workshop
Contextualization of Christianity in China – An Evaluation in Modern Perspective

14 June 2002

Amsterdam, the Netherlands - IIAS Annual Lecture by Dr Rohan Gunaratna

18, 19, or 20 June 2002

Brussels, Belgium
Asia Update: EU-Asia Relations after September 11 Organized by the Strategic Alliance for Asian Studies, to be held in the European Parliament in Brussels

28-30 June 2002

Leiden, the Netherlands - IIAS Workshop
Revisiting the Asian State

15 March 2002 – 1 July 2002

One of the most important goals of the IIAS is to share scholarly expertise by offering universities and other research institutes the opportunity to benefit from the knowledge of resident fellows. IIAS fellows can be invited to lecture, participate in seminars, cooperate on research projects etc. The IIAS is most willing to mediate in establishing contacts and considers both national and international integration of Asian Studies to be very important objectives.

The IIAS wants to stress the cooperation between foreign researchers and the Dutch field. With regard to the affiliated fellowships, the IIAS therefore offers to mediate in finding external Dutch funding, should the scholar have not yet found ways of financing his/her visit to the Netherlands. For more information please see the IIAS fellowship application form, which can be obtained from the IIAS secretariat or can be found at:

www.iias.nl/iias/appform.html

Both IIAS affiliated fellowship applications and requests for IIAS mediation for funding post-PhD researchers can be submitted at any time (no application deadline).

Hereunder you will find, ordered by region of specialty and in alphabetical order, the names and research topics of all fellows working at the International Institute for Asian Studies. Mentioned are further: country of origin, period of affiliation, kind of fellowship, and, if applicable and only in case of an affiliated fellowship, funding source/co-sponsor.

General

- Miryam Aouragh, MA (Morocco)**
Stationed at the ASSR
PhD student within the WOTRO/ASSR/IIAS programme
"Transnational Society, Media, and Citizenship"
The Making of a Collective Palestinian Identity
1 May 2001 – 1 May 2005
- Dr Roel Meijer (the Netherlands)**
Research fellow
Religion, Migration and Radicalism
7 January 2002 – 7 April 2002

- Dr Margaret Sleeboom (the Netherlands)**
Research fellow
Human Genetics and its Political, Social, Cultural, and Ethical Implications
17 September 2001 - 15 December 2002

Central Asia

- Dr Mahmoud Alinejad (Iran)**
Stationed at the ASSR
WOTRO/ASSR/IIAS programme
"Transnational Society, Media, and Citizenship"
Mass Media, Social Movements, and Religion
1 July 2000 – 1 July 2002

- Dr Alex McKay (Australia)**
Affiliated fellow
The History of Tibet and the Indian Himalayas
1 October 2000 – 1 October 2002

South Asia

- Dr Abihijit Ghosh (India)**
Gonda fellow
The Paippaladasamhita of the Atharaveda, Kanda 9
1 May 2002 – 1 October 2002
- Dr Ananta Kumar Giri (India)**
Stationed at the Amsterdam Branch
Office
Affiliated fellow, Co-sponsor NWO
The Coalition of Identities and the Identities of Coalitions in Proteans Society. New Social and Cultural Dimensions of Identity
March 2002 – 30 May 2002
- Prof. Ranajit Guha (India)**
Research guest
Contemporary Asian History
1 May 2002 – 30 May 2002

- Dr Meg McLagan (USA)**
Stationed at the Amsterdam Branch
Office
Affiliated fellow
Contemporary Moral Imaginaries: Media, Human Rights, and Transnational Citizenship
16 August 2001 – 16 August 2002
- Dr Shoma Munshi (India)**
Affiliated fellow within the programme
"Transnational Society, Media, and Citizenship"
Transnational Alchemy: Producing the Global Consumer and Diasporic Identities via Contemporary Visual Media: India
1 July 2000 – 12 July 2002

- Dr Marina Valeryevna Orelskaia (India)**
Gonda fellow
Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Ancient Classical Indian Dance Terminology
1 March 2002 – 31 July 2002

- Dr Saraju Rath (India)**
Gonda fellow
Scanning, Preservation, and Transliteration of Selected Manuscripts of the Taittiriya Tradition
1 April 2002 – 1 August 2002

- Dr Atul Sarma (India)**
Stationed at the Amsterdam Branch
Office
Affiliated fellow (IDPAD)
Promoting Economic Cooperation with ASEAN Countries
14 February 2002 – 15 March 2002

- Balgoral Shrestha, MA (Nepal)**
Research guest, Co-sponsor Stichting J. Gonda Fonds and CNWS
The Ritual Composition of Sankhu, an Ancient Newar Town in Nepal
1 September 2001 – 1 April 2002

- Dr Nandini Sinha (India)**
Research guest
Frontiers and Territories: Situating the Tribal and Pastoral Peoples in the Historic Setting of Rajasthan
July 2002 (pending)

- Dr Badri Narayan Tiwari (India)**
Gonda fellow
Migration, Change and Diasporic Culture in the Bhojpur Region of Bihar, Suriname, and the Netherlands
1 April 2002 – 1 July 2002

Insular Southwest Asia

Southeast Asia

- Dr Mona Abaza (Egypt)**
Research fellow with in the programme
"Islam in Indonesia: The Dissemination of Religious Authority in the 20th Century"
Rethinking the two Spaces, the Middle East and Southeast Asia. Networks, Traveling Idea's, Practices and Life Worlds
1 September 2001 – 1 September 2002
- Dr Bernard Adeney-Risakotta (Indonesia)**
Stationed at the Amsterdam Branch
Office. Affiliated fellow
Power, Magic, and Ethics in Modern Indonesia
2 October 2001 – 31 September 2002

- Dr Andi Faisal Bakti (Canada)**
Research fellow within the framework of the project "Islam in Indonesia: The Dissemination of Religious Authority of the 20th Century"
Majlis Taklim, Pengajian and Civil Society: How do Indonesian Majlis Taklim and Pengajian contribute to civil society in Indonesia?
Theme: Education
15 May 2002 – 15 November 2003

- Jajat Burhanudin, MA (Indonesia)**
PhD student within the framework of the project "Islam in Indonesia: The Dissemination of Religious Authority in the 20th Century"
The Making of Islamic Modernism. The Transmission of Islamic Reformism from the Middle East to the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century
Theme: Ulama and Fatwa
18 September 2001 – 18 September 2005

- Dr Freek Colombijn (the Netherlands)**
Individual fellow
The Road to Development. Access to Natural Resources along the Transport Axes of Riau Daratan (Indonesia), 1950-2000
1 January 1999 – 1 April 2002

- Muhammad Dahlan, MA (Indonesia)**
PhD student within the framework of the project "Islam in Indonesia: The Dissemination of Religious Authority in the 20th Century"
Theme: *Education and the Dissemination of Religious Authority*
The Role of the Indonesian State Institute for Islamic Studies in the Redistribution of Muslim Authority
15 June 2001 – 15 June 2005

- Myrna Eindhoven, MA (the Netherlands)**
Stationed at the ASSR
PhD student within the ASSR/IIAS/WOTRO programme
"Transnational Society, Media, and Citizenship"
Rays of New Images: ICT's, State Ethnopolitics and Identity Formation among the Mentawaians (West Sumatra)
1 November 2000 – 1 November 2004

- Moch Nur Ichwan, MA (Indonesia)**
PhD student within the framework of the project "Islam in Indonesia: The Dissemination of Religious Authority in the 20th Century"

- The Making and Unmaking of Statism Islam: State Production of Islamic Discourse in New Order Indonesia and Afterwards**
6 April 2001 – 6 April 2005

- Dr Doris Jedamski (Germany)**
Affiliated fellow, Co-sponsor DFG
Madame Butterfly and the Scarlet Pimpernel and their Metamorphosis in Colonial Indonesia
1 April 2001 – 31 March 2002

- Prof. Makoto Koike (Japan)**
Affiliated fellow
Globalizing Media and Local Society in Indonesia
4 February 2002 – 30 September 2002

- Dr Michael Laffan (Australia)**
Research fellow within the programme
"Islam in Indonesia: The Dissemination of Religious Authority in the 20th Century"
Sufis and Salafs: A century of conflict and compromise in Indonesia
1 January 2002 – 31 December 2004

- Ir Hotze Lont (the Netherlands)**
Stationed at the Amsterdam Branch
Office
Affiliated fellow, KNAW Program: "Indonesian Society in Transition"
Coping with Crises in Indonesia
5 November 2001 – December 2004

- Dr Johan Meuleman (the Netherlands)**
Research fellow within the programme
"Islam in Indonesia: The Dissemination of Religious Authority in the 20th Century"
Dakwah in Urban Society in 20th-Century Indonesia
1 January 2001 – 31 December 2004

- Ahmad Syafi'i Mufid, MA (Indonesia)**
PhD student within the framework of the project "Islam in Indonesia: The Dissemination of Religious Authority in the 20th Century"
Theme: *Tarekat in Urban Communities*
The Place of Sufi Orders in the Religious Life of Contemporary Jakartans
18 September 2001 – 18 September 2005

- Dr Ayami Nakatani (Japan)**
Affiliated fellow
Producing and Consuming Hand-woven Textiles: Socio-Economic and Cultural Meanings of Women's Labour in Indonesian Handicraft Production
25 March 2002 – 25 September 2002

- Noorhaidi, MA (Indonesia)**
PhD student within the framework of the project "Islam in Indonesia: The Dissemination of Religious Authority in the 20th Century"
Theme: *Tarekat in Urban Communities*
The Jihad Paramilitary Force: Islam and identity in the Era of Transition in Indonesia
1 April 2001 – 1 April 2005

- Dr Keat Gin Ooi (Malaysia)**
Affiliated fellow, stationed at the Amsterdam Branch Office
The Japanese Occupation of Dutch Borneo 1942-1945
25 March 2002 – 26 May 2002

- Prof. Jos Platenkamp (the Netherlands)**
Affiliated fellow
Social Structure, Cosmology, and the Ritual Cycle of Luang Prabang (Laos) in Historical Perspective
1 March 2002 – 31 May 2002

- Prof. Yumio Sakurai (Japan)**
Affiliated fellow, Co-sponsor Tokyo Foundation
Historical Area Study in the Case of a Vietnamese Village
20 October 2001 – 20 October 2002

- Arief Subhan, MA (Indonesia)**
PhD student within the framework of the project "Islam in Indonesia: The Dissemination of Religious Authority in the 20th Century"

- Dr Hae-kyung Um (Korea)**
Affiliated fellow
Performing Arts in Korea and the Korean Communities in China, the former Soviet Union and Japan
1 July 2001 – 1 July 2002

- Prof. Jianhua Yu (PR China)**
Visiting exchange fellow (SASS)
Intellectuals' Views on Chinese Culture in Western Europe (1600-1800)
30 January 2002 – 26 April 2002

- Prof. Chen-main Wang (Taiwan)**
Professorial fellow, Fifth holder of the *European Chair for Chinese Studies*
Co-Sponsor: BICER, Taiwan
a) *General George C. Marshall and China*
b) *Biography of David Yu*
20 October 2001 – 1 September 2002

- Prof. Ben White (the Netherlands, UK)**
Stationed at the Amsterdam Branch
Office
Affiliated fellow, KNAW Programme: "Indonesian Society in Transition"
Coping with Crises in Indonesia
25 September 2001 – December 2004

East Asia

- Prof. Kenneth Hammond (USA)**
Affiliated fellow
The Life, Death, and Posthumous Career of Yang Jisheng, 1516 – 55
1 July 2002 – 1 July 2003

- Boya Li, BA (PR China)**
PhD student within the joint NWO/Leiden University /IIAS Research Programme "The Syntax of the Languages of Southern China"
1 January 2001 – 31 December 2005

A Giant's Step to Sri Lanka: ABIA's Chair Transferred

Short News >
South Asia

The 29th of November 2001, a cold winter's day in Leiden, was an important day for the ABIA Project, the international conglomerate of institutes and their specialists that together compile the online annotated databases of the *ABIA South and Southeast Asian Art and Archaeology Index*. During an intimate meeting in the reading room of the Kern Institute of Indology at the Universiteit Leiden, the coordination of the project was officially handed over to the Postgraduate Institute of Archaeology (PGIAR) of the University of Kelaniya in Colombo, Sri Lanka. Under the chairmanship of Mr S. Lakdusinghe, the director of the PGIAR, with the continuing assistance of Dr Roland Silva, and thanks to the continued financial support of the Central Cultural Fund in Colombo, the project has now embarked on its second five-year term (2002-2006).



Professor Stokhof and Mr Lakdusinghe shake hands at the transferral of the ABIA Project.

