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IIAS
International Institute for Asian Studies

NEWSLETTER

A global history of the prison

Cultures of confinement

Frank Dikötter
guest editor

Michel Foucault has written of a 'great confinement' of the poor that peaked between 1650 and 1789, as punishment of the body was replaced by a regime of surveillance in the prison. Yet even a cursory look at modes of punishment beyond the 'Age of Enlightenment' shows that the 20th century, rather than the 18th, was marked by the incarceration of vast masses of people, to such an extent that Alain Besançon has characterised the period as 'the century of concentration camps'. Foucault's vision of herding paupers and vagrants into countless new hospitals and prisons not only confused intended policies with actual practices, thereby overstating the extent of incarceration in France before 1789 – the philosopher

seemed to miss the world around him. Over the course of the 20th century, confinement spread across the world to become the only recognised form of punishment alongside fines and the death sentence; countries differing widely in political ideology and social background replaced existing modes of punishment – from exile and servitude to the pillory and the gallows – with the custodial sentence. Prisons now span the globe, from communist China to democratic Britain, as ever-larger proportions of humanity find themselves locked behind bars, doing time for crime. Rates of incarceration have varied over the past century, but the trend is upwards, as new prisons continue to be built and prison populations swell in the Americas, Europe, Asia and the Middle East.

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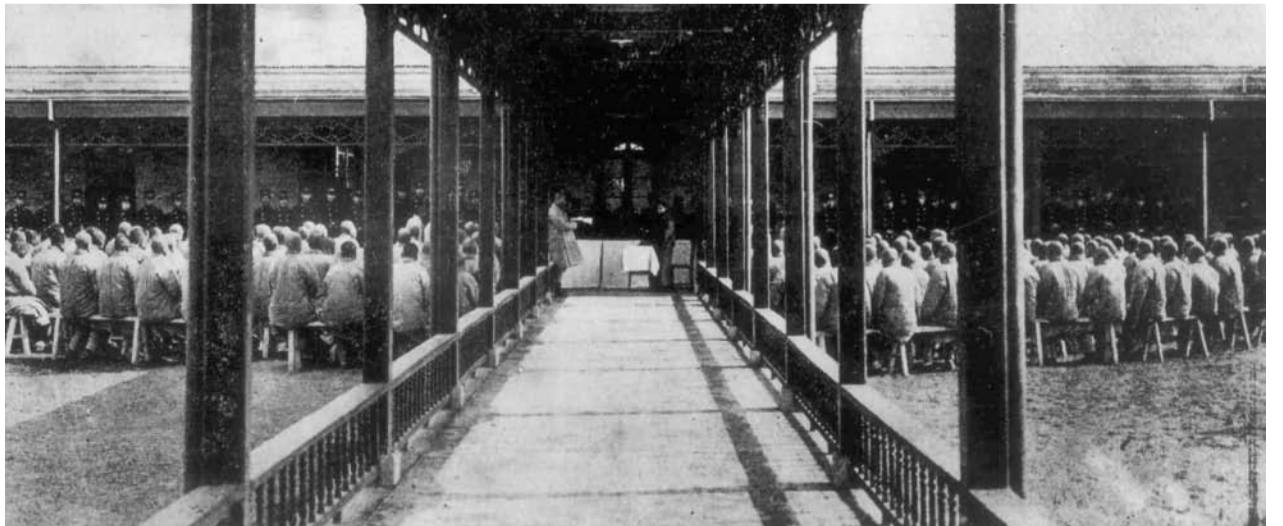
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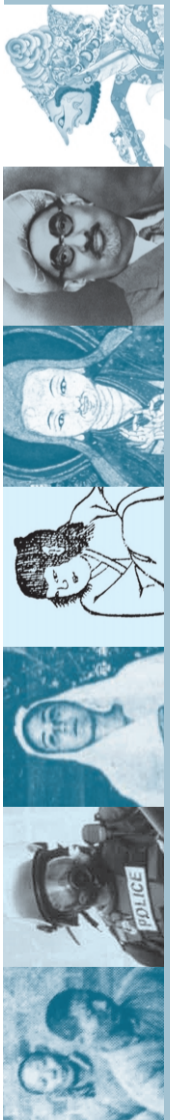
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Introduction



First conditional release from the model prison in Beijing



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East-West meeting space

Director's note

Singapore's Senior Minister Goh Chok Tong delivered the keynote speech at the November 2005 *East-West Dialogue* in Barcelona*. 'After Amman: Uniting to Defeat Terrorism' saw Goh address what he considers to be the greatest threat to humankind today.

One of the main feeding grounds for terrorism is racial and religious tension. Following the 1960s racial riots in Singapore, the government of the multi-religious, multi-racial society adopted an 'overlapping circles' – in contrast to a 'melting-pot' – approach to foster racial and religious harmony, where each community can be seen as a circle with its own values, beliefs and culture. 'Where the circles overlap is the common space where we interact freely. We try to expand and maximize this space. The space which does not overlap is the community's own space where they are free to speak their own language, practice their own religion and have their own way of life. This way, each community retains its separate identity and yet is bonded to each other through common national values.'

Against the backdrop of the recent riots in France, Goh's words have become more pertinent in the context of East-West dialogue. After all, it was the same Goh Chok Tong who more than ten years ago as prime minister of Singapore developed the idea of the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) to improve dialogue between Asia and Europe, at a low ebb since decolonization. He pleaded for cultural rapprochement, for which he delineated three stages.

In the first, networking phase, gaps in knowledge of each other's cultures need to be filled. Although this is a never-ending process, the past decade has witnessed deepening in our knowledge of each other's cultures. We are now passing through the second phase, that of constructive dialogue, where common concerns take center stage in discussions on issues like terrorism, racial tensions, natural disasters, SARS, AIDS and avian flu – phenomena that underline our ever-growing interdependence. Focusing on common concerns help erase xenophobic notions of each other's cultures, so counter-productive to shaping our common future.

We as Asia scholars can facilitate this process by further strengthening academic cooperation between Europe and Asia in the form of joint research projects and student exchanges. These pave the way for the third or consensus-building phase where shared values develop – which, in the long run, will enlarge our 'common space' within the East-West encounter. ◀

Wim Stokhof
Director, IIAS

* The second *East-West Dialogue* was organized by Casa Asia, the Asia Europe Foundation, the Club of Madrid, UNESCO, and the Forum Foundation, and held in Barcelona, 16-17 November 2005.

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IIAS values dynamism and versatility in its research programmes. Post-doctoral research fellows are temporarily employed by or affiliated to IIAS, either within the framework of a collaborative research programme or on an individual basis. In its aim to disseminate broad, in-depth knowledge of Asia, the institute organizes seminars, workshops and conferences, and publishes the *IIAS Newsletter* with a circulation of 25,000.

IIAS runs a database for Asian Studies with information on researchers and research-related institutes worldwide. As an international mediator and a clearing-house for knowledge and information, IIAS is active in creating international networks and launching international cooperative projects and research programmes. In this way, the institute functions as a window on Europe for non-European scholars and contributes to the cultural rapprochement between Asia and Europe.

IIAS also administers the secretariat of the European Alliance for Asian Studies (Asia Alliance: www.asia-alliance.org) and the Secretariat General of the International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS: www.icassecretariat.org). Updates on the activities of the Asia Alliance and ICAS are published in this newsletter. ◀



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Greening Industries in Newly Industrializing Economies *Asian-Style Leapfrogging* Edited by Peter Ho

In recent years China, Vietnam, Taiwan and Singapore have been transformed from impoverished developing nations into strong and internationally competitive economies, but it is now clear that this rapid development has come at a high price in terms of ecological sustainability and environmental protection. The critical question for the future is – how can the state effect the greening of industries and business without inhibiting economic growth? Can they ‘leapfrog’ the development process and build industrial economies that are both competitive and environmentally sustainable? This edited interdisciplinary volume uses case studies of all the important newly industrializing economies of Asia to address these vitally important questions. It makes an important contribution to the large international body of studies on environmental management and the greening of industries. It’s findings are relevant to all developing countries, as well as to those with a particular interest in contemporary Asia. The work also addresses a wide readership of professionals and consultants in various state institutions and international development agencies, such as the World Bank, the United Nations Environment Program, the Ford Foundation and the Asian Development Bank.

Peter Ho is Professor of International Development Studies and concurrent Director of the Centre for Development Studies at the University of Groningen.

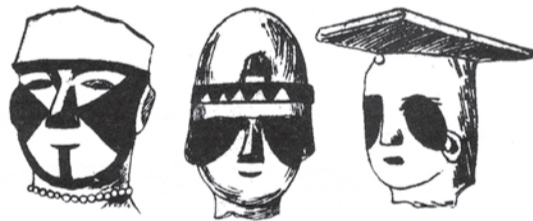
ISBN: 0-7103-1310-1, £69.95, 234 x 156 mm, hardcover, available March 2006

Cultivating Japan *Java and the Foundation of Japanese Society* Ann Kumar

This innovative work uses new evidence to challenge previously-held views on the prehistory and origins of Japanese society and identity. The changes in society in Japan between the Jomon and Yayoi cultures were unique, going far beyond those of the so-called Neolithic Revolution in other parts of the world. Uniquely, they included bronze and iron production, as well as a new architecture with symbolic significance, a new religion and a hierarchical society with an emperor at its head. The Yayoi period has been seen as the very beginning of Japanese civilization and identity. It has usually been thought that all the Yayoi innovations came from China and Korea, but this work uses new materials from diverse fields including rice genetics, DNA and historical linguistics to show that the major elements of Yayoi civilization actually came from the south. This is an important contribution to the prehistory of Japan and of South East Asia.

Ann Kumar is a Reader and Chair of the Faculties Forum at the Australian National University, and has written extensively on Indonesia.

ISBN: 0-7103-1313-6, £65.00, 234 x 156 mm, hardcover, available June 2006



Hyper City *The Symbolic Side of Urbanism* Edited by Peter J. M. Nas and Annemarie Samuels

Cities are sites of multiple meanings and symbols, ranging from statues and street names to festivals and architecture. Sometimes the symbolic side of urbanism is so strong that it outshines reality – then we speak of hypercity. Urban symbolic ecology and hypercity studies are relatively new fields that deal with the production, distribution and consumption of symbols and meanings in urban space, timely concerns in an era of increasing globalization and competition between mega-urban regions. This volume, which presents a detailed introduction to the new fields, followed by case studies of the cultural layer of symbolism in Brussels (Belgium), Cape Town (South Africa), Cuenca (Ecuador), Delft (The Netherlands), Kingston (Jamaica), Ljubljana (Slovenia), Paris (France) and cities in Italy and Indonesia, amply demonstrates that the time has come for urban symbolic ecology and hypercity studies to be included in regular urban studies training in the fields of anthropology, sociology and architecture.

Peter J.M. Nas is an urban anthropologist and Professor in the Socio-cultural Aspects of the Built Environment in Indonesia at Leiden University, the Netherlands. **Annemarie Samuels** is an MA student in Cultural Anthropology and Development Sociology at Leiden University, The Netherlands.