By Ellen M. Raven

During the ceremony leading up to the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding, Prof. Karel van Kooij of the Kern Institute, project leader during the first period, recapitulated the history of the project. It essentially started way back in 1926 with a similar enterprise by Prof. Jean Vogel, the driving force behind the renowned *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*. Its modern successor, the *ABIA Index* of the ABIA Project, was initiated in 1997 by Prof. Wim Stokhof of the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) with financial support from the Gonda Foundation Amsterdam and the Faculty of Arts of the Universiteit Leiden. Reviving the old bibliography was like bringing an old giant back to life. The coordinating editors in this enterprise, also active from ABIA's home base in the first five-year run, were Dr Ellen Raven (for South Asia) and Dr Marijke Klokke, Dr Cynthia Chou and Helga Lasschuijt successively (for Southeast Asia).

Prof. van Kooij mentioned the Asian regional offices in the project during the past period: PGIAR backed up by the Central Cultural Fund (CCF) in Colombo, Sri Lanka and SPAFA/

SEAMEO Regional Centre for the Arts in Bangkok, Thailand. The bibliographic network also included regional co-workers in India (under the guidance of Prof. S. Settar), Bangladesh (Prof. A. Momin Chowdhury), Nepal (Dr Shaphalya Amatya), Bhutan (Ven. Mynak R. Tulku Rinpoche), Indonesia (Prof. Edi Sedyawati and Hasan Djafar), Malaysia (Dr M.K.A. Rahman) and Russia (Prof. Gregory Bongard-Levin and Dr Misha Bukharine). At annual workshops hosted by the offices or other partners, progress was discussed and policy developed against the background of the ideals cherished by the initiators, namely international cooperation, international scholarship, and international exchange.

Shortly before the transfer of the chair, it had become clear that the ABIA Project will get a new base in India at the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts (IGNCA) in New Delhi. It is hoped that similar steps will be possible with regard to Indonesia (through the help of Prof. Edi Sedyawati) and Pakistan (through Prof. Farid Khan of the Pakistan Heritage Society).

Prof. van Kooij proudly reported that, through these joint efforts, the ABIA Project now offers access to some

12,000 annotated bibliographic records on recently published academic material on the prehistory, archaeology and art history, material culture, epigraphy, and numismatics of South and Southeast Asia. These are freely accessible at www.abia.net. A selection of some 1,300 of these records were also published in 1999 in a more traditional and tangible fashion as *ABIA Index, Volume 1*, published by Kegan Paul in association with the IIAS in the series *Studies from the International Institute for Asian Studies*. The publication of *ABIA Index, Volume 2*, by E.J. Brill in Leiden, is scheduled for this year. The book will contain some 2,000 selected annotated records on publications processed for the databases between September 1998 and September 2001.

In his acceptance speech, Mr Lakdusinghe emphasized the long-standing bibliographic link between Leiden and Colombo. He indicated how the project draws inspiration from the memories and spirits of two great archaeologists: Prof. J.Ph. Vogel and Prof. S. Paranavitana. He also expressed special thanks to Dr Roland Silva, who "forms an enduring bridge between the academic worlds and archaeology" of Sri Lanka and the

Netherlands. Mr Lakdusinghe indicated that capacity building would have to be a key focus of attention in the period to come.

Speaking on behalf of the technical staff of ABIA, Dr Ellen Raven expressed her special thanks to Anton van de Repe (ARP Software), who developed software applications for editing and printing the bibliographic data, and rendering them searchable on the Internet. He made "the ABIA giant sit on every desktop when invited". She indicated that, due to financial circumstances, the Leiden office would commence the next five-year term with a reduced editorial staff (consisting of one part-time editor). The continued financial support by the Gonda Foundation at least ensured continuity of the work in Leiden. She was confident that ABIA Netherlands, covering the Western publications for the *ABIA Index* database, would help the ABIA giant stand firmly in the worldwide Ocean of Publications. <

Dr Ellen M. Raven teaches South Asian art at the Universiteit Leiden. She is a specialist in Gupta coins and is General Editor of ABIA Index, the Netherlands.

E-mail: e.m.raven@let.leidenuniv.nl

Search the ABIA Index at www.abia.net

What does the ABIA Index cover?

- Monographs
- Articles in monographs
- Articles in journals
- Grey literature
- Unpublished PhD theses
- Electronic publications

ABIA Index Subject Scope:

- pre- and protohistory
- historical archaeology
- ancient art history (up to 1900)
- modern art history (from 1900)
- material culture
- epigraphy and palaeography
- numismatics and sigillography

ABIA Index Regional Scope:

- South Asia
- Southeast Asia
- Culturally related adjoining regions (e.g. Afghanistan, Silk Road, South China or Melanesia) Diaspora

Who are making the ABIA Index?

The ABIA project is coordinated by the Postgraduate Institute of Archaeology (PGIAR) in Colombo, Sri Lanka (period 2002-2006). PGIAR is also the regional ABIA centre in Asia. It receives support from the Central Cultural Fund (CCF) in Colombo. The IIAS at Leiden is the regional ABIA centre for regions outside Asia. It receives support from the Gonda Foundation, Amsterdam.

ABIA Publications:

Van Kooij, Karel (gen. ed.), Ellen M. Raven & Marijke J. Klokke (eds)

ABIA Index VOLUME ONE

London & Amsterdam: Kegan Paul in assoc. with the International Institute for Asian Studies (1999).

*Please see the IIAS publications order form for order information.

The release of *ABIA Index Volume Two* is expected in 2002. It will be published by Brill, Leiden in the series *Handbuch der Orientalistik*. <

"Syntax" Update:

A Postverbal Modal in Cantonese and Mandarin

Short News >
China

The Syntax of the Languages of Southern China research programme aims to investigate several syntactic constructions in a number of languages spoken in Southern China. It concerns both Sinitic (Yue, Wu, Mandarin) and non-Sinitic languages (Zhuang-Tai, Miao, Wa) spoken in the area south of the Yangtze River.

By Rint Sybesma

One of the phenomena to be explored in the context of our project on syntactic variation in Southern China is the occurrence of a modal element (roughly meaning "can") in an atypical postverbal position, which we find in many languages in the area (and beyond).¹ We have been looking at this phenomenon in Cantonese and Mandarin. I report here (in brief and simplified terms) on our research into this issue that was conducted in collaboration with Professor L.L.-S. Cheng.² The element in question is *dak*³ in Cantonese and *dé* in Mandarin; I'll use "DAK" as a general term for both.³ Herebelow is a Cantonese sentence with *dak*³:

Example 1:
keoi⁵ haang⁴-dak³-jap⁶-heoi⁴
3S walk-DAK-in-go
's/he can go in there'

The sentence is ambiguous: it can mean "s/he is permitted to go in there" or "s/he will manage to get in there." The readings are labeled "permission" and "potential" respectively. The "permission" label is used when the focus is on the question of whether or not some-

one is allowed to (try to) do something, by an authority or by the circumstances. With the "potential", the focus is on the question of whether a certain act can be performed and completed successfully – the completion aspect is crucial; whether it can or can not be completed successfully depends on the physical (or mental) capabilities of the agent or other physical properties (one may be too fat to get through a tiny door).

The dak-construction is interesting for several reasons. Firstly, DAK is clearly a modal element. But, while all other modal elements in Cantonese and Mandarin precede the other verb in the sentence, dak follows it (as is clear from Example 1, where *dak*³ follows the verb *haang*⁴ "walk"). Secondly, despite the fact that Example 1 is ambiguous, it is not the case that all sentences with dak in Cantonese can have two readings. As the following two sentences labeled Example 2a and 2b illustrate, some sentences with *dak*³ are unambiguous: they either have the "permission" or the "potential" reading.

Example 2
a. keoi⁵ zaa¹-dak³ li³ ga³ ce¹
3S drive-DAK this CL car
's/he can drive this car' –

"permission" reading only
b. keoi⁵ lo²-dak³-hei² li³ seung¹ syu¹
3S take-DAK-up this box book
's/he can lift this box of books' –
"potential" reading only

Thirdly, although Mandarin has its own DAK, *dé*, its use is much more limited than in the case of Cantonese (to give just one example, the "permission" reading is generally missing in Mandarin *dé*-sentences).

These facts (and several others) all need to be explained: Why is dak different from the other modal elements in Cantonese and Mandarin? Why are all sentences with *dak*³ not ambiguous? Why would Mandarin be different from Cantonese?

Our answers to these questions include the following points: (1) from a diachronic point of view, the case can be argued that there are two daks, one "permission"-DAK and one "potential"-DAK.⁴ Mandarin differs from Cantonese in that it lost one, while Cantonese kept both; (2) a sentence with a result denoting part can be seen as consisting of two clauses: the main clause and the part of the sentence expressing the result; (3) "permission"-DAK, we

hypothesize, occurs in the main clause, "potential"-DAK in the result-clause. This can be schematically represented as in Example 3:

Example 3
[main clause Perm-DAK Verb
[result clause Pot-DAK]]

As a result, sentences without a result clause (like Example 2a) can not be ambiguous: the only dak they may have is "permission"-DAK in the main clause. (4) In contrast to other modal verbs, DAK is an affix. As an affix, it needs to be licensed by the other verb. In the case of "permission"-DAK in the main clause, the licensing is taken care of by raising the verb, "potential"-DAK is licensed by undergoing a phonological merger with the verb. In both cases, dak ends up in a postverbal position.

(5) Under circumstances that can be made precise, and which always involve a result denoting clause, the verb is barred from licensing "permission"-dak in the main clause. This explains why some clauses (like the one in Example 2b) is not ambiguous; a "permission"-dak in the main clause could not have been licensed.

Our next steps will involve extending our empirical base to fine-tune our analysis further. Updates of our progress in this research will be published in upcoming issues of the *IIAS Newsletter*. <

Dr Rint Sybesma is director of the programme "The Syntax of the Languages of Southern China" (1 January 2001 – 31 December 2005).

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Notes >

- 1 See: Enfield, N. *On the Polyfunctionality of 'Acquire' in Mainland Southeast Asia: A Case Study in Linguistic Epidemiology*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Melbourne (2000).
- 2 For the full paper, contact Rint Sybesma: R.P.E.Sybesma@let.leidenuniv.nl.
- 3 Cantonese is transcribed using the Romanization system developed by the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong; tones are indicated using superscripts: 1: hi level, 2: hi rising, 3: mid level, 4: lo falling, 5: low rising, 6: lo level. Mandarin is transcribed using pinyin.
- 4 See, for instance: Li, Wang, *Hànyu shi gao*. (Outline of the History of Chinese) Peking: Zhonghua Shuju (1980).
- 5 See: Hoekstra, T., "Small Clause Results" in *Lingua*, 74, (1988); pp. 101-139.

Reconstructing the Historical Tradition Of Twentieth-Century Indonesian Labour

Report >
Southeast Asia

4-6 December 2001
Den Pasar, Bali,
Indonesia

Apart from bringing Indonesian and non-Indonesian scholars together and stimulating labour research in Indonesia, this conference also sought to inspect Indonesian labour history during different periods of the twentieth (and twenty-first) century. In addition, the conference examined how different interests and political agendas (those of nationalism, liberalization, decentralization, and decolonization) interface with workers' interests, both at national and local levels, and explored the state of theorizing within Indonesian labour studies.

By Ratna Saptari

Opening the workshop, Taufik Abdullah, director of LIPI and one of the leading figures of Indonesian social history, reiterated the need to return to focusing on subordinate groups in the study of Indonesian history. Scholars have much neglected these groups and have left their histories unrecorded, particularly so from the New Order period onwards. Following his appeal, the question was

raised as to how to approach the issue of labour history. As Jan Breman stated, every scholar should raise the questions: "whose history"; "where to find the sources"; "how to look at the evidence"; and "how to write the history". Although these larger questions were not immediately in the forefront of the topics presented by the speakers, they definitely underpinned the questions raised in the discussions. Ample time was devoted to the varied nature, positions, and struggles of different cate-

gories of labour. There was no strict debate on the definition of labour, how labour relations diverged or converged, or how we should link theory and practice. Nevertheless, different labouring groups were identified: workers, coolies, bonded labour, peasantry, government employees, and domestics, working in different sectors: the railway, plantation agriculture, smallholder agriculture, mining, the industry, services, harbours, government, and the private home.

Differing vantage points in studying these labouring groups clearly emerged as well. Some took to, language and rhetoric, to understand how workers are defined, and by whom, the way in which these terms emerge and the multiple meanings that emanate from such definitions. Terms like coolie, bonded labour, *tukang*, *buruh*, and *karyawan*, and the way they are used derived from particular constellations of power. Directly and indirectly, the state was

and is playing a strong role in determining the boundaries for these definitions (Vickers, Breman, and Ford).

Others focused on the dynamics of unions and other workers' organizations, looking at the issues they deal with, the characteristics and ideological inclinations of the leaders, the latter's relationships with the rank-and-file, and the particular historical contexts they operate in (Ingleson, Schwidder, Elliott, Erman, and Saptari). It was argued that compliance, accommodation, and resistance should be seen in the particular context in which such action emerges. In order to gain an understanding of the strategies adopted by organizations, one cannot ignore the various tensions between different ideologies and those between different individuals within the leadership. Escaping present-day studies with foci on language and ideology are the structural (political or economic) underpinnings of labour relations, which may become impediments to workers' organizations (Boomgaard). Quite often, workers could not afford *not* to have work, and were left with little time and energy to be involved in political struggle. Ideological and cognitive schisms between organizers and the worker him or herself were also found to exist and impede workers' organizations. For instance, it was found that in some areas (Medan and Bandung), workers themselves felt alienated from the language that urban intellectuals use in their attempt to mobilize workers. Neither were the organizers themselves free from gender-biases (Anarita and Agustono). By illustrating this situation, one speaker showed how the emergence of non-governmental organizations on the labour scene encouraged political awareness among workers. As organizers often

targeted women workers to join discussion groups, many women became involved. But, as soon as an organization was established the women were often left behind and their issues not taken into account within the general labour demands. These conflicting agendas of workers' organizations were often strengthened or even stimulated by state intervention. Abundantly clear was that the "communist card" was often used to divide unions and organizations (Elliott, Ford, and Saptari). These cases bore witness of a general awareness, although unspoken, that there is no unmediated link between economic circumstances and workers' consciousness and political activism.

The complexity of studying labour becomes much more apparent as we examine the divergent demands of the working population. For peasants, the main question was how to get enough land for subsistence as large corporations and the urban elite attempt to take over land previously used by peasants for their household economies (Noer Fauzi and Dianto). For industrial workers, the demands were for higher wages, more job stability, and the right to organize (Anarita and Elliott). At the moment, unions themselves play a highly ambivalent role, on the one hand domesticating workers' resistance into much more controllable and acceptable terms for the employers; on the other hand acting and being perceived as the only body that can make claims for the improvement of working conditions (Elliott).

Other speakers looked at work relations and the conditions under which the labouring population are controlled and disciplined. Thus in the plantations ethnic, gender, and generation-related hierarchies were manipulated, as

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> CLARA publications

CLARA Forthcoming Publications (Working Papers)

Erman, Erwiza
Gender Response to State Control
A Mining Community in Sawahlunto, West Sumatra (1892-1965)
CLARA working paper no.13

Hayashi, Yoko

Agents and Clients
Labour Recruitment in Java, 1870s-1950s
CLARA working paper no.14

CLARA New Publications (Working Papers)

Satyanaranya, Adapa
Birds Of Passage
Migration of South Indian Labour Communities to Southeast Asia (19th-20th Century)
CLARA working paper no.11

Wad, Peter

Transforming Industrial Relations
The Case of the Malaysian Auto Industry
CLARA working paper no.12

Hensman, Rohini

The Impact of Globalization on Employment in India and Responses from the Formal and Informal Sectors
CLARA working paper no. 15

Abril, Elena Ruiz and Ben Rogaly

Migration and Social Relations: An Annotated Bibliography on Temporary Migration for Rural Manual Work
CLARA working paper no. 16

Editor's note >

The full texts of these working papers are available at the CLARA website: <http://www.iisg.nl/~clara/clarawp.htm>

BIORIN: Biotechnological Research Indonesia - the Netherlands

Report >
Southeast Asia

By Huub Löffler

Producing high quality and sufficient quantities of food is one of the challenges faced by both developed and developing countries. To meet this challenge, new varieties of many crops, which can grow with a smaller input of nutrients and pesticides and which are well adapted to local conditions, are needed. New technologies allow fast and targeted breeding and may help develop these new varieties. Obviously implementing the new technologies requires highly educated and specialized personnel.

The BIORIN^A (Biotechnological Research Indonesia - the Netherlands) programme aims to train six Indonesian specialists in the field of

plant biotechnology by developing new knowledge and sharing present knowledge. BIORIN is co-ordinated by Wageningen-UR in the Netherlands and by the Indonesian Biotechnology Consortium (IBC) in Indonesia.

All projects focus on solving problems involving major Indonesian crops. The largest project concerns rice. In order to allow expansion of rice production to marginal dry land, new varieties are needed that are less sensitive to dehydration stress due to drought or the blast disease (*Pyricularia grisea*). Two strategies are followed: first, genes are identified that confer insensitivity to dehydration. This may lead to genetically modified rice varieties that are better adapted to marginal conditions. Second, molecular markers are identified for genes or gene clusters linked to the desired trait. DNA-fingerprinting of conventionally bred new varieties will reveal the presence or absence of these genes. This allows a fast and easy selection of the desired varieties.

The same principle of rapid selection is used in a second project. Here the need is to develop resistance in the tomato against the devastating *Alternaria*

fungus. However, before any resistance can be identified at a molecular level, good resistance sources must be present. The first challenge in this project is finding such resistance. This is being done both in Indonesia and in the Netherlands by deliberately infecting several tomato varieties and screening their reactions to the fungus.

A third project concerns the cassava, an important crop with sub-optimal starch composition. The starch metabolism is largely known, any many of the genes involved have been identified. Adapting the genes involved in the pathway will change the pathway, resulting in a better starch composition.

Yet another project aims to introduce resistance in cocoa against the pod borer, a significant Indonesian pest. This project takes advantage of the widespread knowledge of the BT-toxin, which is commercially applied in transgenic maize. To be effective in cocoa, the gene must be adapted to the specific cocoa conditions. Furthermore, a protocol is needed for genetically modifying cocoa. The last project focuses on hot pepper. This plant is highly heterozygous, hampering efficient breeding. Homozygous plants are needed,

but it takes many years to produce them. Biotechnology now allows the development of plants from haploid generative cells. This will yield plants with only one set of chromosomes. These plants can be induced to double their chromosome set again, resulting in plants with two sets of identical chromosomes. In this way homozygous plants can be obtained in a relatively short space of time.

Although all projects tackle important problems, the first goal is scientific. The programme was initiated by the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences and scientific quality is of utmost importance. This will lead not only to the eventual solution of important scientific problems, but also to the development of highly educated Indonesian scientists. In the long term, this may be even more important to Indonesia than the actual outcome of the various projects. <

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KNAW Programme

The "Scientific Programme Netherlands - Indonesia" aims to stimulate the establishment of long-term scientific cooperation between the Netherlands and Indonesia. For the period 2000-2004 the focus of the Programme is on the following themes: "Indonesia in Transition", "Applied Mathematics", "Biotechnology", "Infectious Diseases", "Religious Studies" and "Legal Research Cooperation". Hereunder you will find Huub Löffler's report on the programme "BIORIN: Biotechnological Research in Indonesia". For more information on the Religious Studies project called the "Islam in Indonesia: the Dissemination of Religious Authority in the 20th-Century", partly sponsored by the IIAS please see

More info >

For more information on the programme, visit:
<http://www.knaw.nl/indonesia/>

page 53. <

continued from page 52 >

shown in the case of plantations in East Java and North Sumatra (Mahbubah and Agustono). Labour recruiters play a large role in shaping work relations as they are also given the task of supervision and control, as seen with the dock workers of Tanjung Priok, the plantation workers of East Java, and the domestic workers who work outside Indonesia (Veering, Mahbubah, and Aswatini). In order to secure a stable and docile labour force, various means were used, such as debt from high loan rates and opium addiction (Sairin). The organization of production through the family unit and small-scale production in South Sumatra, where family and wage labour relations overlap, also brings into focus the varied nature of production relations (Purwanto). Workers' attempts to improve their conditions do not always imply their participation in collective action, as workers attempt to obtain income from multiple sources outside their main jobs (Ardana). Family contributions and rotating credit associations (Anarita) help them to overcome long- or short-

term crises. However, discussions did not deal with the way in which sources from the "outside" helped strengthen or inhibit their political position in the workplace. Yet, labour studies in other countries have shown how the interrelationship between collective and individual strategies (both inside and outside the workplace or work relations) is highly important for a better understanding of labour relations.

Different periods in Indonesian history from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were covered, revealing how sources regarding certain periods were more difficult to obtain than others. Some papers argued that although each period provided a particular wider setting for the playing out of different struggles, there was marked continuity between these periods (Ingleson and Schwidder). It would have been interesting if there could have been comparisons within and between specific historical periods and see how these were experienced differently by different localities and social groups, however this was not possible because of the

uneven historical spread of the papers.

Van der Linden stated that in order to understand working class history we must both understand the wider society in which we live and work and examine the interrelationship between "structure" and "agency". We should also be aware that the focus on one may blur out the focus on the other ("the indeterminacy problem") yet a constant attempt to link the two levels should underline our research. Finally, although we should consistently focus on labour and subordinate groups (Bremen) ultimately it was argued that labour history cannot be separated from social history (Boomgaard and Ingleson).

These discussions, preliminary as they were, were quite meaningful for a group who came together for the first time to talk about labour issues in Indonesia. These discussions were sharpened by the presence of the discussants who underlined important parts of the papers and pointed out the gaps (Nilan, Connor, and Farid). Ambitious plans were formulated to continue the discussions and deepen our

understanding on this subject, and a number of activities were suggested. The first among these was that this would be the first of a series of workshops on labour to be held once in two years. Second, that an electronic network would be set up, starting with a small group of researchers who are working on this topic. Third, that together with the initiation of an electronic discussion group, an association of Indonesian labour historians should also be created, which could become the vehicle by which research questions could be stimulated. Fourth, that a merging of bibliographies and archives on Indonesian labour would be very

much desired. Fifth, that two publications, one in English and one in Indonesian, each consisting of a selection of the papers presented, should be produced. Sixth and finally, that an independent archival depot should be created, where documents and records could be stored, systematized and made accessible to the public. Indeed there is still much work to be done. ◀

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Workshopinfo >

The organizers were Erwiza Erman (Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia or the Indonesian Sciences Institute), Jan Elliott (CAPSTRANS (Centre for Asia Pacific Social Transformation Studies), and Ratna Saptari (CLARA). There were fourteen participants from various Indonesian academic institutions and NGOs, six participants from Australia, and five from the Netherlands. Staff members of the Department of History, Udayana University, secured a good working and social atmosphere for the participants of the workshop.

Islam in Indonesia: First Annual Programme Seminar

Report >
Southeast Asia

20 December 2001
Leiden,
the Netherlands

By Johan Meuleman

The seminar was meant to stimulate and guide future research activities rather than to produce any substantial research results as the individual researchers were all still in the early stage of their projects and some had only started very recently. More specifically, the objectives of the seminar were:

1. To offer each researcher involved in the programme the opportunity to present a survey of his/her project, provisional results, particular points of interest, and particular problems faced in order to invite advice and criticism from all other researchers and all specialists in charge with the supervision and coordination of the project;
2. To enhance the coherence of the various sub-projects;
3. To place the programme and its various sub-projects in a broader scholarly and geographical framework.

In view of the first objective mentioned, each researcher presented a brief written survey, circulated beforehand among all participants. The second objective was one of the points of interest during the discussion of each individual survey and received particular attention during the final, concluding discussion of the seminar. In order to realize the third objective, an expert on related research questions, but specializing in another region and not directly involved in the programme had been invited to deliver an introductory

At the end of the first year of the four-year research programme on Islam in Indonesia, a one-day seminar involving all PhD candidates, senior researchers, PhD supervisors, and specialists in charge with the coordination of the programme or its various sub-projects was organized. The meeting was convened by Johan Meuleman, who received the diligent administrative and logistic assistance of IIAS project coordinator, Josine Stremmelaar.

keynote lecture. This expert also opened the discussion on each individual research project and on the concluding discussion with his comment, criticism, and advice. Brinkley Messick, professor of anthropology at Columbia University, New York City, who is well known for combining the textual and anthropological study of the tradition of Islamic justice and its development in Yemen as well as in other regions, performed this duty of external expert in a satisfactory manner.

The seminar was attended by researchers, supervisors, the coordinators involved in the programme, the external expert, and by representatives from the IIAS - the main executing agency - and the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW) - the main sponsor. In addition, the Indonesian programme director, Azyumardi Azra, twenty-odd experts, students, and researchers in related fields attended.

In his keynote lecture, introducing the seminar, Brinkley Messick focused on the question of continuity and change. He divided his lecture in four sections, on modernity, tradition, dissemination, and research methods respectively. In relation to the question of modernity, Messick called for attention to changes and breaks, e.g. in analogy with Michel Foucault's analyses in the European context. Speaking on tradition, he drew attention to the other side of social reality, continuity. Both subjects were elucidated with examples and references. In relation to dissemination, Messick suggested a series of concepts he considered particular rele-

vant to the research programme. In the methodological section of his lecture, he stressed the importance of the interdisciplinary approach, e.g. by combining ethnography and history or textual analysis and fieldwork. He also indicated the interest of life histories in order to understand the combination of change and continuity and furthermore suggested to analyse local concepts and theories relevant to the research object and emphasized the importance of reflection on the relation of the researcher to his object

The body of the seminar consisted of a discussion of the individual research projects of each of the programme's researchers, arranged according to the four sub-themes of the programme: *tarekat* (mystical orders), 'ulam?' (reli-

gious scholars) and fatwas, *dakwah* (religious propagation), and education. They were based on the written surveys circulated beforehand and brief introductions by their authors. The discussion on each individual project was introduced by a comment of the external expert and keynote lecturer of the seminar.