ISBN: 0-7103-1279-2, £65.00, 234 x 156mm, hardcover, available June 2006

Purdah *The Status of Indian Women From Ancient Times to the Twentieth Century* Freida Hauswirth

Purdah, which can be formal law or informal custom, involves keeping women segregated from society, restricting their independence, and obliging them to dress in clothing that fully covers them. First published by Kegan Paul in 1932, this was a seminal book for the women’s rights movement in general, and the Indian Woman’s Movement in particular, and remains highly relevant today, as Indian, Islamic and Asian women continue to feel the conflict between modernity and tradition. Swiss by birth and married to an Indian, the author had a unique opportunity to see life in India from the perspective of women in purdah. Beginning in the Vedic period, she shows how the institution of purdah developed over time, describes purdah as long practiced in India, and then details the various reform and suffragette measures undertaken to eradicate it and the effect of the Nationalist movement on Indian women’s freedom. There are clear parallels with women in other countries. This important work gives insight into the roots and strength of this tradition.

ISBN: 0-7103-0784-5, £85, 234 x 156 mm, available February 2006

Indo-China *Naval Intelligence Division*

Prepared by the British Naval Intelligence Division of the Admiralty during World War II and released in 1943, this handbook is now an important geographical and historical reference work, documenting the region’s environment and natural resources as they were before the developments of recent decades, and describing traditional culture, infrastructure, administration and the extent of foreign influence as it then was. It covers the areas of the present-day countries of Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos. Unrivalled in the scope and the quality of information current at the time of first publication, this volume is an essential foundation for all researchers and students interested in the history and background to the contemporary dynamics of the region.

ISBN: 0-7103-1027-7, £175, 234 x 156mm, available January 2006

Japan and Asian Modernities *Edited by Rein Raud*

The effect of Japan on the challenges and complexities of the modernisation process that globalisation has brought to the fore in Asia are the subject of this interdisciplinary volume by leading scholars in the field. Using fascinating examples drawn from current business and organisational practice in Asia, it focuses on the impact that Japanese modernity has made in Asia as a model to be imitated because of its apparent success in adopting western technologies while retaining its own cultural identity. Besides Asian and Japanese Studies specialists, Japan and Asian Modernities is addressed to a larger audience of academics and specialists working in the areas of history of ideas, political science, the sociology and anthropology of business, comparative cultural studies and economics or other disciplines related to contemporary East and South-East Asia where the subject of alternative modernities is relevant.

ISBN: 0-7103-1103-6, £85, 234 x 156mm, available February 2006

China *Mortimer Menpes and Henry Arthur Blake*

China in the closing days of its Imperial era are captured in the drawings and paintings of the artist Mortimer Menpes, noted for his portrayals of the Far East, with text by Sir Henry Arthur Blake, who served as Governor of Hong Kong. Blake writes with elegant authority on Chinese life, customs and landscape, including the Temples of the Seven Star Hills, Opium, Life on the Yangtse, Flower Boats, Curious Forms of Gambling and the Houses of the Wealthy, and the pages are enlivened by Menpes’ marvellous drawings that bring the narrative to life. Now that interest in traditional China has never been greater, the publication of this classic treasure is indeed timely.

ISBN: 0-7103-1066-8, £85, 234 x 156 mm, available February 2006

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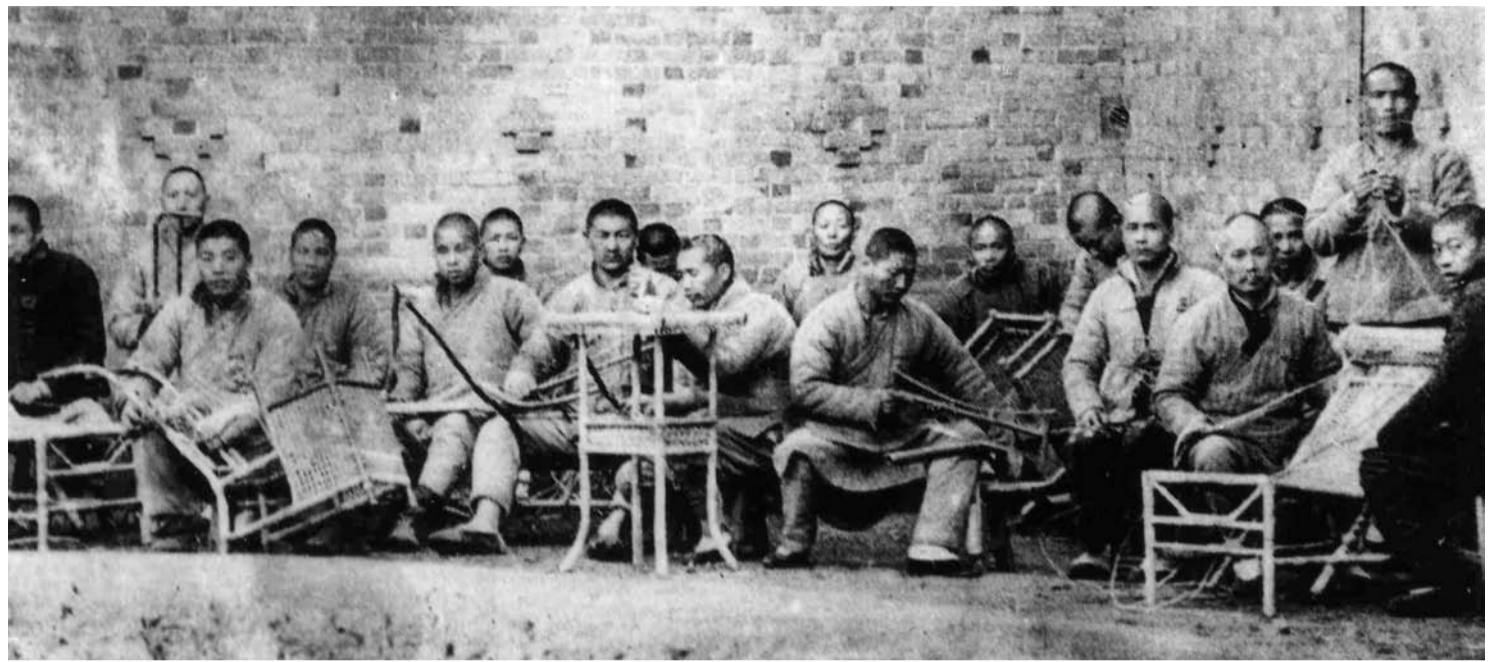
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While the prison has become ever more entrenched on a global scale, it also represents an incontrovertible failure, in theory and in practice. While their proposed missions have varied – from retribution and incapacitation to deterrence and rehabilitation – prisons from the very beginning resisted their supporters' intended purposes, generating wretched institutional conditions where humanitarian goals were heralded. The road to hell is paved with good intentions and the great expectations placed on prisons to perform often-contradictory goals (how is punishment compatible with reform?) stand in stark contrast to the climate of violence within its walls. A chasm separates proclaimed intentions from actual practices: monuments of order on paper turned into squalid places of human suffering confined by walls of bricks and mortar. Envisaged as a haven for repentance – 'a machine to grind rogues honest' according to Jeremy Bentham – prison is often no more than an enclave of violence, producing caged misery at worst, enforced lethargy at best. Contrary to the workhouse or the lunatic asylum, the prison is a failed invention of modernity that has yet to be dismantled. Prisons do not reform criminals, do not reduce re-offending rates, and do not address the social problems conducive to crime; if anything, incarceration produces violence and generates crime by meeting harm with harm. In the meantime, the prison has become all the more insidious as it has become firmly established, rarely challenged by political elites and ordinary people alike.

It is precisely the singular resilience of this failed institution that makes a history of the prison so urgent. It is not just another trendy topic of cultural history claiming a global dimension, nor one more unremarkable aspect of a staid history of state institutions, but an inquiry into the formation of an incarcerating society in which we all live. A first step towards a global history of the prison is to recognise that elites around the world were generally fascinated by the penitentiary ideal and eager to embrace it, rather than compelled by the dark forces of imperialism to adopt it. The prison epitomised the dreams of state officials and local authorities in Latin America, while confinement was praised as a viable alternative to banishment by the first Qing envoys to Europe who visited Pentonville Prison in the 1860s. In colonial contexts, prisons were part and parcel of the 'civilising mission' of colonisers as existing penal practices, often based on physical punishment, were viewed as 'barbaric' and 'uncivilised'. Yet post-colonial regimes more often than not consolidated rather than dismantled the prison for their own purposes.

The transfer of penal discourse and penitentiary institutions was not a one-way process. Diversity rather than uniformity characterised the use of the custodial sentence as prisons both changed and adapted to existing notions of crime and punishment. In the case of Burma, as Thet Thet Wintin and Ian Brown show (p. 5), the colonial imposition of a penitentiary scheme resonated with earlier forms of punishment, as various forms of confinement, in contrast to most parts of India, existed in



Work with bamboo and cane in Jiangxi Number One Prison

pre-colonial Burma. As ideas moved across borders, they were appropriated by modernising elites and transformed by distinct local political, economic, social and cultural conditions. Underneath an overarching rationale based on the idea of humane punishment, the prison was *multivalent*, capable of being adopted in a variety of mutually incompatible environments, from the *bagne* in Vietnam and the cellular prison in China to the concentration camps of South Africa. Confinement, in short, acquired specific cultural and social dimensions which help to explain its extraordinary resilience across the globe.

Foucault deserves credit for having transformed the history of the prison from an obscure field of institutional history into a thriving and exciting area of cultural studies. But too many

der is also important, even if the prison was generally for male captives. Tony Gorman (p. 7) captures the many ways in which women in the Middle East suffered greater social stigma from being viewed as criminal deviants. Created and controlled by men, the prison system was not isolated from the larger society outside, but permeated by its political and social relations. This is true too of work: most prisons emphasised industrial work as a chance for redemption and reformation, thus shaping the prison as a male-centred institution. Prison work on Japan's northern frontier is the topic of Pia Vogler's contribution (p. 8), where she focuses on the prison's permeability. In Hokkaido even the children of guards were instructed in classrooms behind prison walls until 1886.

Most historians have written about the prison in society, but as these articles point out, we need a history of society in prison. Moving away from the serene panopticon we find that the boundaries of most prisons were porous as guards colluded with prisoners, ideas and objects (drugs or books) moved in and out of confinement, and, more generally, religious, social, ethnic and gender hierarchies were replicated inside the prison, undermining the very notion of equality among prisoners to create social exclusion. Society colonised the prison and undermined discipline to a much greater extent than discipline ever managed to move out of the prison to order society. And where states did succeed – against all odds – to build more centralised and better policed prisons, it has generally been to maintain social inequalities and politically repressive regimes rather than to reform the alleged criminal. Hard questions raised by the global prison need to be faced, lest we unwittingly contribute to the legitimacy of an institution which most penal specialists, including prison directors themselves, wisely see as a failing sanction of last resort only. <

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Frank Dikötter is Professor of the Modern History of China at the School of Oriental and African History, University of London, on leave as Chair of Humanities at the University of Hong Kong. He has published a series of micro-studies on the history of modern China, including Crime, Punishment and the Prison in Modern China (2002, Columbia University Press) and Things Modern: Material Culture and Everyday Life in China (Hurst, in press).

archival evidence allows us to move away from official rhetoric and lofty ideals towards the messy realities of incarceration

of his followers have taken on board his vision of the prison as the perfect realisation of the modern state. Archival evidence – which allows us to move away from official rhetoric and lofty ideals towards the messy realities of incarceration – on the contrary, highlights the very limits of the state. As Carlos Aguirre has pointed out in a recent book on the prisoners of Lima, the constant lack of financial resources, poor strategies of personnel recruitment, lack of control over prison guards and corruption inside the penal system meant that the authorities who operated the prisons had great discretion in dealing with prisoners and often did not support the main goals of prison reform. Entirely absent from ambitious explanatory schemes about the panopticon are the prisoners themselves. Just as the continued use of violence by prison guards created penal realities that had little to do with grand designs on paper, prisoners were never the passive victims of a great 'disciplinary project'.