The intensity and high quality of the discussions, the participation of all researchers involved in the programme and other invited experts, their critical attitude, the strong organization, and the friendly atmosphere, all contributed to the seminar having succeeded in realizing its objectives. It has particularly contributed to clarifying and improving the individual research projects and to strengthening the coherence

of the whole programme. From a theoretical and analytical viewpoint, moreover, the seminar has reinforced the position of the programme within more general frameworks. From a personal and organizational perspective, it has helped develop stronger relationships between scholars and academic institutions from various countries, in particular the Netherlands, Indonesia, the United States of America, Egypt, and Australia. ◀

Dr Johan Hendrik Meuleman is an IIAS research fellow, a lecturer at Leiden University in the framework of the Indonesian-Netherlands Cooperation in Islamic Studies, and a professor of Islamic History at IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta. E-mail: j.h.meuleman@let.leidenuniv.nl

Short Update: Islam in Indonesia

Update >
Southeast Asia

By Sabine Kuypers

All researchers - with the exception of Faisal Bakti (Canada) who is expected to join in May 2002 - have now arrived and started their research within one of the programme's four sub-themes: *Ulama and Fatwa*; *Tarekat*; *Education*; and lastly *Dakwah*. Some researchers are presently in Indonesia for their fieldwork. Our partner in Indonesia, the State University of Islamic Studies (Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN) Syarif Hidayatullah in Jakarta), and especially its Azyumardi Azra, has been actively involved in the programme by participating in research seminars, selecting fellows, and supervising researchers. In October, the "Islam in Indonesia" programme began its so-called "regular programme meetings", during which all researchers meet and

More info >

Information about the other research programmes can be found in this newsletter or at: www.knaw.nl/indonesia More detailed information about the "Islam in Indonesia" programme may be found at: www.iias.nl/iias/research/dissemination.

The research programme "Islam in Indonesia: the Dissemination of Religious Authority in the Twentieth Century", financed by the Scientific Cooperation Netherlands-Indonesia, started in January 2001.

discuss relevant literature concerning developments in the study of Islam in general, also concerning other regions than Indonesia. On 19 December the research group studied and discussed the work of Brinkley Messick, Columbia University, New York, who gave a keynote speech at the programme's first seminar held on the following day. Last year, Johan Meuleman (researcher within the sub-theme *Dakwah*) organized and convened the programme's first seminar, which bore a general character. His report is also published in this newsletter. In principle, a programme seminar will be held annually and a large conference is planned for the programme's last year. Provided funding is available, smaller and more focused thematic workshops may be held during the course of the programme.

The "Islam in Indonesia" programme is one of the six programmes residing under the Scientific Cooperation Netherlands-Indonesia, administered and co-funded by the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW). ◀

Sabine Kuypers, MA is Coordinator of the programme "Islam in Indonesia: Dissemination of Religious Authority in the Twentieth Century", and Deputy Director of the International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden, the Netherlands. E-mail: iias@let.leidenuniv.nl

First TANAP Workshop held in Singapore

Report >
Southeast Asia

Gathering for the first time since the initial TANAP (Towards A New Age of Partnership) conference was held in Leiden in December 1998, the group of Asian and Dutch historians that initiated the TANAP project discussed the progress of the programme in Singapore on 7-8 December. Thanks to the excellent logistic and financial help of the Department of History of the National University of Singapore, this workshop went not only smooth for the organizers, it also laid a firm foundation for what has since been called the International TANAP Research Group.

By Henk Niemeijer

During the workshop all eight students of the 2001 Advanced Masters Programme presented their papers, followed by comments from both their Asian and Dutch supervisors. Without exception each paper presentation was followed by a lively



Dr Niemeijer and students at the Dutch cemetery examining some old gravestones.

debate on topics related to the central theme, "Asian and Western attitudes towards maritime trading networks and settlements in Monsoon Asia 1600-1800". The comments of the TANAP historians who were invited as special guests from India and Indonesia (Om Prakash, Djoko Suryo, and Leirissa) were particularly welcomed. The research papers by the three students who have received scholarships within the TANAP PhD programme 2002 received special attention.

The workshop has proven to be extremely useful as substantial research expertise, methodological experience, views, and historical knowledge is brought to use to reformulate the students' research proposals, to raise questions, to point at practical research obstacles, and to define topics. Due to the specific character of the workshop, information and experience can be exchanged in a focussed manner. TANAP students can use this unique

network of scholars. TANAP workshops will be held on a yearly basis at different locations in Asia, with support partly coming from the IIAS.

After the workshop a short trip was made to Malacca, where the research group was welcomed by a small group of Malaysian-Dutch descendants. After fairly relaxing walks through the Heerenstraat and Jonkerstraat, a visit to the oldest Chinese temple, the churches, the *stadhuis*, and a boat trip at sea, the 2001 group finally returned home.

The proceedings of the above workshop in Singapore are available from March 2002 onwards, to be ordered by e-mail: H.E.Niemeijer@let.leidenuniv.nl <

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Group photo at the Ruin Church at St. Paul's hill. Top row, second from left is Mr Christopher Pereira of the MHRS.

The TANAP PhD Programme

This year TANAP (Towards A New Age of Partnership) has entered the PhD phase. Atsushi Ota and Russel Viljoen were sufficiently prepared to enter the PhD programme directly, three others were selected from the Advanced Masters Programme 2001 with the approval of the Scientific Board of Research School CNWS. Below you will find an overview of this year's names, e-mail addresses, and research topics:

1. Atsushi Ota (Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan; e-mail: A.Ota@let.leidenuniv.nl), *Dynamics in Pre-Colonial Society: Changes in the Social Structure of Banten (West Java) 1750-1808*.
2. Russel Viljoen (University of the Western Cape, Bellville, South Africa; e-mail: R.S.Viljoen@let.leidenuniv.nl), "*Land of our Forefathers*": *Jan Paerl, a Khoikhoi Prophet in Cape Colonial Society, 1761-1851*.
3. Bhawan Ruangsilp (Chulalongkorn University, Thailand; e-mail: B.Ruangsilp@let.leidenuniv.nl), *Through the Company's Eyes: European Perceptions of Court Culture in Ayutthaya and Kandy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*.
4. Kwee Hui Kian (the National University of Singapore; e-mail: H.K.Kwee@let.leidenuniv.nl), *Communities, Connections, and Commodities: The Flow of Goods and Access to Wealth and Power in Semarang, c. 1740 - c. 1780*.
5. Ryuto Shimada (Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan; e-mail: R.Shimada@let.leidenuniv.nl), *Japan, the Global Copper Trade and Asian Economic Development in the Early Modern Period: The Trade of Japanese Copper by the Dutch East India Company*.

Dutch Gold in Madras Towards A New Age of Partnership in India

Report >
South Asia

At the end of 2001, several events in the South Indian city of Chennai (formerly Madras) highlighted the importance of Dutch archives to the early-modern history of India. The launch of an archival guide to materials in the National Archives in The Hague was coupled with an exhibition of Dutch records kept at the Tamil Nadu Archives in Chennai. In addition, three Indian students presented proposals at a seminar for the research they intend to carry out in the Netherlands within the framework of the TANAP (Towards A New Age of Partnership) programme.

By Lennart Bes

The activities were not without effect: as one established scholar sighed, "I am sorry that I was not aware of the significance of Dutch source material for the reconstruction of South Asia's history twenty years ago." Organized by the Royal Netherlands Embassy, the activities began on 30 November with the Tamil Nadu Archives hosting the book launch of *Dutch Sources on South Asia c. 1600-1825*. This guidebook, com-

iled by Jos Gommans, Gijs Kruijtzter, and myself, provides a survey of relevant archival material in the National Archives of the Netherlands concerning India and Ceylon (see IIAS Newsletter 25). Amid great interest from scholars, the press, and other visitors, the guide was presented to the Minister of Education of the Indian state of Tamil Nadu, who underlined the historical importance of the archives of the Dutch East India Company in his speech. A selection from the 64 metres of Dutch

records at the Tamil Nadu Archives was exhibited to introduce these largely unique and hitherto unused documents to the public. Amongst other items, reports by Dutch envoys to local rulers, maps and drawings, correspondence in various Indian languages, and examples of damaged and restored papers were on show. As part of TANAP, the entire collection of Dutch records in Chennai will be restored, put on microfilm, and made accessible through a new, digital inventory.

The following day, a small seminar was devoted to the study of Indian history with the help of Dutch archives. Om Prakash from the Delhi School of Economics, Jos Gommans (Leiden University), and myself gave short lectures about various research possibilities and the accompanying pros and cons. Undeterred, the Indian students Anjana Singh, Mahesh Gopalan, and Gulam Nadri presented their proposals for a PhD research to be conducted within the scope of TANAP under the auspices of Leiden University. Basing themselves largely on the records of the Dutch East India Company, they intend to study internal and external relations of the Dutch at Cochin, Christian missionaries on the Coromandel and Fishery Coasts, and Dutch trade and the



Part of the Dutch Records in the Tamil Nadu Archives at Chennai.

TANAP Diary: A Warm Welcome for 13 Asian and South African Students

On 30 December 2001, the second group of TANAP Advanced Master's students landed at Schiphol Airport, Amsterdam. We were warmly welcomed by Prof. Leonard Blussé and Dr Henk Niemeijer, who were accompanied by the film-maker Steef Meijknecht. Steef focused his video camera on us right from the beginning and he will continue to follow us throughout the year.

During our study period in the Netherlands, we will find ourselves often confronted with this year's celebrations taking place in the Netherlands of the founding of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) 400 years ago. Newspapers, politicians, television channels, and radio stations are giving it quite a lot of attention, and the TANAP students will contribute to some of the intellectual reflections. Asians are now coming to Europe to study and attempt to write new histories of Asia, and to present ourselves in the Netherlands is a good initiative.

The first days in the Netherlands were like a piece of fiction. Here we are, in a foreign land, away from home, living now amongst a variety of people, all by ourselves, alone with a mission, this is a significant 'chapter' of our lives. Within two hours after arrival, we were left with each other: Naoki (Japan), Ricky and Marné (South Africa), Tuan (Vietnam), Nirmal (Sri Lanka), Anjana, Mahesh and Nadri (India), Lin and Hsin-hui (Taiwan) and Muridan, Bondan, Margana (Indonesia). The academic interests of this group cover social, political, and religious changes in Asia and South Africa, which offers a host of themes that will, without doubt, widen our perceptions of time and change.

On the 2nd of January, we began our intensive Dutch language course, slated to continue until 23 January. The classes and our first visit to the office of the IGEER were an equally exciting experience for us. Language classes are off to a good and promising start: after just one week, we already had a rudimentary understanding of Dutch. We are steadily gaining a hold on the pronunciation and grammar, and our attempts have created our own versions of Taiwanese-Dutch, Japanese-Dutch and also an Indian-Dutch 'dialect.' We also realize that, by the time we figure out the language, this TANAP group will already be halfway through an experience of the seventeenth century in a matter of weeks.

The days to come hold promises that will unfold in the contributions to this page by more TANAP students. < Mahesh Gopalan @ Muridan Widjojo

Editor's note >

The "TANAP Diary" by students of the programme will continue to appear as part of the TANAP section in future issues of the IIAS Newsletter.

Gujarat economy respectively. After these presentations, the aforementioned speakers and other scholars, including Lakshmi Subramanian, Ruby Maloni, Seema Aalavi, and Yogesh Sharma commented on the proposals. In this way, the seminar served as a final preparation before the students departed to the Netherlands.

Judging from the press coverage of the book launch and the exhibition as well as the students' enthusiasm about their research, the activities in Chennai have had a positive impact on both the awareness and the use of Dutch archives as sources for the history of India. <

Lennart Bes, MA is employed at the National Archives in The Hague and works for TANAP on the Dutch records at Chennai. In addition, he is researching the Dutch in South India, in particular Ramnad and Ikkeri.

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<http://www.asia-alliance.org>

The Strategic Alliance for Asian Studies

The Strategic Alliance for Asian Studies is a cooperative framework of European institutes specializing in Asian Studies. The Asia Alliance, established in 1997, aims to bring together fragmented forces in Asian Studies in Europe to facilitate scholarly excellence to the benefit of the respective national research environments and those of the European scholarly environment at large, by:

- building up high-quality, border-transcending research with a stronger focus on contemporary issues;
- creating sustainable networks with Asian and other overseas research institutions and scholars;
- strengthening the links and communication between academic research on Asia and non-academic institutions and actors.

The Alliance Partners

For information about the Asia Alliance, please contact its secretariat at the IIAS:

IIAS - The International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) is a post-doctoral institute established in 1993 by Dutch universities and the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, to encourage Asian Studies in the humanities and social sciences and to promote national and international scientific co-operation in these fields. The IIAS is mainly financed by the Netherlands Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences.

International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS)

Director: Prof. Wim Stokhof

P.O. Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden, the Netherlands

Tel: +31-71-527 2227 / Fax: +31-71-527 4162

E-mail: iias@let.leidenuniv.nl

<http://www.iias.nl>



NIAS - The Nordic Institute of Asian Studies (NIAS) is an independent research institute funded by the governments of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden through the Nordic Council of Ministers. The NIAS, founded in 1967, serves as a focal point for research on contemporary Asia and for promoting Asian Studies in the Nordic academic community.

Nordic Institute of Asian Studies (NIAS)

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E-mail: sec@nias.ku.dk

<http://nias.ku.dk>



IFA - The Institute of Asian Affairs (Institut für Asienkunde, IfA) was founded in 1956 on the initiative of the German Parliament and the German Foreign Ministry. The Institute has been assigned the task to study the political, economic, and social developments in Asian countries. Its field of activity concentrates on contemporary affairs, while aiming to procure and broaden scientifically based knowledge of the region and its countries.

Institute of Asian Affairs (IFA)

Director: Dr Werner Draguhn

Rothenbaumchaussee 32, D-20148 Hamburg, Germany

Tel: +49-40-42 88 74 0 / Fax: +49-40-410 79 45

E-mail: ifahh@uni-hamburg.de

<http://www.duei.de/ifa>



EIAS - The European Institute for Asian Studies (EIAS) is a Brussels-based policy and research think-tank supported by the European Union (EU) institutions, which aims to promote understanding and cooperation between the EU and Asia. EIAS seeks to provide information and expertise to the European Union institutions, the academic world and business by disseminating concise, thoroughly researched and up-to-date material on EU-Asia relations and important developments in Asia.

European Institute for Asian Studies (EIAS)

Director: Dr Willem van der Geest

35 Rue des Deux Eglises, 1000 Brussels, Belgium

Tel: +32-2-230 8122 / Fax: +32-2-230 5402

E-mail: eias@eias.org

<http://www.eias.org>



AEC - In Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques (Sciences-Po), the Asia-Europe Centre is the third pillar with the American Centre and the European Centre in a resource framework at the service of the whole institution. The Asia-Europe Centre acts as the interface between Sciences-Po components and their Asian counterparts. As a resource centre, it provides information and expertise to public and European institutions, to Sciences-Po's academic network and to the business community.

Asia Europe Centre (AEC)

Director: Dr David Camroux

In Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques (Sciences-Po)

27 Rue Saint Guillaume, 75007 Paris, France

Tel.: +33-1-45495385 / Fax: +33-1-45495345

E-mail: asia-europe@sciences-po.fr

<http://www.sciences-po.fr>



SCIENCES PO

Asia Alliance Short Update ASEF-Alliance Annual Asia-Europe Workshop Series

The partners of the Strategic Alliance for Asian Studies met to discuss their joint agenda for the coming year at a gathering at the Asia-Europe Centre in Paris, on 10 December 2001. Besides the planned ASEF-Alliance Annual Asia Europe Workshop series, as announced in this Newsletter, the following list of activities was drafted.

(Preliminary) Agenda 2002

4-7 April 2002, Washington: The Asia Alliance will be present during the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, USA. During the AAS a "meeting in conjunction on ASEM progress" will be organized (on Saturday morning 6 April, main organizer IIAS).

May 2002, Taipei: Alliance conference on the relation Taiwan - Mainland China (organized through IFA).

6-7 May, Stockholm: "Mobility and Mobiles in China" (organized by the Stockholm School of Economics, the CASS, and the IIAS).

18,19, or 20 June 2002, Brussels: one-day Alliance Asia Update at the European Parliament on EU-Asia relations after September 11 (main organizers: EIAS and AEC).

October 2002, Berlin: one-day Asia Update in Berlin (organized by IFA).

October 2002, Shanghai: a conference on "women and gender" at Fudan University, Shanghai, China (organized through NIAS).

November 2002, Paris: Colloquium on Environmental issues in Paris (organized through ASEF and AEC).

Date t.b.a., European Workshop for PhD students in Asian Studies (EWAS) (organized by IIAS, NIAS, and AEC).

In the course of the year these activities will be worked out and updated information may be found on our website.

NIAS

On 1 January 2002 the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies (NIAS) welcomed its new Director: Prof. Jørgen Delman. <

The Annual ASIA-EUROPE Workshop Series 2002/2003



ASIA-EUROPE FOUNDATION

PROCEDURE
Workshop proposals should be sent to the secretariat of the Asia-Europe Workshop Series before 15 May 2002. Approximately 6 workshop proposals will be selected for realization between September 2002 and September 2003. The received proposals will be refereed by a joint Europe-Asia Selection Committee and, when necessary, by external reviewers. Workshop initiators will be informed of the Committee's decision in July 2002. Financial support consists of a contribution to travel costs and accommodation costs up to a maximum of US \$ 15,000 per workshop.

WORKSHOP FORMAT

- A two to three day meeting bringing together a group of about 20 participants (with male/female parity), balancing senior experts and promising junior researchers;
- The workshop should be jointly organized by a European and an Asian institute from ASEM member countries, and be held in one of the ASEM countries*;
- The workshop should not be part of a larger conference;
- Participation should be from both Asian and European countries (altogether from at least 8 different ASEM countries; 4 from Europe and 4 from Asia);
- Participants are invited predominantly from the scientific domain but not exclusively. Contributions from other domains (politicians, journalists, corporate staff) are encouraged;
- Workshops that aim for a publication are favoured.

SCIENTIFIC CONTENT
The proposal must demonstrate that the multinational participation in the workshop will generate added value;
The workshop should focus on a contemporary topic:
- concerning both Asia and Europe in a comparative perspective
- concerning shared interests between Asia and Europe
- of interregional / multilateral importance
- that will stimulate a dialogue between the two regions
(Examples might be: 1. Welfare systems and models of social security; 2. Demographic change; 3. Nationalization, regionalization, and localization; 4. Value systems and cultural heritage; 5. Changing labour relations in Asia; 6. Knowledge systems, environment, international business operations, and transmission of technology; 7. Institutional frameworks for company/industrial development and for internationalization of business in Asia; 8. Politics, democracy, and human rights; 9. Security issues (soft and hard); 10. Gender issues)

The Strategic Alliance for Asian Studies and The Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF) welcome proposals for workshops to take place in 2002/2003 on themes of common interest to both Asia and Europe.

THE PROPOSAL
The workshop proposal (of no more than five pages) should be written in the English language. A proposal should contain the following information, and be presented in the order given hereunder:

- Title of the workshop
- Proposed date and venue
- Names of initiators and organizing institutions (both European and Asian), and one contact address
- Main topic (see above under h)
- Introduction to the topic to be addressed
- Scientific objectives
- Publication(s) envisaged, if applicable
- A list of expected participants, indicating for each participant his/her affiliation and disciplinary competence in relation to the workshop's topic. These participants may be contacted by the Selection Committee.
- An itemized, detailed budget indicating expenses as well as all expected incomes (including other sponsors).

Please note that the text of your proposal, if selected, may be published on the web pages of ASEF (www.asef.org) and the Asia Alliance (www.asia-alliance.org); and in the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) Newsletter.

ADDRESS AND DEADLINE
The workshop proposals should be received by the Asia Europe Workshop Series Secretariat no later than 15 May 2002. Proposals may be sent through regular mail only. Applications by fax or e-mail will not be considered. Please be aware that the secretariat makes use of university postal services; therefore please allow an extra three days for delivery.

Secretariat Asia Europe Workshop Series
c/o International Institute for Asian Studies
P.O. Box 9515
2300 RA Leiden
The Netherlands

Tel: + 31-71-527 22 27
E-mail: iias@let.leidenuniv.nl
www.asia-alliance.org

Strategic Alliance for Asian Studies







The ASIA-EUROPE FOUNDATION (ASEF), Singapore was established by members of the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) on 15 February 1997 with the aim of promoting engagement between the civil societies of Asia and Europe and forging mutual understanding between the two regions. For more information: www.asef.org

The STRATEGIC ALLIANCE FOR ASIAN STUDIES is a cooperative framework of European institutes specializing in Asian Studies consisting of the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS), Leiden / Amsterdam; the Institute for Asian Affairs (Institut für Asienkunde / IfA), Hamburg; the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies (NIAS), Copenhagen; the European Institute for Asian Studies, Brussels (EIAS); and the Asia Europe Centre (AEC) of the Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Paris. The Asia Alliance, established in 1997, aims to bring together existing forces on Asian Studies in Europe to facilitate scholarly excellence to the benefit of national research environments and those of the European Union at large. The Asia Alliance has an open structure and welcomes partners from Asian and other European countries to join in the future. For more information: www.asia-alliance.org

*** ASEM COUNTRIES:** Austria, Belgium, Brunei, China, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Korea, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Netherlands, Philippines, Portugal, Singapore, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, United Kingdom, Vietnam.

International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS)

Short News >
General

In June 1998 the first International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS) materialized. The convention, which was organized by the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS, the Netherlands) and the Association for Asian Studies (AAS, USA), was brought into existence because European and American scholars felt a need for closer interaction. Although many individual contacts between researchers from both sides of the Atlantic had already been established, an open, loosely organized forum for discussion was still missing. This forum would allow specialists from all disciplines, regions and paradigms to informally meet, exchange ideas, and engage in new plans for joint research activities.

An academic programme committee, consisting of members from various European professional organizations for Asian Studies and representatives from the AAS, selected individual papers, and decided on more than one hundred and thirty panels. Almost one thousand Asianists from Asia, Europe, North America, and Australia participated in ICAS 1. Soon after the convention had taken place, plans were developed for the future. In August 2001, ICAS 2 brought

together nearly eight hundred Asian Studies scholars at the Freie Universität in Berlin. Asian participation in the many panels and paper presentations had gone up considerably and even surpassed that in ICAS 1.

ICAS 3

Two conventions of Asia scholars having taken place in Europe: it was therefore deemed more than desirable that the next ICAS would be organized in Asia. The National University of Singapore decided to host ICAS 3 from 19 to 22 August 2003. Again, various international research associations from Asia as well as elsewhere will be involved in further developing this multidisciplinary, interregional platform for Asian Studies.

ICAS Secretariat

During the Berlin meeting it was decided to establish a permanent ICAS Secretariat, which will promote and stimulate ICAS conventions, serve as its archival and information center, and safeguard the expertise that has been gathered

through ICAS. The secretariat will actively pursue making the ICAS clearly visible through its presence at major meetings of Asia scholars and through its regular reports in the IIAS Newsletter and on the ICAS Secretariat website. The secretariat will also be instrumental in drawing up a regulatory framework for the ICAS activities. The secretariat will be stationed at the IIAS in the Netherlands. For more information please feel free to contact us. <

Address >

Address Permanent ICAS Secretariat:
Prof. W.A.L. Stokhof (Secretary)
International Institute for Asian Studies
P.O. Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden
Tel: +31-71-527 2227
Fax: +31-71-527 4162
E-mail: iias@let.leidenuniv.nl
www.icassecretariat.org

Announcing ICAS 3

The Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences and the Institute for Asian Research, National University of Singapore, will be jointly organizing the Third International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS 3). Building on the success of ICAS 1 (Noordwijkerhout, 1998) and ICAS 2 (Berlin, 2001), ICAS 3 is expected to attract over 1,000 participants. We invite both panel and paper proposals on all aspects of Asia research. Thematic panels will be organized to bring together scholars from Asia and other regions. Register early to enjoy savings on registration fees! We look forward to welcoming you to Singapore in August 2003. <

ICAS info >

Date: 19-22 August 2003
Venue: Raffles Convention Centre, Swissotel the Stamford, Singapore (tentative - to be confirmed). Visit the official ICAS 3 website for more details: <http://www.fas.nus.edu.sg/icas3/>

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Prof Deok Ryong Yoon, (June 2001)

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Nicholas O'Brien, (September 2001)

BP 01/03 **Thailand's Export Opportunities to the European Union**
Prof Ludo Cuypers, (October 2001)

BP 01/04 **US-Indonesia Relations post-September 11**
Ambassador Wiryono Sastrohandoyo, (December 2001)

BP 01/05 **The Future Outlook for Relations between China and Taipei**
Prof Werner Pfennig, (December 2001)

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European Associations for Asian Studies

Association for Korean Studies in Europe, AKSE

<http://www.akse.uni-kiel.de>

Prof. Werner Sasse (president)

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Secretariat, c/o Dr. Antonetta L. Bruno
antonetta.bruno@uniroma1.it

European Association of Chinese Studies, EACS

<http://www.soas.ac.uk/eacs>

Prof. Glen Dudbridge (president)

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Henriot

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European Association for Japanese Studies, EAJS

<http://www.eajs.org>

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European Association for South Asian Studies, EASAS

Prof. Dieter Rothermund (president)

Secretariat, c/o Prof. Dirk Kolff

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Nordic Institute of Asian Studies

NIAS is not only a research institute; it is also a publisher with a long history of producing books on Asia. Since its first book was published in 1969, the publication programme has produced about 120 monographs, 50 edited volumes and a similar number of shorter monographs or working papers. Annual output has risen to 15-20 titles and continues to rise. Today our books are increasingly noticed and respected in the wider scholarly community, and the programme contributes significantly to the Institute's international profile.