A comparative history of confinement that puts prison life back into the picture not only tells us much about the agency of ordinary people supposed to be captives, but also illustrates how and why prison fails to be redemptive. As David Arnold notes in his paper (p. 6), prisoners were seldom entirely compliant; in the long history of the colonial prison, there were many ways for prisoners to evade or resist the restrictions prison authorities sought to impose upon them. Émile Durkheim observed long ago that the core problem of the prison as a form of discipline resides in the lack of inclination among the majority of prisoners to participate in the process of 'reformation'. In other institutional situations such as the school or the factory, the individual must to some extent share the goals of the disciplinary process for discipline to be effective. By robbing prisoners of self-respect – so central to self-discipline – the prison did not produce 'disciplined subjects', but hardened recidivists.

If prisoner experiences are central to understanding the actual workings of the penitentiary project, the question of gen-

All photographs from Frank Dikötter, *Crime, Punishment and Prison in Modern China* (2002, Columbia University Press). <http://homepage.mac.com/dikotter/>



Foreign Section of the Ward Road Gaol in Shanghai

Cultures of Confinement: The History of the Prison in Global Perspective, edited by Frank Dikötter and Ian Brown, will be published by Hurst. The volume, the end result of a research project funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, brings together specialists of the history of the prison in Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Latin America and highlights the complex cultural negotiations which took place in encounters between Europe and the rest of the world, pointing out the acts of resistance and appropriation which actively transformed the cultural meanings and social practices associated with confinement.

Colonial Burma's prison: continuity with its pre-colonial past?

The practice of confining convicted criminals in prison for a stipulated period of time – to punish or reform – is a modern western innovation. Pentonville in north London, opened in 1842 and said to be the first modern prison, had four wings radiating from a central hub from which guards could observe every cell, each holding a single prisoner. The 'modern' prison then became one of many western innovations (including the railway, scientific medicine and the filing cabinet) transported to the colonial world from the mid-19th century.

Thet Thet Wintin and Ian Brown

The Pentonville model, most dramatically the Pentonville architecture, could soon be found across the world, and not just in the colonial world. Aerial photographs of the Rangoon Central Jail (now demolished) and Insein Prison clearly show the central hub, from which radiate, like spokes of a wheel, the long prison wings in which the convicts were held and observed. As the 'modern' prison was transported to the colonial world, it was transformed, or modified, partly by local circumstances, including colonial attitudes to the potential for reforming the character of 'native' peoples. But innovation had to take account of existing indigenous practices of punishment, and in many cases had to adjust substantially to them.

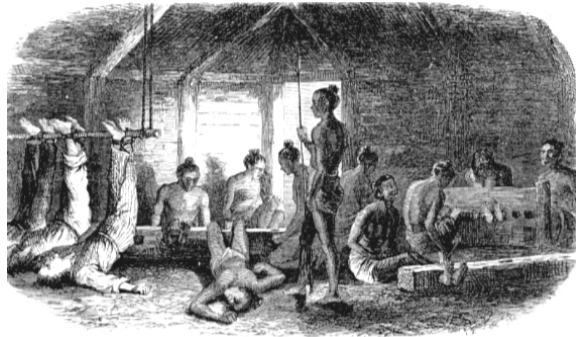
Breaking with the past

At first sight, there appears to be the clearest contrast between the punishment regimes imposed by Burma's kings before British conquest and the prisons and practices constructed by the colonial rulers. Convicted criminals in pre-colonial Burma were most commonly punished by flogging, execution or exile; alternatively, they were tattooed, often on the face, to indicate their crime – 'murderer', 'rapist' – or had their bodies mutilated. At some point in the judicial process, individuals would be held in confinement while their alleged crimes were investigated or during trial. They could also be held in order to be tortured to secure an admission of guilt, and if guilty, were held until the sentence was carried out. Thus the pre-colonial prison was a site in which important stages of the judicial process took place; confinement in a prison was not, however, in itself one of the punishments imposed by the pre-colonial state. In sharp contrast, by far the most common punishment imposed in a modern judicial system is confinement for a stipulated period.

There was also the sharpest contrast in the physical structures of the pre-colonial and colonial prison. The former had relatively flimsy outer walls, essentially bamboo fences. The main building was a single block, housing all the inmates, who were fettered to prevent escape. The colonial prison was the familiar structure of thick, high, stone walls and double gates; the central hub and radiating wings; and within the prison compound, separate buildings and dividing barriers to ensure the separation of different categories of prisoner and the different aspects of prison life.

Continuities

On closer reflection, the contrast between the prisons of pre-colonial Burma and the prisons and prison system constructed by the British is less sharp. Important aspects of the prison under the Burmese kings were carried over into the British period and are still present, while some of the 'innovations' introduced by the British had pre-colonial antecedents.



The interior of Let-Ma-Yoon prison at Ava
From Henry Gouger, *Narrative of a Two Years' Imprisonment in Burmah*

Both the Burmese kings and the British colonial regime made considerable use of convict labour outside the prison. The kings would put convicts to work building irrigation canals and cultivating rice fields. The colonial regime used convict labour to construct roads and, again, irrigation works. In January 1918, the 148th (Burma) Jail Labour Corps, made up of 1,523 convicts, left Rangoon for service in Mesopotamia. In the late 1920s, camp jails were established in two government-owned stone quarries in distant parts of the province. Under the Burmese kings many convicted criminals were exiled far from the capital; the colonial regime also sent large numbers into exile, the vast majority to the penal settlement in the Andaman Islands.

There was also striking continuity in the use of convicts as jailors. In pre-colonial Burma, few individuals freely sought work in prison, particularly in the lowest grades or for positions involving the most gruesome tasks. It was therefore common for convicts, indeed the most violent and degraded, to be pardoned in return for performing the duties of prison executioner, flogger, or interrogator. Clearly they were men of considerable power in the pre-colonial prison. Similarly, convict staff – long-serving and trusted inmates who were appointed night watchmen, overseers, or convict warders – were essential in the running of colonial Burma's prisons. Indeed the position of convict officers was pivotal. Since senior staff in the prison, from the superintendents down to the warders, was exclusively either European or Indian, Burmese convict officers were the only ones able to communicate easily with the mass of inmates. It was a position they could use to protect fellow inmates, but perhaps also to exploit and abuse them.

There may also have been continuity in the use of the prison to punish. As noted earlier, the prison in pre-colonial Burma was a site to hold the accused – a place for torture, interrogation, and execution – but not for the confinement of convicts who had received custodial sentences. But in practice, individuals were often held for long periods – the remainder of their natural lives – in effect as a punishment, perhaps also as a deterrent. Monks claiming supernatural powers and disturbing the social order could be confined, for the king would be reluctant

from Frank G. Carpenter, *Prisoners in Rangoon, 1910-1920*, Library of Congress



to challenge those powers by executing or exiling the alleged offender. Political opponents, dishonest officials and debtors could also find themselves put away for a long time.

There is one final continuity of particular importance for the historian seeking to understand the daily conditions and administration of Burma's pre-colonial and colonial prisons. The sources for the pre-colonial and colonial prison are strikingly different, but both tend towards what might be termed 'an exaggeration of authority'. For the pre-colonial prison, the most vivid descriptions are provided by European residents who experienced it first hand. A particularly fine example is Henry Gouger's *Narrative of a Two Years' Imprisonment in Burmah*, first published in 1860 and reprinted in 2002, an account of the author's incarceration in Ava's death prison Let ma yoon between 1824 and 1826 during the first Anglo-Burmese war on suspicion of being a British spy. In words and striking line drawings, Gouger conveys the stark horror of the place – the fierce brutality of the jailors, the pitiful condition of the inmates, the dirt and smell:

Putrid remains of cast-away animal and vegetable stuff... the stale fumes from thousands of tobacco-pipes... the scattered ejections of the pulp and liquid from their everlasting betel, and other nameless abominations, still more disgusting... the exudation from the bodies of a crowd of never-washed convicts, encouraged by the thermometer at 100 degrees, in a den almost without ventilation – is it possible to say what it smelt like?

In using such contemporary western descriptions, some allowance must be made for cultural positioning. But perhaps more importantly, and as a close reading of Gouger's own account makes clear, it was common for those unfortunates held in the prisons of pre-colonial Burma to avoid or lessen the most brutal conditions by paying off the jailors. Horrors surely took place, but in day-to-day existence, the brutal authority of the prison regime was often exaggerated.

A comparable exaggeration, although for quite different reasons, can be seen in the material on the colonial prison. Perhaps the most striking feature of this material is its sheer volume and obsessive detail. The annual reports on the prison administration of British Burma each run to 50 pages or more, come laden with statistical appendices, and are supplemented with reports by India-wide jail commissions, jail riot enquiries, and special investigations. The number of inmates who contracted malaria in the Rangoon Central Jail in 1908, the number flogged at Mandalay in 1920, the details of diet and death are all recorded. This detail, in particular its sheer volume, gives the impression of a colonial prison administration with immense control and authority, with extraordinary capacity and reach. But the day-to-day dynamics of colonial Burma's prisons may well have been very different. As indicated earlier, authority within the prison lay less with the European superintendents or the Indian warders, but with the Burmese convict staff. Physically, culturally, and linguistically close to the mass of inmates, they were decisive in the running of the jails, and often used their position for personal gain, but in ways that eased the harshness of the prison regime.

Both the pre-colonial and colonial prison in Burma can easily be portrayed as immensely powerful institutions – the former with a frightening capacity for horrific brutality, the latter, for harsh regimentation. In reality, that power was an exaggeration, undermined and weakened by the pivotal position occupied by the jailor staff and by the inmates themselves. <

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India: the prisoners' revolt

British India operated one of the largest prison systems in the world. During the 1860s the inmate population averaged 70,000, rising to 100,000 by the 1900s and 130,000 by the 1930s. Two to three times those numbers passed through the prisons in a single year owing to short-term sentences, numbers matched or exceeded only by the United States and Russia. The prison – an institution lacking extensive pre-colonial precedents – exemplified the British determination to control India.

David Arnold

In Britain and North America in the early 19th century the new penitentiary system had sought to disaggregate prison populations, favouring solitary confinement and reducing prisoners to virtual silence. Owing to colonial parsimony and distrust of subordinate Indian officials, little of this happened in India. Though less than 0.2% of India's total population was in jail at any one time, the British relied on the spectre of prison to discourage crime and combat insurrection. During the 19th century the British experimented with transportation, developed an extensive internal network of district and central jails, formed several prison reform committees, and compiled elaborate prison regulation manuals. But prisoners were seldom entirely compliant, 'docile bodies', to use a Foucauldian phrase. Solitary confinement was rare and instead of silence Indian prisoners were 'as a rule noisy and talkative, listless and slow in obeying orders'. During the long history of the colonial prison, from the 1790s to the 1940s, there were many ways in which prisoners evaded or resisted the restrictions the prison system sought to impose upon them.

Evasion and non-compliance were widespread. Feigning illness or insanity was one way of avoiding work, while being sent to the prison hospital afforded the opportunity of finding an escape route from the jail. Similarly, when prisoners were paraded and dosed with quinine as a prophylactic against malaria, many spat out the medicine as soon as the doctor's back was turned, regarding the bitter drug as little better than poison. Conversely, contraband, including tobacco, opium and bhang, were smuggled into the jail and entered its internal economy. Indeed, much of the effective authority in prisons lay not in the hands of British officials and medical officers but the warders who controlled the day-to-day operations of the jail. For while the British did not trust subordinate Indian officialdom, they did use convicts as warders: prisoners (amounting to 10% of the entire prison population by the 1900s) who were promoted to positions of authority over other prisoners and enjoyed a privileged status within the jail. Critics saw convict warders as a major source of the corruption and violence that occurred within India's jails, and it was often against their exploitation that other prisoners had to defend themselves.

Escape

Right from the start, prisoners exploited opportunities to escape. Early jails were often buildings converted from other uses and relatively insecure; prisoners could escape by bribing or overpowering their guards, by setting fire to the jail and fleeing in the ensuing confusion, or by smuggling in chisels and files to break locks and fetters. The use of convicts to repair roads far from the jails and with lax or inadequate supervision created further opportunities. In Bengal alone in the mid-1830s, there were 80 escapes from road-gangs, aided by 'fellow feeling' between convicts and guards or by communication between prisoners and their 'unfettered comrades'. In northern India between 1838 and 1843, 923 prisoners escaped, only 260 of whom were recaptured.

Even when they failed to escape, prisoners from time to time overwhelmed their guards and seized temporary control of the prison. Bringing prisoners together in a single place, particularly when they shared some common identity or felt emboldened by their own exploits and numbers, posed particular dangers for jail authorities. In 1834 prisoners at Calcutta's Alipur jail, which held more than 1,000 'hardened' criminals awaiting transfer, seized control, murdered the local magistrate and severely wounded the chief jailor. Although discipline was tightened thereafter, jail takeovers occurred periodically throughout the colonial period, such as at Fatehgarh in 1910, where convicts armed themselves with knives from the jail workshop, and at Palayamkottai in 1925, where Mapillas, imprisoned after the Malabar Rebellion four years earlier, took over the jail. But escape was not driven by internal forces alone. In a raid on Agra jail in December 1846, 50 to 60 armed men scaled the walls, drove off the sentries, and released 192 prisoners. Most were recaptured, but of the 51 prisoners who fled, 15 were killed and 12 wounded.

Partly in response to such defiant episodes, from the mid-19th century the colonial authorities embarked on a jail construction programme modeled on Pentonville prison in London. Extramural labour was scaled down and emphasis given instead to the creation of jail industries that would ensure a more disciplined labour regime while helping to meet the costs of jail administration. These changes reduced but did not eliminate prisoners' opportunities for escape. In fact, jail industries gave rise to new forms of resistance. In the 1840s prisoners at Agra and elsewhere in the northwestern provinces objected to being made to work in flour mills. In a carceral version of 'everyday resistance' (to echo James C. Scott), they 'continued wilfully to injure the machinery, and to throw them out of gear, and themselves out of work for 4 to 5 days at a time'. Since the machines cost Rs 1,000 to 1,500 apiece, the provincial Inspector of Prisons was hardly pleased by this 'spirit of resistance'. When prisoners in the 1860s and 70s refused similar tasks, they were put on a reduced diet, but this merely seemed to make them determined to 'resist even more obstinately than before'. They were flogged in an attempt to reduce them to submission.

Messing with caste

The colonial authorities attempted another reform in the 1840s: replacing money doles given to prisoners to buy and cook their own food with a system of common messing. The British hoped this would decrease costs, but they also believed that caste 'privileges' were incompatible with the functions of a modern prison system. At Chapra jail in Bihar, in June 1842, the 620 prisoners were divided into 52 messes, each with its own prisoner cook. The cooks, however, were the first to rebel, as common messing violated caste hierarchies by forcing higher and lower castes together. Ten cooks were whipped for disobedience, but then the prisoners revolted en masse; though unable to break out of the jail, some 3,000 to 4,000 townspeople gathered in their support. Peace was restored only when the magistrate, believing force could not prevail against such strongly held 'prejudices', suspended common messing.

Further messing-related disturbances resulted in the deaths of 22 prisoners at Allahabad and Patna jails in 1846. By the end of that year, the messing system had been introduced, wholly or partly, into 25 of the 40 jails in the northwestern provinces, but many officials continued to believe that it was unenforceable. Although high-caste prisoners – Brahmins and Rajputs, whose caste status seemed most at risk from common messing – led these protests, the authorities admitted that 'the prisoners one and all are opposed to it'. It was possible to see prisoners' invocation of caste as something of a contrivance. One official remarked how, when common messing was first introduced, 'it was a matter of great surprise how many [caste] subdivisions arose, which nobody had heard of before'. Some, he thought, were 'got up by the prisoners themselves in order to throw obstacles in the way of the scheme'. Nonetheless, the Bengal and NWP governments felt obliged to proceed with caution and without 'doing violence to the prejudices or the feelings of the people'. The accommodation of caste within the prison ensured that the social hierarchy outside the prison was replicated within it: low castes were obliged to work leather or act as scavengers; those of high caste, or who had the wealth to bribe warders, lived a more comfortable existence and gained exemption from some of prison's more arduous and degrading tasks.

The co-ordinated responses of north Indian prisoners to the messing system and other grievances showed how much communication existed between prisoners in different jails and how ready they were to complain about what they saw as unfair or discriminatory treatment. It worried the British that prisoners enjoyed support from Indians outside the jail, who believed the administration was deliberately using prison regulations to break caste and impose Christianity. Further, many of the rebellious prisoners came from precisely those castes – Brahmins and Rajputs – that the British recruited into the Bengal Army: indeed, many of the prisoners' grievances echoed those of the sepoy. Unsurprisingly, opposition within the jails, and public support for it, carried over into the

Mutiny and Rebellion in 1857, when a number of prisons were attacked and their inmates liberated. The prison had come to symbolize the alien, intrusive and oppressive nature of colonial rule.

Prison as resistance

The rise of nationalism and other political movements bred a new type of prisoner. Although their separate status was not fully recognized by prison authorities until the 1930s, these political, generally middle-class prisoners, while tending to distance themselves from those they looked down on as common criminals, brought a new spirit of resistance to the prison. Their methods included hunger strikes to force the authorities to make concessions over diet, dress, access to newspapers and visitors, and the performance of religious and political observances. Nationalist prisoners also enjoyed wide support among the Indian public, their grievances publicized to a degree unmatched in the 19th century by newspapers, debates in the legislatures and formal petitions and resolutions. The harshest treatment was meted out to left-wing revolutionaries, some of whom were force-fed or otherwise brutally treated. The fatal fast of the revolutionary Jatindranath Das in 1929 obliged the British to concede separate status for political prisoners.¹

Do these acts of evasion, protest and occasional outright resistance matter? They did not bring about the overthrow of the colonial prison system or even modify the brutality and degradation that characterized much of its operation. Nevertheless, this aspect of prison history is noteworthy for several reasons. First, it shows the importance of the prison to wider histories of Indian resistance, the relative permeability of the prison to outside influences, the continuing connectedness – through rumour and riot – between the jail and society at large, and how an oppressive social hierarchy could be replicated within jail. Second, although many prisoners were abused, flogged or half-starved for their defiance, prison resistance and revolt did have some impact on the colonial authorities in India, prompting them – for pragmatic rather than humanitarian reasons – to investigate prison conditions (as, for instance, in the wake of the Alipur jail riot in 1834). Protests did not lead to the abandonment of common messing in the 1840s and 50s, but they did delay its implementation and impressed on the British the need to accommodate what they saw as prisoners' caste 'prejudices'. Third, a circularity or symbiosis developed between the opposition the prison helped to arouse and the operations of the colonial regime. Just as prisons were condemned as 'schools' for the very crimes and vices they were intended to suppress, so they helped to generate (and to symbolize) resistance to colonial rule. But even with the mutineers and rebels of 1857-8, and the 'jail-going' Gandhians of the 1920s and 30s, the British saw little alternative to using the prison as one of the principal tools of coercion and containment. Their dependence on it to keep order guaranteed the colonial prison system's place as a battleground, and thus no less a tool, of the Indian resistance the system's 'evolution' and efforts to stamp out actually fueled. ◀

Note

1. For the protests of political prisoners and the colonial response to them, see Singh, Ujjwal Kumar. 1998. *Political Prisoners in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

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In her aunt's house: women in prison in the Middle East

According to an Arab saying, 'Prison is for real men' (*al-sijn lil-jad'an*). But it was also a place for women. The development of female imprisonment sheds light not only on the cultural and social meanings of the prison in the Middle Eastern context, but on how its acculturation intersected with indigenous attitudes towards women and crime.

Anthony Gorman

Imprisonment in the Middle East blossomed during the 19th century, supplanting older practices of corporal and capital punishment and financial penalties. The confinement of women was not a new phenomenon; previously it had existed within families on a personalized basis. While the traditional women's quarters, the harem, has long had a grip on the western imagination, lesser known institutions such as the *Dar al-Thiqa* (house of trust) – where couples were confined by order of the mufti to work out marital difficulties – existed in Tunisia from the 16th century. Another customary practice, the *Dar Jawad*, a place for the confinement of a disobedient or rebellious woman, represented a more openly repressive instrument of the patriarchal order. By the late 18th century, these practices had extended to women's prisons such as the *Dar 'Adil* (House of Justice), presumably in response to the perceived threat of social deviance and greater insecurity among state authorities. Their emergence marks the beginning of a new development even if the continued use of the word *dar* (house) makes clear the domestic lineage of the institution.

As western political power encroached upon the Middle East, it sought to exert its 'civilising' influence on state institutions and governance. Prisons were particularly targeted. In 1851 the British government conducted a damning survey of Ottoman prisons, but singled out the separate imprisonment of women as one of the few causes for praise, something which one official put down to 'eastern delicacy'. The widespread practice of the time was to hold convicted women in the house of their religious leaders, whether imam, rabbi, or priest, a married state official, the *Bayt al-wali* ('House of the Governor') in Egypt, the guardian of prostitutes in Jerusalem, or even the jailer's family where women were required to per-



Class A inmate in Cairo Prison, 1950s
Prisons Administration, Cairo Prison, Cairo, 1955

form domestic service for the term of their sentence.

Within prisons, the situation was far from uniform and segregation was not always observed. While the prison at Damanhur in the Nile Delta boasted a separate annex for women, others simply confined women to a room in the men's prison. Sometimes women were imprisoned with men, as at Salonica; at Alexandretta, they were occasionally chained because of the lack of a proper prison. Nevertheless, with the progressive consolidation of state institutions, larger scale women's prisons became an increasingly common feature, particularly in centres of the Ottoman Empire, such as the *Zindan* in Istanbul. In Egypt, new women's prisons were built in Bulaq and Shibin al-Kom in the 1890s while at Cairo Prison they were housed in a separate wing. In Algeria, the French administration converted the *Lazaret*, the old hospital in Algiers, into the main women's prison with separate sections for long and short-term prisoners, for those awaiting trial and young detainees.