Besides books, NIAS publishes NIASnytt, a quarterly magazine-newsletter (produced both in print and electronic form), as well as a yearbook and various regular online newsletters.

Coming soon from NIAS

Kivimäki, Timo (ed.) - **War or Peace in the South China Sea?**

NIAS, April 2002, 160 pp., ISBN 87-9114-01-2 (pb), ill., £15.99

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NIAS, March 2002, 303 pp., ISBN 87-87062-94-1 (hb) £40, ISBN 87-87062-93-3 (pb) £15.99

Milwertz, Cecilia Nathansen, Beijing Women Organizing for Change: - **A New Wave of the Chinese Women's Movement**

NIAS, March 2002, 176 pp., ISBN 87-87062-72-0 (pb) £14.99

Sparkes, Stephen and Signe Howell (Eds.) - **The House in Southeast Asia: A Changing Social, Economic and Political Domain** (NIAS Studies in Asian Topics, 28)

NIAS-Curzon Press, March 2002, 288 pp., ISBN 0-7007-1157-0 (hb) £40

New from NIAS

Manderson, Lenore and Pranee Liamputtong (ed.) - **Coming of Age in South and Southeast Asia: Youth, Courtship and Sexuality** (NIAS Studies in Asian Topics, 30)

NIAS-Curzon Press, December 2001, 320 pp., ISBN 0-7007-1399-9 (hb) £45, ISBN 0-7007-1400-6 (pb), ill. £16.99

Säävälä, Minna - **Fertility and Familial Power Relations: Procreation in South India** (NIAS Monographs, 87)

NIAS-Curzon Press, October 2001, 272 pp., ISBN 0-7007-1484-7 (hb), ill. £45



The European Science Foundation Asia Committee after 2001

Short News >
General

After having been active in two mandate periods of three years each between 1994 and 2001, the ESF Asia Committee ceased to exist as of 1 January 2002. Yet, in the spirit of the Asia Committee, many activities are flourishing and will continue to do so.

By Sabine A.M. Kuypers

Some Asia Committee members had done a lot of work to plea for a second extension of the ESF Asia Committee mandate. A proposal for such an extension was sent to the ESF Standing Committee for the Social Sciences (SCSS) and that of the Humanities (SCH) in Strasbourg early in 2001, and was published in this Newsletter (IIAS Newsletter 25, p. 58). An official reaction, in a letter sent by the ESF Scientific Secretary for the Humanities and the Social Sciences reached the Secretariat in November 2001, after the deadline of the Newsletter 25 had passed. Some excerpts of the reaction of the ESF:

"The proposal was discussed in the two Standing Committees at their Spring meetings and the decisions in both Committees were unfortunately not favourable to an extension. The minutes from the two Standing

Committee meetings were approved recently [...] I am pleased to be able to send to you, attached to this letter, the extract from the minutes concerning the proposal for an extension of the Asian Studies Programme." (from above-mentioned letter)

"The Committee was very pleased with the scientific activities of the programme during the second three-year period. Nevertheless, it was considered important not to retreat from the principle of a maximum period of six years for a programme. Furthermore, the Committee felt that the role of ESF should rather be to set incentives and to be an initiator rather than to support the same area of research for a longer period." (from the SCSS minutes).

"The Committee was of the opinion that area studies are of high importance but that there was no possibility for ESF to go beyond six years. It would rather be in the interest of Universities or national organisations to support an extension. The Committee unanimously felt that within the frame of ESF a programme could go on for a maximum of six years and that the aim of ESF should be to promote new ideas and launch new programmes rather than to fund permanent research areas. The Committee wanted however, to express their gratitude to the Asian Studies Programme and to forward their appreciation for the high quality of the activities during the second term of the programme." (from the SCH minutes).

A Last Asia Committee Meeting in Bonn

On 2 October 2001, the Asia Committee's Executive Group met for the last time. During this Bonn meeting it was decided to draft a final report of the Asia Committee activities, to be sent to the ESF by the end of March 2002. Furthermore it was decided upon that the implementation of Asia Committee activities would continue in 2002, in accordance with earlier commitments with regard to workshops and travel grants. The Executive Group decided to allocate the funds that remained from previous years to the following activities: (1) support for the six European Associations of Asian Studies (see below); (2) thirteen travel grants; and (3) support for the new initiative for Asia Europe workshops (the ASEF-Alliance Annual Asia Europe Workshop Series). Although the ESF Asia Committee will no longer exist after 2001, the Secretariat in Leiden declared its willingness to take care of the administrative work resulting from the decisions taken in Bonn.

What European Asian Studies future?

Committee members have always felt (I refer again to our proposal for extension, see *IIAS Newsletter 25*) the need to continue the Asia Committee's role as a Forum for Asian Studies in whatever way possible and, as such, as a body for cooperation with Asia. In

Bonn, this stance was once more defended. Contrary to what the ESF Standing Committee for the Humanities (SCH) suggested in the above quotation, we think that such a forum is a matter for European funding. Separate national governments or institutes cannot be expected to sponsor a European Asia Committee or a European Forum for Asian Studies. These institutes basically have a national interest and very limited funds for international institutional cooperation, let alone for supporting activities in which they are not always directly involved themselves.

It stands to reason that the European Commission create a special European fund for multilateral research cooperation: between Europe and Asia, Europe and the US, or any other continent. The framework programmes of the EC could provide an excellent opportunity to realize this type of fund and to stimulate internal European research cooperation for the benefit of larger international research linkages. We feel that the European Commission should capitalize on the research potential and expertise available in the respective member states, and that it should become less inward looking. Members of the Asia Committee, as was expressed in Bonn, felt that the European Commission might not yet be ready for these types of initiatives, which lie in the cultural, research, and civil spheres and which do not focus on solely European subjects or direct European commercial benefits.

However, some initiatives on behalf of "European Asian Studies" have already been taken. Many of those may be considered as a direct or indirect result of the work of the ESF Asia Committee.

Strategic Alliance for Asian Studies

The Strategic Alliance for Asian Studies (presently: the Nordic countries, France, Germany, Belgium/EU, the Netherlands), for example, was founded in 1997 in the same European spirit, and by the very same actors as those who had been active in setting up the European Science Foundation Asia Committee.

Starting off as a Nordic-Netherlands undertaking, this Asia Alliance has steadily been developed and it could, in some ways, function as a forum for Asian Studies in Europe and as a focal point for partners in Asia and elsewhere.

ASEF-Alliance Annual Asia-Europe Workshop Series

Without the ESF Asia Committee we would not have been able to set up the

Annual Asia-Europe Workshop Series. This workshop scheme is modelled after the ESF Asia Committee formula, an initiative now taken up by the Asia Alliance and the Asia-Europe Foundation, Singapore (ASEF), and financed by ASEF, the Alliance partners and the remaining budget of the ESF Asia Committee (see p. 55 in this issue).

ICAS

The "European Asian Studies" are also represented in the International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS). In 1998, the IIAS and the AAS organized ICAS 1, in cooperation with the European Associations for Asian Studies, and under the patronage of the ESF Asia Committee as a European counterpart for the AAS. In cooperation with the Freie Universität Berlin and the aforementioned actors ICAS 2 was held in 2001, and in 2003, ICAS 3 will be organized together with the National University of Singapore! An ICAS Secretariat was established last year (see p. 56 for more ICAS info).

The European Associations for Asian Studies

Through ICAS (preparatory) meetings the European Associations: AKSE, EACS, EAJS, ESCAS, EUROSEAS, and EASAS, whether or not in the form of the "Conference of Presidents of the European Associations for Asian Studies", will continue to meet and their visibility for the outside world will be enhanced.

The Asia Committee started off as an initiative of the French and Dutch ministers for Education: Curien and Ritzen respectively. With financial support from both governments and later through contributions by many national research councils that were member of the European Science Foundation, the Asia Committee was funded. A unique phenomenon in Asian Studies, for which we should be grateful to the initiators at the respective ministries and at the ESF in Strasbourg!

We should acknowledge here again the support given between 1994-2001 by two foundations in Asia: the Toyota Foundation, and the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange. We thank all programme participants, research fellows, and workshop organizers in Asia and Europe and last but not least, words of gratitude should be directed towards all scholars that have been active members of the Asia Committee, representing their own country and the European spirit at the same time. <

Information about the Asia committee will remain available on: www.iias.nl/esfac

Sabine Kuypers, MA is Coordinator of the programme "Islam in Indonesia: the Dissemination of Religious Authority in the Twentieth Century" and Deputy Director of the International Institute for Asian Studies, the Netherlands.

E-mail: iias@let.leidenuniv.nl

ESF Asia Committee Travel Grants 2001 - 2002

F. Adeney-Risakotta, MA (Amsterdam School for Social Science Research) *'The politics of ritual and ritual of politics in the Moluccas. A social and cultural transformation of an Indonesian people'*

Visit to: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique; Paris, France

Dr M.P Amineh (Amsterdam School for Social Science Research) *'Globalisation and Islam: the rise and decline of Islam as political ideology (1850-2000)'*

Visit to: School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS); London, United Kingdom

Dr C. Dedebant (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris) *'Re-inventing Pakistan/Indian society from without? The formation of South Asian civil society networks outside South Asia'*

Visit to: International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World, IIAS; Leiden, the Netherlands

Dr E. Germain (Journalist, France) *'The Chinese Muslim Diaspora at the beginning of the XXth century'*

Visit to: Foreign Office Library and SOAS; London, United Kingdom

Dr P. Ho (Wageningen University) *'Land issues in China'*

Visit to: SOAS, Oxford University; United Kingdom

Dr R. Prior (Freelance Illustrator, United Kingdom)

'The collection of ceramics excavated by Olov Janse'

Visit to: Leiden University, National Museum Copenhagen; the Netherlands and Denmark

Dr F. van der Putten (Leiden University)

'Portuguese colonial policy toward foreign direct investment in Macao, 1945 - 1999'

Visit to: Overseas Historical Archives, Lisbon National Library; Lisbon, Portugal

Dr Y. Sadoi (International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden)

'Human resource development in the automobile industry in Germany and its adaptability to the Japanese automobile manufacturers'

Visit to: Institute for Innovation and Management, SIMT; Germany

E. Schroeder-Butterfill, MA (St. Cross College Oxford)

'Javanese language study'

Visit to: Leiden University; Leiden, the Netherlands

F. Suchomel, MA (Institute of Art History, Prague)

'Typological determination of Japanese lacquer ware'

Visit to: Denmark, the Netherlands

N. Srivastava, MA (Linacre College, Oxford)

'Secular conceptions of India in Salman Rushdie's Midnight Children and Vikram Seth's A Suitable Boy'

Visit to: Department of Political Science of South Asia Institute; Heidelberg, Germany

S. Tsai, MA (Department of Art History, Heidelberg)

'From devotion to entertainment - Woodblock illustrated books of the life of the Buddha in East Asia'

Visit to: University of Cambridge; Cambridge, United Kingdom <

The ESF Asia Committee

The Asia Committee that is responsible for the execution of the ESF programme in Asian Studies is an independent, academic committee composed of authoritative, senior scholars from European countries, who have an interest in Asian Studies. The ESF ensures that committee membership reflects the disciplinary and geographical areas concerned. The AC can invite ad hoc observers from national governments, from related bodies in the US and Asia, and from private foundations. Obvious lacunae in the disciplinary coverage of the committee can be filled by individual experts invited by the committee.

The full committee meets at least once per year. An Executive Group meets twice a year, to implement and discuss the decisions taken by the full committee, and to prepare full committee meetings. The day-to-day business is conducted by the chairman, Prof. Thommy Svensson (Goteborg, Sweden), vice-chairman, Prof. Jean-Luc Domenach (Paris, France), secretary, Prof. Wim Stokhof (IIAS, Leiden, the Netherlands), and the ESF secretary, who may involve other committee members in the preparation of full committee meetings. The Asia Committee reports to the Standing Committees for the Humanities and the Social Sciences and the ESF Governing Council. <

Address >

Secretariat of the ESF Asia Committee:
Sabine Kuypers &
Josine Stremmelaar
E-mail: iias@let.leidenuniv.nl
[Http://www.iias.nl/esfac](http://www.iias.nl/esfac)

Agenda >

The Committee selected ten workshops to support during the course of 2001, which have now all been held. Abstracts of these workshops were printed in the Pink Pages of *IIAS Newsletter 23* (see the *IIAS website Newsletter archives*). Reports of all workshops were published in Newsletter issues in 2001, and the final report of the ESF AC-sponsored workshop, "Intellectual and Spiritual Authorities in 20th Century Middle Eurasia: Status, Networks, Discourse, Strategies", will be published in *IIAS Newsletter 28*.

Asia-Europe Market Place of Museums Sharing Cultural Heritage



Short News >
General

10-13 April 2002
Leiden,
the Netherlands

Asia-Europe Market Place of Museums, Sharing Cultural Heritage", funded by ASEF and organized by ASEMUS aims to bring together institutional representatives and museum scholars from Asian and European countries. The goals of the conference are to develop thoughts and proposals for future co-operation between these countries during a series of meetings to come. Approximately 100 participants will be able to contribute to workshops on the following subjects (see IIAS Newsletter 26):

- Scattered collections of Asian Minorities
- Documentation and Photo collections on lost cultural heritage, monuments, and sites
- Exchange of Asian and European techniques for preservation and conservation
- Travelling exhibition on Asian perceptions of Europe and European perceptions of Asia
- Virtual exhibition of 2,500 masterpieces in Asian and European collections.

During the plenary sessions of the conference, invited speakers will shed their light upon issues related to the subjects of the workgroups. The invited speakers are therefore kindly

requested to contact the local organizers or the workgroup chairs to communicate the content of their presentations.

The first workgroup meeting will set definitions of the goals and directions on how to proceed. The chemistry of the workgroups will be catalysed if well-defined examples, related to the topics of the work groups are discussed. Participants are therefore invited to present proposals concerning the needs and demands of their own institutions/countries during the sessions of the workgroups. There are various facilities to promote the presentation of materials. During the conference, a market place will be organized where participants have the opportunity to present ideas, concrete proposals, case histories, describe needs, and so forth. For this part of the conference there are poster facilities and tables available, as well as computer, video, and digital facilities.

All presentations will be collected in a binder and handed over during the conference. The information is preferably submitted in digital form. Whereas the local organising committee will take care of the final layout, participants are requested to make information available in a specific format, described on the ASEMUS website: <http://www.asemus.org>



More info >

For more information about ASEF and its activities:

E-mail: info@asef.org
or Website: www.asef.org

ASEF 5-Year Anniversary

The Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF) celebrated its fifth anniversary on 15 February this year in Singapore. With the aim to strengthen the ties between the civil societies of Asia and Europe, members of the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) established ASEF in 1997. <

The Women and Gender in Chinese Studies Network

The Women and Gender in Chinese Studies Network held its inaugural meeting at the International Convention of Asia Scholars in Berlin, August 2001. The Network's mission is to link European scholarship in Chinese Women's/Gender Studies, in all its linguistic diversity. While a central aim is to bring together European scholars, the Network is open to our colleagues in Asia and other parts of the world. The Network will also be integrated into the global network of China-related women and gender studies as quickly as possible for wider access and communication.

Short News >
East Asia

By Maria Jaschok & Cecelia Milwertz

The aim of the Network is to function as a data and resource base that will: provide a site for members' profiles and project details; bring news of workshops, conferences, and of any event of relevance to the Network; give attention to new publications within Women's/Gender Studies in China, particularly to those in a language other than English - primarily but not exclusively European (the publication details will be accompanied by a short synopsis of publication content in English); and facilitate communication, and exchange of ideas and information.

The Network will also facilitate specific projects. The first such project will bring together Network members at the upcoming European Association of Chinese Studies (EACS) conference in Moscow next year. The section on "Women and Gender Studies" will be held at the upcoming EACS conference

in order to provide scholars working in Chinese Women and Gender Studies in Europe an opportunity to present their work. A separate forum will allow for a comprehensive and coherent overview of current issues, themes, and projects, which mark new dynamic developments in this field.

There was a relative absence of Women's and Gender Studies scholarship at the EACS conference in Torino in September 2000, where only a few European scholars and students in the field were present. We feel that a direct invitation to our colleagues to participate in panels that express women/gender-related issues would best redress the problem.

Given this background, we want the section to be as inclusive and wide-ranging as possible: we expect scholarship to be cross-disciplinary and multi-disciplinary; classical, medieval, or modern; theoretical and/or empirical, and ethnographic. This approach is designed both to incorporate as many diverse projects as is feasible, but also to reflect the transgressive and fluid nature of Women and Gender Studies. The aims of convening a cross and multi-disciplinary section on Women and Gender Studies in China are: to promote intellectual cross-fertilization among scholars and students of China-related women and gender studies; to establish the EACS as a permanent site of contact and cooperation for such scholars and students; and to raise the

profile of Women and Gender Studies, both in relation to teaching and to research, in Chinese Studies in Europe.

Panels, Individual Papers, and Roundtable

We welcome suggestions for panels and individual papers. The format of proposals should include: title of panel and/or individual paper(s) and a 300-word abstract of panel and individual papers or of individual paper. It has been suggested that a Roundtable could be organized by the Network on a theme of topical and common interest and we would appreciate any input on the nature of such a Roundtable discussion!

Join the Network

All of the above will depend on members' readiness to participate in this new Network venture.

The Network will be what members make of it. The Network is open to scholars and students in all disciplines - anthropology, sociology, history, literature, economics, and many others, and to those with a practical interest in aspects of China-related women and gender studies (see contact address below). A Network website has also been set up (see also below). The site will be maintained by the Centre for Cross-Cultural Research on Women at Oxford University with the support of the Institute for Chinese Studies and the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies. Furthermore, an email list has been set up for quick communication among Network members.

We are eager to receive responses to the setting up of this Network and to receive ideas for Network activities - so please send us your comments and suggestions. <

ASEMUS

Organization

When ASEMUS was formed at the Asia-Europe Conference on Museums in Stockholm 6-9 September 2000, an Executive Committee was given the task to develop ASEMUS and to coordinate its activities. The Committee, which has been enlarged, consists of:

- **Thommy Svensson**, Director General of the National Museums of World Culture, Gothenburg (Sweden), chair
- **Gabriel Casal**, Director of the National Museum in Manila (the Philippines)
- **Chong Phil Choe**, Director of the University Museum, Sejong University, Seoul (Korea)
- **Steven Engelsman**, Director General of the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden (the Netherlands)
- **Kenson Kwok**, Director of the Asian Civilisations Museum, (Singapore)
- **John Mack**, Senior Keeper, British Museum, London, (Great Britain)
- **Stephane Martin**, Director of Musée du Quai Branly, Paris, (France)
- **Delfin Colomé**, Ambassador, ASEF (Asia-Europe Foundation)
- **Chen Xiejun**, Director, Shanghai Museum, Shanghai, (China)
- **Hayashida Hideki**, Director General, National Science Museum, Tokyo, (Japan)
- **Juan I. Vidarte**, Director General, The Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, (Spain)

The programme 2001-2005

The ASEMUS programme will be initiated during 2001-2005 through a series of international meetings including five action-oriented workshops dealing with different aspects of how Asian and European museums can share collections. The workshops will be prepared by Asia-Europe working-groups. Each workshop is expected to result in at least one significant and concrete Asia-Europe project for subsequent implementation. The ASEMUS action plan is supported by the Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF); please see article by Willem Fermont.

- Museums as Market-Place (Leiden, the Netherlands, 16-13 April 2002)
- The objective of the conference is to bring together museum professionals from Asia and Europe with an aim to match offers and requests for cooperation in all areas of museum activities regarding Asia's cultural heritage.
- Sharing collections (Copenhagen, Denmark, Autumn 2002)
- Taking Care of the Shared Cultural Heritage (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, Spring 2003)
- Presenting the Shared Cultural Heritage to the Public (Shanghai, China, Autumn 2003)
- Managing the Shared Cultural Heritage (Singapore, Spring 2004)
- Reporting Back to the Museum Community (Seoul, Korea, 2004)

Members of ASEMUS

Fifty museums are currently members, each of which was represented at the ASEMUS founding conference held in Stockholm from 6 to 9 September 2000. They are listed in the Report from the Asia-Europe Conference on Museums, coorganised by the ASEF and the Swedish National Museums of World Cultures.

How to become a member

Museums are welcome to become members of ASEMUS, in order to be able to take part in the programme. Qualification criteria are that the museum shall:

- be based in an ASEM member country
- have collections which form a part of the cultural heritage of Eurasia
- be interested in actively linking Asia and Europe together
- be willing to give access to their registers and open up their collections for use by other museums
- acknowledge and respect the ICOM Code of Professional Ethics.

*To apply for membership in ASEMUS, please contact the Secretariat.

Address >

The ASEMUS Secretariat contact address:

National Museums of World Culture
Att. Karl Magnusson
P.O. Box 439, SE-401 26 Gothenburg, Sweden
Tel: +46 31 63 27 11, Fax: +46 31 63 27 10

Chewing the West: Occidental Narratives as Nation-Building Nutrition

Selected and Digested by Asian and African Literatures in Indigenous Languages

Call for papers >

5-7 December 2002
Leiden,
The Netherlands

The International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) is organizing an international workshop on Asian and African literatures to be held from 5 to 7 December 2002 in Leiden. The workshop sets off from the premise that within the processes of modernity and globalism, non-Western and, in particular, formerly colonized or semi-colonized cultures have not been mere passive or subordinate receptors but have actively reacted towards Western cultures. They selected, also rejected, adjusted and functionalized Western literary models (thus models of thought) to make them serve their own discourses and to use them within the process of self-definition. The workshop intends to compile and analyse data from various (post-colonial) non-Western traditions in order to help reveal the adaptation processes concerning Western literary forms, styles, and content within different local contexts. With its broad comparative approach the workshop is designed to open up insights into indigenous discourses that to date have not been paid due attention.

The objective is to establish overarching models and methods that accommodate the hybridity of non-Western literatures produced in the cultural grey area of postcoloniality and nation-building. Theorems that connect nation, nationalism, and narration (as also formulated by Homi Bhabha) are an essential stepping stone, but they ignore altogether the discursive dynamics of literatures in indigenous languages in the debate on national and cultural identity. The organizers of the workshop intend to work towards filling this gap. They are thus focusing on Asian and African literature which, apparently 'inspired' or provoked by Western models, was not written in a Western but in an indigenous language.

Paper presenters are encouraged to target various literary milieus in order to discuss the impact of the foreign literature. Contributions may also cover different text sorts ranging from so-called high literature to popular fiction, from drama to graphic literature. One possible approach is to

examine the implementation of literary tools in fictional writing, such as characterization, choice of themes or narrative modes to represent - or debate - concepts of identity. However, the specific socio-cultural context and the critical discourse surrounding the texts under discussion should not be entirely ignored.

With a comparative intercultural approach in mind, the organizers wish to bring together experts on and from mul-

tifarious cultural regions. We will therefore attempt to avoid any over-representation of one region. Please submit proposals for individual papers and round table discussions by **no later than 15 May 2002**. Abstracts should **not exceed 500 words**.

A volume of selected papers (possibly supplemented by a documentation of the discussion) will be published as soon as possible following the workshop. <

Asian Contributions to the Formation of Modern Science: The Emergence of Artificial Languages

Agenda >
General

20-21 September
2002, Leiden,
the Netherlands

Contact >

Convenor: **Prof. Frits Staal**
Contact address: IIAS
E-mail: j.stremmelaar@let.leidenuniv.nl or
jfstaal@socrates.berkeley.edu
For updates please check our website at:
www.iias.nl/iias/agenda/modernscience/

The history of ancient and medieval science can only be studied properly if the Eurasian continent is treated as an undivided unit rather than a collection of impermeable cognitive worlds. Some of the classical languages of science (Chinese, Sanskrit, Greek, Arabic, and Latin) were formalized, but none were universal or formal enough to express abstract relationships in a systematic manner. What was needed was a revolution in language, viz., the construction of formal languages that grew out of natural language, artificial notations and practical devices. It is only in the eighteenth century that Euler and others translated Newton's cumbersome Latin into the language of algebra, a greater revolution perhaps than the so-called European scientific revolution. The roots of that revolution in language lie in Asia and this workshop focuses on these roots without excluding other Asian contributions to the formation of modern science.

Featured speakers:

Charles Burnett (London), Karine Chemla (Paris), Jens Høyrup (Copenhagen), Kim Plofker (Providence), Frits Staal (Berkeley), and Michio Yano (Kyoto).

Chairs of sessions:

Kamaleswar Bhattacharya (Paris), Christoph Harbsmeier (Oslo), Jan.P. Hogendijk (Utrecht), and Dominik Wujastyk (London). <

Contact >

Dr Doris Jedamski (c/o the IIAS)
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D.Jedamski@let.leidenuniv.nl

Contextualization of Christianity in China: An Evaluation in Modern Perspective

Agenda >
East Asia

6-7 June 2002
Leiden,
the Netherlands

Contextualization in the study of the history of Christianity in China has become increasingly popular of late. As a result, it has become a key research criterion in evaluating the strategies of Christian mission, of missionary behavior, of conflicts between Christian and local cultures, and of the success or failure of a given church mission in China. In addition, there has been a tendency to conclude that the more contextualized a given church mission has been during its residence in China, the more successful the evangelical process has been. Some recent studies have even concluded that the slow growth of Christianity in China can be attributed in major part to a failure by some churches to contextualize their approach to the missionary process.