Across the Middle East, women were proportionally less prominent in prisons than, for example, in France. From the early 20th century women represented between 2 and 5% of all prisoners in Egyptian prisons – a proportion that stayed consistent over the following decades – compared to 12-18% in French prisons during the last quarter of the 19th century. (Elsewhere in the region, the figures seem comparable, although in Turkey the numbers approached 10% in the 1930s). The female prison population reflected the broad character of female society outside: more than 90% Muslim, drawn from the poorer classes, almost entirely illiterate. Married women numbered less than half of all women prisoners though they were more prominent in local than central prisons, suggesting they were held for less serious offences. Prostitutes numbered about a third of all prisoners in central prisons.

Conditions and work

Prison conditions for women varied widely in the 19th century. There was less corporal punishment and women sometimes enjoyed greater comforts: in Algerian prisons, women slept on beds instead of mattresses. Abuses no doubt occurred. Violation of inmates were reported in the women's prison in Damascus; in Beirut, jailers were accused of attempting to convert women to Islam. Other prisons did not segregate the sexes – a great humiliation in a sexually segregated society. In Egypt under British occupation, rights for female prisoners were enshrined in the prison regulations of 1884, which stipulated special consideration for pregnant women and those with young children, and that only female officers search

Female Ward,
Central Prison Cairo
c. 1908 from Arnold
Wright, *Twentieth
Century Impressions
of Egypt*



women prisoners. Women were later exempted from whipping and being put in irons, or, if pregnant, from execution. As with male prisoners, women of higher social status could receive better treatment than those of lower social standing or prostitutes, but this was not routine. By virtue of the Capitulations, foreign women enjoyed better prison conditions; after the abolition of extraterritorial rights, new regulations in 1949 instituted differential treatment for Egyptian women, categorized as class A or B, depending on their social class.

Women were an integral part of the Egyptian penal labour system. From the late 1820s convict labour became part of the programme of economic modernization pursued by Muhammad Ali and women, while not sent to convict prisons, were sentenced to hard labour. By 1856 their numbers required a special workplace: a textile workshop (*iplikhane*) was established at Bulaq in the industrial centre of Cairo. In effect, they became the seamstresses of the prison administration, making clothes for prison guards and inmates. In the *Lazaret* women were employed sewing or making matchboxes. Such work was squarely within the traditional definition of women's activities. Education for women prisoners in Egypt in the 1940s included the teaching of housekeeping and embroidery.

Offending public order

The offences for which women were imprisoned tell us much about the social position of, and expectations placed on women. In Tunisia in the 1860s, women were imprisoned for debauchery and violence, theft and debt in roughly equal proportion. Forty years later in Egypt, the main offences were assault, theft and a wide range of minor violations. That women were found guilty of adultery out of proportion to their numbers is unsurprising, but their conviction in a disproportionate number of defamation cases, an offence of the verbally strong but physically weak, is intriguing. The imprisonment of women for political offences illuminates female participa-

tion in public life; with the development of mass politics, women were detained as anti-colonial nationalists, communists and Islamists. Women were imprisoned not only for offences they had committed, but because of their association with those who had. The principle of collective punishment applied in Algeria by the French, employed particularly in dealing with so-called bandit tribes, meant women suffered internment, relocation and reclusion. Women were also imprisoned when the authorities were unable to apprehend a male family member, or joined their husbands in prison because of economic dependence. Such cases underline the dependent status of women propagated by the judicial system.

Women in prison were not only prisoners. Female guards were widely employed as early as the mid-19th century even if some women's prisons, such as those in Iran in the late 1920s, preferred elderly guards. As visitors to inmates, women provided social contact and sustenance, particularly before the state provided food to prisoners. As the mothers, wives and sisters of prisoners (and even, on occasion, of guards) women were at times vocal in demonstrating and protesting injustices of the system.

Uneven reform

Despite authorities' unanimity on the need for gender segregation in prisons, women did not significantly figure in discussions on prison reform, perhaps due to their relatively small numbers and their marginality within the institution. While a reformatory was set up for male recidivists in Egypt in 1907, no equivalent institution was established for women repeat offenders. Girls were the exception: a reformatory at Giza testified to the belief that youths were more malleable than adult criminals. Public concern with prison conditions, particularly as they affected women, had to wait for women's associations and organizations to take them up. The Society to Stop Crime and Improve Prisons set up in Beirut by Adalayd Rishani in 1928 conducted prison inspections and

delivered clean clothes to inmates. In the 1940s the Iranian Women's Party sought and received permission to inspect women in prison.

Little work has been done on the culture of women's prisons but, as with men's prisons, it is clear that there were established hierarchies. Drug dealers, for example, were at the top of the prisoner pecking order. Emotional and physical relationships between inmates moderated interactions in the prison. Tattoos, such as the name of a husband, were used to emphasize a personal connection, or a professional affiliation, with the symbol of a woman with swords being favoured by prostitutes. Women prisoners made collective demands on authorities who alternatively repressed, negotiated with and accommodated them.

The phenomenon of women in prison in the Middle East offers many complex readings. The prison memoirs of activists such as Nawal al-Sa'dawi and Farida al-Naqqash speak of the relationship between political and non-political prisoners, between women guards and prisoners, between literate political prisoners and uneducated guards. Women were more marginal in prison than their male counterparts, and suffered greater social stigma. Political prisoners suffered a sense of reproach for 'neglecting' their proper duty, their children. Created and controlled by men, the prison system was not separate from society outside, but permeated by its political and social relations. Full of contradictions, it was an encompassing, all-embracing male institution that could still be conceived of in feminine terms: the 'aunt's house' (*dar khaltu*) or the 'great vagina' (*bou daffa*). ◀

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Blurring the boundaries: prisons and settler society in Hokkaido

During the second half of the 19th century five high security prisons were established on Japan's northern island of Hokkaido. What impact did they have on the settler communities in these northern territories? Close proximity between convicts and free citizens usually does not sit well among the latter, but the peculiar socio-economic aspects of confinement on Hokkaido spurred both inmates and locals to permeate prison walls for mutual benefit.

An accident in the Horonai coalmines
Hokkaidō kaitaku kinenkan, 1989.

Pia Vogler

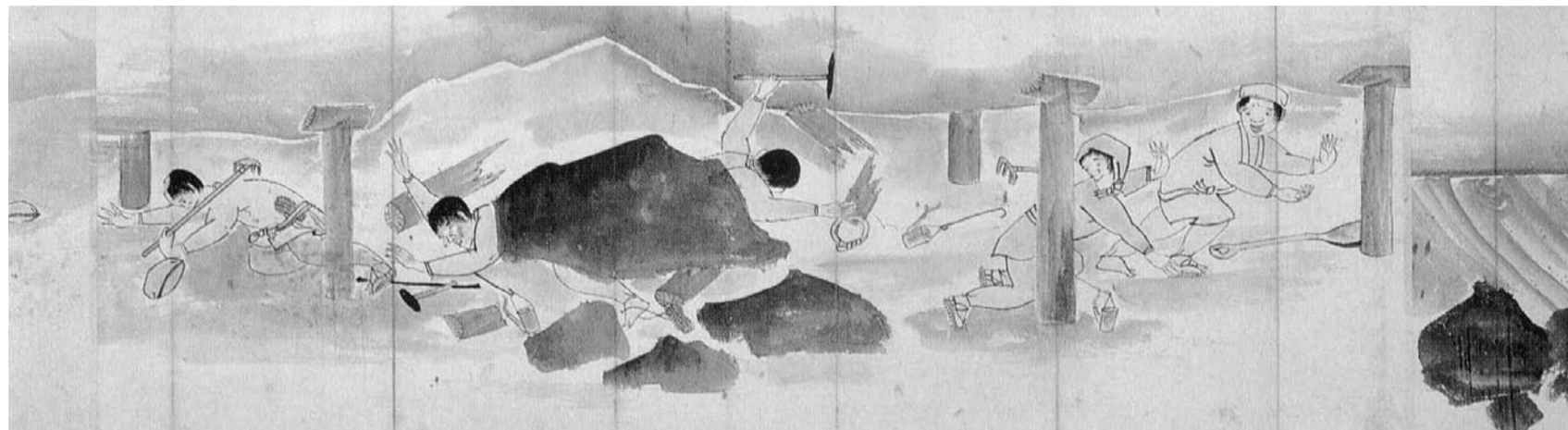
Hokkaido did not exist as a political entity before the Meiji period (1868-1912). Only the southernmost part of Ezo, as the Japanese called these northern territories, was politically incorporated into the Tokugawa state. Against the backdrop of modern nation-building and fear of a Russian invasion, the incorporation of Ezo into the Japanese state became a priority for the early Meiji authorities. In 1869 Ezo was renamed Hokkaido and the colonization of the island formally began. Recruitment of a labour force from mainland Japan was an indispensable precondition for the agricultural development of these vast and largely unsettled lands. Yet the initial recruitment of impoverished peasants and former samurai failed to meet politicians' expectations; a larger work force was needed to accelerate colonization.

While peasantry and former aristocracy engaged in modest settlement activities in northern Japan, southern Japan experienced political unrest owing to local elites' resistance to the new Meiji-government's political authority. The 1877 Satsuma rebellion alone produced 43,000 political arrests that resulted in the sentencing of 27,000 individuals to imprisonment and forced labour. The existing system of town gaols was unprepared for such a large number of convicts. Inspired by Western reformist ideas on prisons and punishment, Meiji authorities ordered the establishment of Japan's first modern prison in the northern prefecture of Miyagi. In 1879, a cluster of central prisons on Hokkaido was also suggested.

Hokkaido was seen as the perfect place for prisons, as prison labour could accelerate colonization. In addition, Hokkaido was far away from the political hot spot of Kyushu and therefore perceived as an ideal place for isolating 'politically dangerous elements' from mainland Japan. A third incentive was the hope that, once released, former inmates would stay in Hokkaido and contribute to an increase in the population. Five prisons were thus established on Hokkaido between 1881 and 1894. Kabato, Sorachi and Kushiro were the central prisons; Abashiri and Tokachi served as branch institutions. Each central prison held a particular inmate population: political convicts were mainly held in Kabato, felons were sent to Sorachi, and prisoners originating from the military and police went to Kushiro.

Prison in society, society in prison

The construction of prisons and other 'delicate' institutions provokes ambivalent sentiments among residents of neighbouring communities. A closer look at the interaction of prisons with their environment often reveals complex



relationships between social spaces meant to be separate. Indeed, the example of early modern Hokkaido illustrates how the presence of prisons stimulated fruitful socio-economic exchange between the local society and the prison population.

Immediately after their establishment, the prisons were actually running local politics. When the first two penal institutions opened in 1881 and 1882, the directors of the Kabato prison in Tsukigata and the Sorachi prison in Ichikishiri (present-day Mikasa) exerted broad political influence in their regions. Tsukigata Kiyoshi, director of the Kabato prison, served as chief of Kabato, Uryū and Kamigawa counties, and from 1882 he was chief of the local police and postal service. Tsukigata's importance was reflected in how the local population addressed him: *tengoku-sama* (Mr prison director) or *tengoku kakka* (his excellency, the prison director). Thanks to its director's various posts the prison was equipped with unique communication technologies and served as a regional hub for communication between Hokkaido and Tokyo. Instructions from the Ministry of the Interior to the surrounding settler society, for example, were transmitted through the prison.

Almost 500 inmates were transferred to Kabato two months after its inauguration, followed by another 500 one year later. Kabato prison already employed 140 people, but that would not be enough. A wave of political arrests in mainland Japan rapidly increased inmate numbers during the following years, which brought new immigrants, especially from Northern Honshu, but also from Kagoshima, in search of employment as prison personnel. In addition to employment, local villagers also benefited from prison services. In both Kabato and Sorachi prisons doctors received inmates in the morning and residents of surrounding villages in the afternoon. In the absence of a primary school building, the children of prison personnel were taught in 'classrooms' within the prison until 1886.

As a local political personality, Sorachi prison director Watanabe Koreaki was

deeply involved in the region's development. After the prison's establishment in 1882, drilling revealed the poor quality of the local ground water. Watanabe immediately contacted the Ministry of the Interior to request the construction of a pipe to provide the village with potable water. When the Ministry rejected his request, Watanabe himself initiated exploration and discovered an adequate source. The construction of the water pipe was later approved, and in 1888 Ichikishiri became the first place in Hokkaido and the second in Japan (after Yokohama) with a modern water pipe (Shigematsu 1970:227). Prisoners then constructed a dam and reservoir to irrigate the fields of neighbouring communities. By that time 2,832 people were residing in Ichikishiri; 1,630 of them were inmates.



Hokkaido prisons Hokkaidō kaitaku kinenkan, 1989.

This development of local infrastructure through the prisons actually increased the attractiveness and economic potential of the respective locations. Kushiro prison in Shibecha also attracted modern technology to eastern Hokkaido, where U.S. agricultural methods enabled rice cultivation for the first time in that northern region. Because of its many agricultural activities, locals saw the prison as a place for agricultural testing, and since convicts were clearing land that was immediately sold to settler societies and distributed to new settlers, the prisons attracted still more newcomers.

The influx of immigrants increased demand for skilled craftsmen. Prisoners were trained to fabricate furniture for private households. As craftsmen, they were not confined to prison workshops, but also worked in the houses of their clients. The prison labour force

was not only tapped by local residents. Local businessmen employed convicts in their factories, such as Tsuchida Masajirō, who, in 1889, took over a carpentry workshop, a tailor studio, a vat factory and a shoe factory previously owned by the Kabato prison. To keep production costs low, Tsuchida successfully applied for permission to hire prisoners (ASHK 1993: 389).

As a result of this mingling of convicts and locals, various goods and materials found their way into and out of the prisons. In 1882 the Kabato prison began making soybean paste (miso) and soy sauce in its brewery, eventually producing enough to cover prison consumption and, in some years, to sell surpluses to merchants in the surrounding region or in the cities of Sapporo and Otaru. In addition to these official economic exchanges, prisoners also traded with community members working alongside them. In the Horonai coal mines, for example, convicts secretly produced rice wine (*sake*) in their subterranean workplace.

Banning prisoners from community life

Although welcomed in the beginning, the permeable character of Hokkaido's prisons eventually became problematic, both on the macro and micro levels of society. In 1886 policies shifted and prisons were largely stripped of their local autonomy. Moreover, it became economically possible to forego the support of prisons in everyday settler life. It was therefore easy to marginalize convict labour and, from 1886 onwards, prisoners were mainly employed in coal and sulphur mines and road construction.

The segregation of prisoners from everyday community life contributed to a gradual shift in the settler population's perception of convicts. Newspaper editors eagerly picked up stories of (mostly unsuccessful) escape attempts, constructing an image of 'dangerous roughs' who, once escaped from prison, would attack settlers. Influenced by such mass media, settlers indeed became afraid of prisoners. As the influx of mostly male job-seeking immigrants was accompanied by the establishment of morally ambiguous recreational sites such as

bathing houses and sake bars, locals began to blame the prisons for 'moral decay'. Politicians and residents also worried that the label 'prison island' created a general perception of Hokkaido that would deter immigration. Against this backdrop, popular campaigns achieved the implementation of a regulation prohibiting released convicts from settling on the island in 1894, marking the end of an era in relations between prisons and surrounding settler communities.

Large-scale interaction of prisons and society on Hokkaido lasted for only five years, but studying this sliver of Japanese prison history is insightful. Confinement appears to have been a secondary function of early Hokkaido prisons; rather than being mere disciplinary institutions, prisons served as socio-economic hubs and linked metropolitan elites with settler societies on the nation's periphery. Further, the exchange was not one-sided: both the prison populations and neighbouring communities took advantage of people, goods and knowledge permeating prison walls. By blurring institutional boundaries both groups shaped each other's environment. Tending to local economic needs, rather than trying to apply theoretical models through national policies, determined the structure and function of the prisons and the societies that surrounded them. ◀

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Poetry by Sitor Situmorang

From Bunga di atas batu (si anak hilang)
Penerbit pt gramedia, Jakarta, 1989

Translations from *To love, to wander:*
The Poetry of Sitor Situmorang
The Lontar Foundation, Jakarta, 1996

Pulau di atas pulau

Untuk Tilhang dan Nahum

Antara dulu dan sekarang
terbentang peta perjalanan,
Pengalaman melimpah-ruah
dan pegunungan tinggi kesendirian

Antara Selat Malaka dan samudra Indonesia,
terbentang pulau Sumatra.
Bukit Barisan dari ujung ke ujungnya,
Di atasnya danau, di atasnya pulau
Samosir kesayangan.

Tersebut enam benua,
kujalani tujuh samudra.
Mana paling indah?

Jawab telah lama
tanpa perlu bertanya:
Negeri terindah,
ialah setiamu

Pangkal tolak kembara
di dasar samudra rindu.

Island on an Island

for Tilhang and Nahum

Between then and now
this journey's map unfolds
Experiences abound
Tall mountains stand alone

Between the Strait of Malacca and Indonesia's ocean
stretches the island of Sumatra,
with the Barisan Range straddling it from end to end,
and on it a lake, and on the lake an island:
my beloved Samosir

Six continents,
the seven seas I've traveled
Which is the most beautiful?

The answer has long been known
with no need to ask:
The most beautiful country
is your loyalty

Where my journey once started
in the depths of the sea of longing.

In-communicado

(Sandera)

Sel hitam pekat.
Perkuncian berderak
dari sela pintu-cahaya listrik
menusuk mata.
(di mesjid terdekat
azan magrib
baru lewat)

Informan sipil melongok,
lalu menggoreskan korek,
memeriksa
apakah tahanannya ada
(di luar bekecamuk perang saudara)

Ia menyalakan lilin
sisa semalam,
lalu tiba-tiba bertanya
"Kamu, ya, Sitorsitumorang?"

Aku memandang lilin
mambiasakan mata pada cahaya
dan nama itu mengiang
seperti nama satunya

di taman Firdaus
ketika Tuhan mencari
dan memanggil-manggil: Adam! Adam!

Di luar perang saudara
Sejarah menghitung korban
dan impian.
Antara informan dan saya
hanya cahaya lilin
dan jurang menganga
antara Tuhan
dan manusia pertama.

Incommunicado

(Hostage)

The cell is solid black,
the locking-up proceeds
from cracks in the door electric lights
pierce the eyes.
(at the nearest mosque
the call to evening prayer
has just finished)

A civilian informant looks around
then strikes a match,
checking to see
that his prisoner is still there
(while outside civil war rages)

he lights a candle,
a stub from last night,
then suddenly asks:
"So you're Sitorsitumorang?"

I stare at the candle
let my eyes grow accustomed to the light
and the buzz of that name

like the name of that one
in Eden
When God was looking,
and calling out: Adam! Adam!

Outside is civil war
History counts victims and dreams.
Between the informant and myself
is but the candle light
and a yawning gap
between God
and the first man.

Poetry by Mohamad Haji Salleh

From Beyond the Archipelago
Ohio University Center for
International Studies, Athens, 1995

kembara jauh

jikalau kau mau kembara jauh
kau harus pergi sendiri

semua jalannya pendek
dan berakhir di lemah riuh

kampung dijerit masalah
atau dililit alat

jikalau kau mau mendaki gunung
ikut jalan hati, di belakang kota hutan

yang terlindung dari mata pertama
atau mimpi biasa yang kabur.

tiada kampung pada cita
tiada kawan pada gagasan.

sepi itu syarat cita
mimpi itu rancangan kenyataan

travelling far

if you want to travel far
you must go alone

all roads are short
that end in the noisy valley
the villages are hounded by quarrels
or overgrown with rituals

if you want to scale mountains
you must follow the soul, bypassing cities and forests

hidden from the first eyes
or ordinary vague dreams.

there is no village to will
no company to ideas.

desolation is the prerequisite of ambition
dreams are programmers of reality.

wayang i

di selembur daun kulit
terkampung isi cakerawala,
diatur seperti semula,
bentuk, warna, jenis
dinaungi pinggirnya.

pada daun
ada gunung.
pada gunung ada beringin
pada beringin ada hutan
pada hutan berkicau burung.

di hati hutan mengaum pertapaan
senyap dan jelas suara tafakur
di pinggir hutan riuh istana
di sekeliling istana gerak mencurahkan warna.

pada daun bersembunyi lambang
pada lambang terkias andaian.
lorong menuju ilmu,
ilmu membentang ujian.

pada hutan menimbun daun
pada daun tumbuh cakerawala
pada cakerawala ada hutan
pada hutan ada daun.

shadow play i

on a leather leaf
a whole world is gathered,
arranged in its original state,
forms, colours, types
all sheltered by their borders.

in the leaf
there's a mountain
on the mountain there's a beringin
in the beringin there's a forest
in the forest birds chirp.

in the heart of the forest roar silences
quiet and clear is the voice of meditation
on the edge of the forest in the din of the palace
around the palace movements pour their colours

in the leaf are hidden symbols
in the symbols is analogy's shade.
all lanes lead to knowledge,
knowledge spreads its roots.

in the forest leaves are heaped high
in the leaves a universe grows
in the universe there's a forest
in the forest is the leaf

Mohamad Haji Salleh was Artist in Residence at IIAS in 2005

Sitor Situmorang and Mohamad Haji Salleh read their poetry at the IIAS *Windows on the Malay World Seminar* on 20 and 21 October 2005. The seminar was organised by Prof. Md. Salleh Yaapar, European Chair of Malay Studies.

The prose of the world: the field speaks for itself

The procession advances slowly. The courtesans... perform obscene dances; ... the drums, trumpets, and all sorts of musical instruments give forth their discordant sounds. ... Those who have nothing else to do shriek and shout. ... To form a proper idea of the terrible uproar and confusion that reigns among this crowd of demoniacs one must witness such a scene. As for myself, I never see a Hindu procession without being reminded of a picture of hell.

Saskia Kersenboom

Thus reports a French missionary in South India at the end of the 18th century (Dubois 1978:604-5). Saskia Kersenboom and Thomas Voorter offer their own account of a Hindu procession in their joint production of the DVD *Eye to Eye with Goddess Kamakshi* (2006). Dubois's advice that such an event should be witnessed first-hand alludes to the experiential nature of understanding. 'Being there' reigns supreme; next, however, looms interpretation. Both his and our world operate frames of reference that differ significantly from those that underlie an actual procession. To report, therefore, inevitably involves such 'framing'.

In contrast to the travelogue, the present authors investigate the possibilities of interactive multimedia. They aim to simulate the perspective of an 'eye witness' by inviting the user to access the DVD. This forms the grid of its design and familiarizes the user with frames of reference employed by Hindus in their devotional practices. Earlier and recent fieldwork among daily and festival routines in South Indian temples immersed the authors in liturgical practices of textual recitation, visual display and musical support (Kersenboom, 1984 ff). This gradually led to a 'logic of practice' that informed the collection of data, their analysis and, ultimately, the design for their multimedia representation.