Given the strong impression that studies of this kind have been increasing in number in recent years, the time would seem to be ripe to attempt a thorough evaluation of this particular scholarly approach. Is it useful to adopt contextualization as a scholarly approach? If the answer is affirmative, there is a need to seek to illuminate its major strengths and weaknesses as a research methodology. Once this has been established, we must ask what role contextualization has played in the evangelical process and how successful or unsuccessful it has been in spreading the gospel among the Chinese at a given time or place. Also, we may want to ask how mission boards and individual missionaries responded to the ideas and requirements of contextualization? And to what extent did Chinese converts appreciate various considerations implicit in such a process? These and other related questions may well come up in a serious

discussion of the issues involved in such an analysis.

The International Institute for Asian Studies is therefore pleased to announce its sponsorship of the above conference to examine these various issues at close hand. The host institution will cover individual travel and living costs. Distinguished scholars from Asia, Europe, and the Americas will be invited to attend this conference where they can present

scholarly papers relating specifically to the issues defined above. These papers will later be collected and published in a conference volume. In this way it is believed that a deeper understanding of the theoretical concerns involved in the research process and the larger history of the Christian church in China will be usefully illuminated. <

Global E-Quality Rethinking ICTs in Africa, Asia and Latin America

Agenda >
General

25-27 March 2002
Maastricht,
the Netherlands

Herewith I would like to draw your attention to the conference "Global E-Quality - Rethinking ICTs in Africa, Asia, and Latin America" (25-27 March) organized by the International Institute Of Infonomics.

Today's world can very well be considered to be a wired one, encapsulated by what is known as the World Wide Web. As the digitization of society unfolds, there is an increasing need to know whether bytes indeed travel freely across the world. What are the consequences of the digitization of society at a global scale? What happens when global bytes arrive at particular local sites? Will this enhance e-quality globally? This work-conference will confront these issues by analysing Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs), with a particular focus on the Internet, in countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Global E-Quality will bring together scholars, policy makers, NGOs and innovative thinkers from around the world. The work-conference is dialogue-driven; its main format will be a series of workshops chaired by leading experts in the field. The number of participants will be limited in order to facilitate an open and in-depth debate.

Global E-Quality is being organized by the International Institute of Infonomics, a new venture of the University of Maastricht and Hogeschool Zuyd, sponsored by the European Commission. <

More info >

You can find further details on:
www.infonomics.nl/globalequality/

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fax: +31-45-570 6262
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www.infonomics.nl

More info >

Conference organizer:

Professor Peter Chen-main Wang
E-mail: peter31313@yahoo.com

For all practical matters regarding
the conference, please contact:

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Fax: +31-71-527 4162
E-mail: m.rozing@let.leidenuniv.nl

The Annual Asia-Europe Workshop Series 2002-2003

See p. 55 in the Asia Alliance News for more info!

Mountain Populations & Their Vision for the Future

Agenda >
Southwest Asia

20-24 May 2002
Fianarantsoa,
Madagascar

The Africa Section of the World Mountain Populations Association (Association des Populations de Montagnes du Monde, APMM) extends an invitation to a lively debate and mutual learning experience among different mountain actors from Central, Eastern, and Southern Africa, the Mascareignes Islands, and Madagascar. Affirming a community of mountain peoples with a common destiny, the workshop will contribute to the ongoing process of networking for a common vision and a joint African Mountain Action Plan.

By Peter Schachenmann &
Hanta Rabetaliana

The central theme "African mountain development, how stakeholders can become shareholders" is examined from five angles:

- Memory and Landscape, the Anatomy of Change: from culture and nature in natural coalition and *co-evolution* to accelerating social-ecological transformation, constrained by rapid changes of the cultural, socio-economic and socio-political context
- Natural Resources: negotiating a desired environment, from theory to action, state rights becoming community rights, duties, and responsibilities
- The dichotomy of Development and Conservation Objectives: how to move from conflict to synergy between people and protected areas
- Democracy and Good Governance: society and its actors, how to get self-interest to work for a common good
- Scientific Research and Appropriate Technology: orchestrating a mutual learning process, how to synergetically match local knowledge and traditional solutions with scientific insights and modern technology.

Background

Most mountains and highlands in the world have since long had a human dimension. Over centuries nature and

people reacted to disturbances in an iterative cycle of change and adaptation. Nature and culture systematically reorganized themselves and thus *co-evolved*. In recent decades and particularly so in Africa, demographic pressures, lack of sustainable economic opportunities, inappropriate patterns of land tenure, user rights and development led to sharply increased connectedness and increasingly negative interactions between people and nature.

This made fragile mountain ecosystems more brittle, putting in motion at accelerating speed and increased number of sites a vicious cycle with Nature responding by reduced ecosystem resilience and resource degradation, leading to more hazards and significantly reduced ecosystem services. Society in turn reacts to these degrading aspects of life in the mountains and constraints for local livelihood development with weakening social values, loss of traditional knowledge and cultural identity often leading to poverty, insecurity, migration, and conflict. Working towards sustainability therefore requires long-term systemic visions and participatory approaches at multi-scale levels.

About APMM

Notwithstanding that natural sciences have during the last century accumulated wide knowledge of ecosystem structures and processes,

important gaps of understanding remain with civil society, where broad integrative values and goals are less well known or marginalized and most importantly less articulate. Seeing this as its entry point, the Association of Mountain Populations of the World was designed as a key initiative to create increased awareness and understanding, to bring into global focus issues affecting mountain peoples and ecosystems. Furthermore AMPW was developed to shift old paradigms, translating into national and regional strategies and on-the-ground action that will bring about measurable

improvements in the quality of life for mountain peoples and the protection of mountain ecosystems.

In recognition of the fact that sustainable development of mountain regions can only succeed with the full involvement of those people and institutions who are in daily contact and interaction with both, constraints and opportunities provided by particular mountain features and resources, APMM has the ambition that throughout the UN International Year of Mountains 2002 and onwards, voices of mountain peoples be heard in their communities, their countries, and

around the world. This should facilitate more equitable and sustainable integration of mountain issues and mountain stakeholders in a global development agenda. <

Dr Peter Schachenmann is Technical Advisor to l'Association des Montagnes et Hautes Terres Malgache (AMMA)
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Hanta Rabetaliana is Vice President of the Africa Section of l'Association des Populations de Montagnes du Monde (APMM)
E-mail: pschachenmann@vitelcom.mg

Burma-Myanmar(r) Research and its Future: Implications for Scholars and Policymakers

Agenda >
Southeast Asia

21-25 September
2002
Gothenburg, Sweden

The First Collaborative International Conference of the Burma Studies Group (BSG) aims to bring attention to recent scholarship on Burma-Myanmar, to foster dialogue among scholars from Burma-Myanmar and the international community and to establish "fresh comparative perspectives" with other countries in transition. It is our intention to arrive at a more enduring coordination of regular international academic exchanges on Burma-Myanmar.

The conference will be held in conjunction with the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS), the Centre for Asian Studies (CEAS), and Gothenburg University, is sponsored by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) and the Nordic Academy for Advanced Studies (Nordisk Forskerutdanningsakademi, NorFA).

Information >

Conference Organizing Committee:

Dr Gustaaf Houtman (Chair)
Royal Anthropological Institute
50 Fitzroy Street, London W1T 5BT, United Kingdom
E-mail: at@therai.org.uk (e-mail contact preferred)

Visit the conference website:

<http://www.therai.org.uk/anthcal/myanmarburma2002.html>

Anthropology Today can be found at:

<http://www.therai.org.uk/pubs/at/anthrotoday.html>

The keynote speakers are: Chao-Tzang Yawngnwe, F.K. Lehman, and James C Scott. Definite discussion panels are: "Half a Century of Burma Studies" (involving: John Badgley, F.K. Lehman, Michael Mendelson, June Nash, Josef Silverstein, Melford Spiro, and David Steinberg) and "Diplomacy: the Nature of Dialogue and Reconciliation", while twenty-five other panels have already been proposed. <

Dr Gustaaf Houtman is Editor of Anthropology Today and deputy director of the Royal Anthropological Institute, London. In October 2001 he was appointed European representative trustee on the Burma Studies Foundation for a five-year term and he seeks to help develop Burma research initiatives in the Nordic countries.
E-mail: at@therai.org.uk

Fourth Avignon Conference on Slavery and Forced Labour

Call for papers >

16-18 October 2002
Avignon, France

The international conference on "Women in Slavery – In Honour of Suzanne Miers" will examine the roles of women in slavery across all geographical regions of the world, in different systems of slavery (indigenous and imported), from antiquity to contemporary times. In addition we will examine the trade and other means of acquiring female slaves, as well as their tactics of "resistance" and other accommodations to the positions in which they found themselves. Themes, within the relatively recent Atlantic experience of slavery, may include:

- the economic importance and roles of the female slave (child and adult)
- the sexual role of the female slave
- slave relations: women-children; female-female; female-male
- women and the 'slave family'
- slave women in the families of their masters
- ideology, religion and the female slave
- 'memory' and the female slave
- culture and the female slave
- the female slave in literature
- female resistance to slavery
- the role of the female slave rebel (her status; her function; female-male rebel relations during revolt and in the rebel camp)
- consequences of resistance for the female slave
- gender issues across the slave/master divide

Contact >

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However, participants are also invited to consider rethinking their planned presentations in the light of growing evidence from Asia, Africa, antiquity, and other slaving in world history that its practice focused more on females (and children) than the literature generally appreciates. Is it within the reach of this conference to reformulate definitions and theory away from the still-usual reference to "the slave" as "him"?

Those wishing to attend are invited to submit a title and a short outline of their paper in French or English by 1 May 2002. All papers accepted for the conference must reach the convenor by 1 September 2002. Authors will not be asked to present their papers personally at the conference. Rather, the conference will be organized in thematic sessions. All those interested in participating should obtain a form. <

ESCAS VIII

Agenda >
Central Asia

25-28 September 2002
Bordeaux, France

"Central Asia in Transition: Models, Disruptions, Centrality"

Section I Questions of Periodization: The Centrality of Central Asia and the Rewriting of History

Section II Political, Economic and Social Models in the Central Asian History

Section III Cultural and Religious Models

Section IV Colonial and Soviet Disruptions

Section V Post-Soviet Transformations

Participation proposals are to be submitted before 15 April 2002 in the form of a summary of your paper in French or in

English, a brief CV, and your complete address (as well as your fax or phone number and e-mail address). A circular letter will be sent to you within one (1) month after the proposals' submission deadline informing you of the decision of the Organizing Committee about your participation at the ESCAS VIII conference.

The organizing Committee of ESCAS VIII is the Board of the ESCAS:

Mr. T. Atabaki, President;
Mrs. G. Rasuly-Paleczek, Vice-president;
Mrs. I. Baldauf; Mrs. C. Poujol;
Mr. G. Rota; Mr. M. Tabor.

Paper Presentations:

Your paper in French or in English should not last more than 20 minutes, there will be also 10 minutes of discussion. In each section, there will be from 4 to 6 papers per half-day.

How to fund your participation?:

The Organizing Committee of ESCAS VIII encourages the participants to seek their own funding for participation at the conference, travel, and living expenditures. <

Contact >

Please send proposals to:

Mrs. C. Poujol, ESCAS VIII coordinator
32 Quai des Chartrons
33000 Bordeaux, France
E-mail: cpoujol33@wanadoo.fr
E-mail: escas8@ifecac.com.uz

Or at postal addresses:

IFEAC, 18A Rakatboshi, 700031 Tashkent, Uzbekistan
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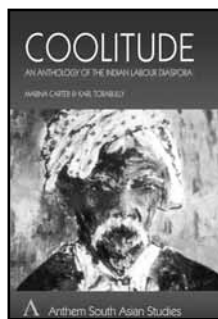
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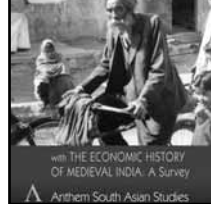
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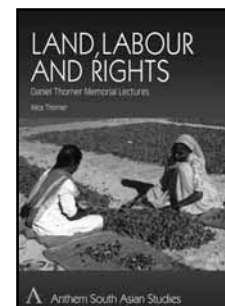
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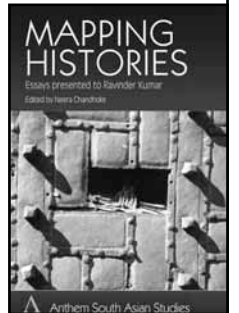
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