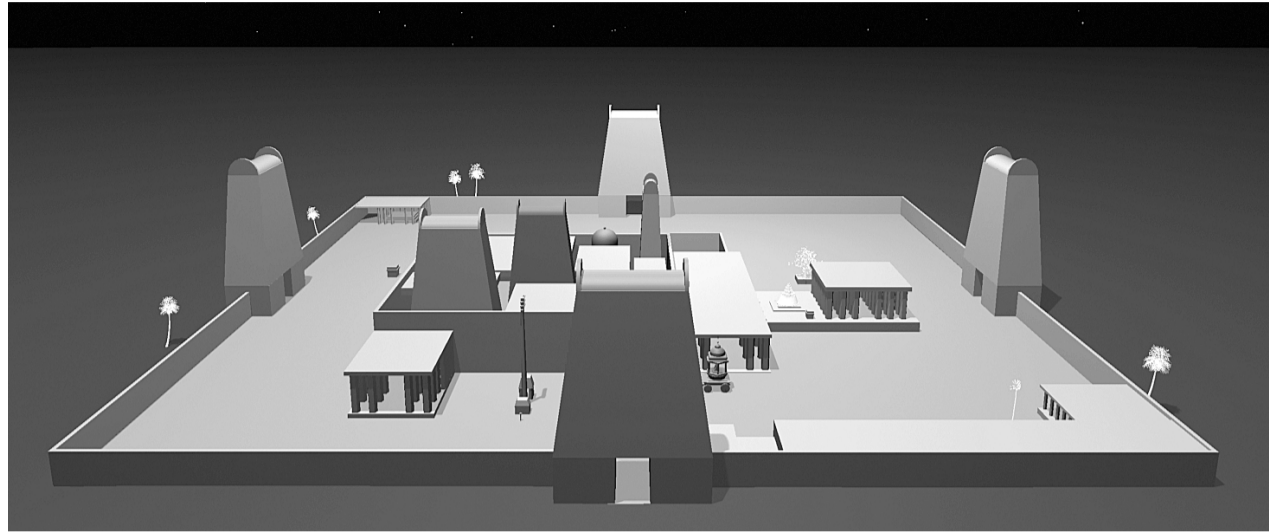
Interactivity: 'being there'

The ingredients of real time and space are crucial to the perspective of the eye witness. It is, however, not only the 'eye' that is involved in this encounter. A ritual procession is performed physically and purposefully. The picture of hell that looms large to Dubois fuels a deeply satisfying experience for the goddess's devotees. They throw their bodies, senses and souls into the procession, pulling the chariot by hand, feeling Kamakshi's eyes on them, beating their cheeks in submission, and, most important of all, uniting with her in an act of mutual 'incorporation'. The goddess absorbs her devotees by accepting their gifts of flowers, food and red kumkumam powder, while she, in return, infuses herself into them through the sprinkling of holy water, by sharing the 'leftovers' of her food and flowers touched by her presence, and ultimately by sharing and applying the red kumkumam worn on the forehead. Moreover, this powder can be taken home, abroad, anywhere – provided it is kept in a ritually 'safe' place – and thus live interaction with the goddess is possible anytime, anywhere through the simple act of applying the sanctified red dot.

This the DVD cannot do. What it can do is program a trajectory of information – nodes where 'tacit knowledge' can be articulated. This type of 'expertise' is highly pragmatic: silent-

DVD: temple ground

'Eye to Eye with Goddess Kamakshi'



ly it inheres cultural practices. However, when it does articulate itself it demands more media than the verbal alone: all the senses are addressed in the encounter. This modern media can do, to some extent, through the interactive use of the media of 'word, sound and image'.

Frames: the prose of the world

To report means to frame: to select a grid, media, their materiality and to design their accessibility. The ritual procession is the 'raw', physical mode of communication where bodies meet in real time, real space, mixing and mingling their substances with the natural elements. Its logic is one of transformation: the devotee leaves the temple in an altered, stronger psychic/physical state than when he or she entered the sacred grounds.

This the DVD cannot do either. The Digital Versatile Disc is an ultimate product of 'literacy'. Unlike popular ideas that DVD is primarily used for displaying video, it can equally contain word, sound and image files. In a way its design is similar to effective dramaturgy. The magic of the proscenium theatre, its dark auditorium and well-lit stage, the significant stage props and costumes are all foreground to a compelling story, while at same time the actual performance guarantees physical distance between actors and audience. In the DVD, the stage is the television or computer screen, and the actors perform their roles in digital form. The user can no longer touch the performers, nor is he touched by them in an act of 'mutual incorporation'. The social dimension of seeing and being seen that still survives in the theatre has been obliterated in the digital world. Instead, the user enjoys it in private and explores the flexible possibilities of the DVD. The loss of 'proximity' is creatively replaced by 'autonomy' over the process of learning. This new, multimedia prose can be stopped, repeated, fast-forwarded or paused. The digital procession turns a linear prose of the world into a non-linear, multi-layered, associative adventure. If the user craves to explore the unknown, he can travel at random and at leisure into underlying layers of information, stories, songs, dances, iconographies and metaphysics stored under the objects that he encounters in the digital procession. This circumambulation is a celebration of conceptualisation, beckoning the viewer to experience for himself, and confront the real world.

Design: from 'thick description' to rich application

Participant observation is the key to the entire process of data collection, data analysis and their representation. Endless hours of participation in Hindu temple rituals preceded the actual filming of the event in Kanchipuram on Friday, 31 January 2003. Mutual sympathy, familiarity, and a natural competence to blend in with the proceedings were imperative for the presence of the camera and the process of filming the procession. Thomas Voorter was able to film its progression only after acquiring the necessary 'tacit expertise' of what and who make up the process and when, how and why the procession moves the way it does. Its itinerary, tempo and highlights empower Hindu devotion and had to be taken into account as keys to understanding it. The 'terrible uproar' heard by Dubois proved to be a very strategic use of musical instruments and

sound effects such as fireworks and gun shots. The sound file forms the flow chart of the linear journey. In this application, the 'shrieks and shouts' do not come as a surprise: they highlight the ultimate lustration of the goddess in her cleansed, peaceful and sublime form, as she blesses her devotees after her long journey through the night. In real life, incorporation immediately follows.

Digital, interactive multimedia reset frames of reference that have marked academic literacy for over three centuries. Fieldwork, data collection, interaction and co-authorship of researcher and informant as well as the physical categories of time and space, sensory perception and the human body are central concerns in developing designs for interactive multimedia. *Eye to Eye with Goddess Kamakshi* invites an investigation into the various aspects of the inspiration that draws hundreds of Hindus every Friday to share her presence again and again. Its design is based on the cultural practices found in Hindu temples and their Sanskrit and Tamil normative manuals, offering a digital journey that branches out into an extensive database of verbal and printed discourse, of instrumental and vocal music, and of audio-visual recordings, iconography and material culture. This investigation and experimentation with multimedia representations as innovative methods for qualitative research seeks a new coherence in scholarly argumentation and communication: a prose of the world – a digital language that speaks for itself. <

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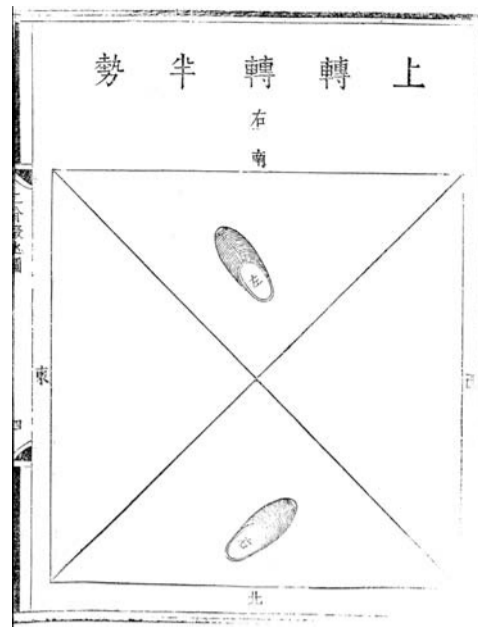
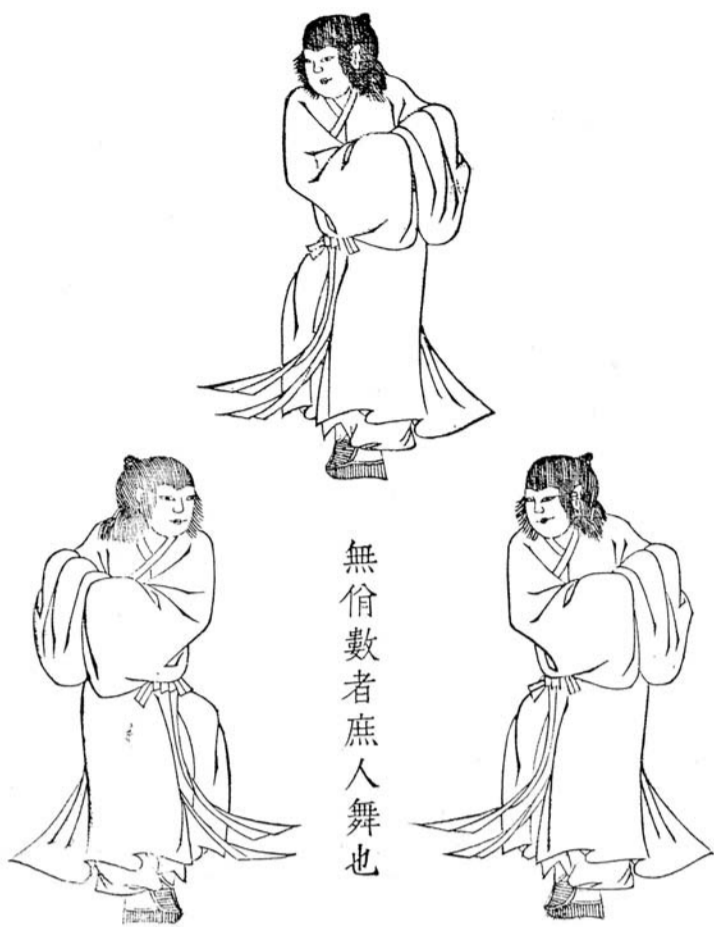
Video still.

Darshanam:
mother and child

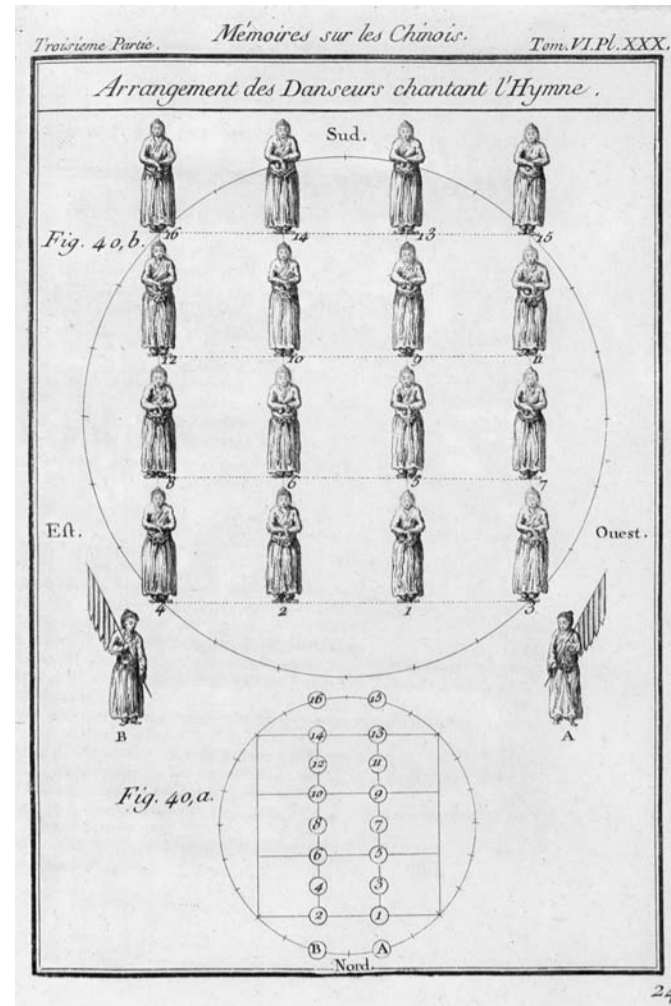
Thomas Voorter,
'Darshanam'



舞人三



Dance positions according to Zhu Zaiyu
(c) The East Asian Library and the Gest Collection, Princeton University



First print of dances in the West, 1790
(c) K.U. Leuven

Ancient Chinese ritual dances

From his arrival in China in 1750 as a young Jesuit missionary, Joseph-Marie Amiot took interest in ancient Chinese dances. In his eyes, they were part of a civilization dating back to those distant centuries ‘when Europe and most of the other known regions offered only forests and ferocious animals as inhabitants’. But beyond his own writings and two brief articles written in the early 20th century, the topic hardly attracted the attention of European scholars.

Nicolas Standaert

In 1761 the French periodical *Journal Étranger* published two of Amiot’s articles and he sent two more manuscripts to Paris in 1788 and 1789. Though they remained hidden in European libraries, these manuscripts can truly be considered forerunners to the field of ethnochoreography.

The dances that Amiot described were ‘ritual dances’ performed at state sacrifices: ritual celebrations during which the Chinese emperor made offerings to important state divinities such as Heaven, the Sun, the First Farmer and Confucius. Held every fortnight, these rituals were impressively orchestrated, and dances – usually performed by 64 professionals – accompanied the emperor’s oblations. The dances had a long history; the first descriptions provided by Chinese classical scholars date back to before 300 B.C. Our present-day knowledge about their practice, however, is derived from texts dating from the Ming dynasty (after 1368 A.D.) and from extensive choreographies printed since the sixteenth century. This is noteworthy, since one has to wait until the development of photography in the late 19th century for the reproduction of similar choreographies in Europe.

In terms of dancing theory, the most important and creative scholar on whose work Amiot based his analysis was the late Ming scholar Zhu Zaiyu (1536-1611). As a young man, Zhu Zaiyu devoted himself to study and took a keen interest in the mathematical principles of music and of the calendar. He left 28 writings and is known in music history for his discovery of the calculation of equal temperament (the formula $12\sqrt{2}$).

Development of a dance theory

Two specific contexts inform Zhu’s accomplishments. First, in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, the Ming empire was experiencing an economic and institutional crisis; its cause was judged to be disrespect of ritual. Improvement of state sacrificial music was proposed as a means to revive the collapsing empire and, as a result, there was a renewed interest in music and dance theory. The second context was the movement labelled the ‘concrete or solid studies’ (*shixue*). As a reaction against the excessive intuitionist tendencies of the Wang Yangming school of philosophy (named after one of the most influential thinkers of the 16th century), scholars cultivated

an interest in philology and textual analysis, reflected in their study of words and their meanings. Zhu Zaiyu’s treatises on music and dance belong to that movement. He saw his studies as part of the effort to ‘know better the past so as to put it into practice in the present’. He was interested in the search for ‘solidity and principles’, not ‘appearances and adornment’. It is important to underscore that scholars in the seventeenth century rarely limited their efforts to one domain. Mathematics, calendar studies, music, dance and rituals all came under Zhu Zaiyu’s scrutiny because they are all closely linked to essential aspects of ritual. Mathematical sciences, for example, are essential to the ritualization of time (the calendar) and the harmonization of sound (music); dance concerns the ritualization of space, or the geometry of ritual.

Comparison with other Ming era writings on dance, concerning both the sacrifice to Confucius and the proposals to reform the state sacrifices, reveals Zhu Zaiyu’s originality and creativity. He is the first to have discussed, described and designed the dances in such detail (his writings contain over 600 illustrations of dancing positions). He created a comprehensive approach, establishing rules for combining dancing with vocal and instrumental music. In doing so, he also created new choreographies based on descriptions of ancient dances. Every choreography was divided into four movements and subdivided into eight positions. To each of these dances he attached moral values, such as ‘benevolence’, ‘respect for the ruler’ and ‘compliance to husband’. Thus, by attaching moral values to the dances, Zhu Zaiyu created a specialization of ethics. Moreover, he did not limit himself to an analysis of the body’s movements; he also investigated the positioning of the feet in minute detail, being unique among all dance illustrators for his inclusion of precise feet positions. In designing choreographies, Zhu Zaiyu also coined a new dance vocabulary and presented the basic curriculum for the ‘study of dance’.

The frozen moment

Comparing these choreographies to the dances that are still performed today in some of Confucius’s temples raises the question of whether these really are ‘dances’, which, by definition, stress the movement of the body. Here the connection between the visual and print representations of these dances is crucial to understanding the specificity of Chinese ritual

dance. In print the visual representation of movement is indeed very difficult to achieve, since movement can rarely be represented by a sole image. That is why dance representations nearly always include multiple images that break the dance down into different stages of movement. In the case of these Chinese ritual dances, however, this is not a shortcoming because the illustrations correspond to a pause rather than to a movement. During this pause, the dancer does not ‘move’, but remains static as long as the accompanying musical tone and chanting of the corresponding word of the poem last. This succession of pauses can be compared to the concept of ‘rhythm’ in early Greek texts. ‘Rhythmoi’ were originally the ‘positions’ that the human body assumed in the course of a dance. Pauses thus defined the very heart of the idea of rhythm. It was the still stance that was significant; movements were mere transitions. Therefore, one possible explanation for the early development of printed choreographies in China is that the illustrations do not attempt to seize movement, but rather to fix on paper the ‘frozen moment’ in dance transformation. They emphasize this moment of non-action as the key to the transformation that takes place through ritual action. In Chinese ritual dance, then, stillness is the major step.

Toward the end of his life, Amiot felt even more compelled to introduce the ancient Chinese dances to Europeans. To him it was important to ‘assign to the events that took place in China the place that they deserve in world history’. This he did not achieve until the rediscovery of his manuscripts in Madrid and Paris just before the turn of the 21st century. ◀

For further reading

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The Great Fifth

At the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama's birth in 1617, Tibet was in a state of religious, social and political turmoil. Political power was shared among various factions supported by different Buddhist religious orders who not only wished to propagate their teachings, but also to establish their economic power and political influence. The circumstances and strife surrounding the Fifth Dalai Lama's birth are crucial to understanding the decisive role this exceptional man played in Tibet's reunification.

Samten G. Karmay

In Tibet, religious, political and economic power have always been intertwined. Tibetan political theory is based on a confluence of politics and religion in the form of Lamaism, finding its expression in *choyon*, a 'preceptor-patron' relationship in which both parties are considered equal. The term was often used to designate the relationship between a Tibetan lama and the leader of a foreign country, such as that of Phagpa Lotro Gyaltsen (1235-1280), the head of the Sakya Order, and Kublai Khan, the Mongol emperor, in the 13th century.

Turmoil in Tibet

In 1548, the aristocrat Shingzhag Tsheten Dorje was appointed governor of Tsang province by the ruler of Central Tibet, a Rinpung lord. Shingzhag supported the Karma Kagyu Order and took up residence in Samdruptse castle (also called Shigatse), near the Gelug monastery Trashilhunpo. Soon after, he rebelled against the Rinpung lords and proclaimed himself King of Tsang. Together with his nine sons he gradually expanded his kingdom and established control over U and Tsang, Central Tibet's two main provinces.

The new government wanted to revive the institutions of the imperial period and to bring peace and prosperity to the country through a five-point policy, the so-called 'Five Great Actions', supported by various religious orders including the Sakya, the Jonang and the great Karmapa hierarchy. As the legitimate representative of authority, Shingzhag also maintained good relations with the Gelug abbots of Trashilhunpo, though the latter remained suspicious of the new dynasty's intentions.

In 1577-78 the conversion to Buddhism of Altan Khan, the leader of the Tumed Mongols, and all his subjects by Sonam Gyatso (1543-1588), the Abbot of Drepung Monastery (who received the title Dalai Lama from the Khan and was later recognized as the Third Dalai Lama) was a spectacular success for the Gelug Order. The secular government in Samdruptse, however, viewed the event as a politico-religious alliance between the Gelug and a foreign power.

In 1589, the conflict was exacerbated when the Gelug recognized a child born that year to a Mongol family as the reincarnation of the Third Dalai Lama. The royal government took this as a clear indication of the Gelug Order's intentions. After the child was installed in the Ganden Palace in Drepung Monastery and enthroned as its abbot, Mongol intervention in the Gelug Order, and therefore in Tibetan affairs, increased. However, he died shortly thereafter, in 1616, and the royal government forbade the search for his reincarnation.

Against this backdrop of turmoil, in 1617, a son was born to the famous noble Zahor family. Since the 14th century the family had lived in the Tagtse castle, the Tibetan kings' former stronghold. Despite the king's ban, however, officials of the Ganden Palace in Drepung Monastery had not renounced the search for the Dalai Lama's reincarnation. They had secretly selected three children, drawn by lot before the holy image of the Radeng Monastery, as possible reincarnations of the Dalai Lama. The child born to the Zahor family seemed the most convincing candidate. At least two other Buddhist orders sought to claim the child as the reincarnation of one of their lamas who had also died in 1616. The family resisted their demands. In 1618, Dudul Rabten, the child's father, was involved in a plot against the royal government at about the same time the Gelug secretly chose his son as the reincarnation of the Fourth Dalai Lama. Meanwhile, Panchen Rinpoche Lobzang Chogyen (1567-1662), abbot of the Trashilhunpo Monastery, persuaded the king to lift the ban on the reincarnation quest. As relations between the king in Tsang, supported by the Karmapa hierarchy, and the Gelug in U, supported by the Mongols, were tense, the king ordered the Zahor family to leave their Tagtse castle and live at court in Samdruptse, but the mother, suspicious of the king's intentions, returned to her own family at the Nakartse castle in Yardrog. The child's father, meanwhile, tried to escape to Eastern Tibet but was caught by royal envoys, brought to Samdruptse and

remained under arrest until his death in 1626, without ever seeing his son again. The ban on the quest for the reincarnation lifted, officials of the Ganden Palace in Drepung sent a delegation to request official recognition of the boy now living at Nakartse as the reincarnation of the Fourth Dalai Lama.

The coming of the Fifth

In 1622 the boy was escorted from Nakartse and brought to the Ganden Palace in Drepung Monastery. He was then enthroned as the Fifth Dalai Lama and received the name Lobzang Gyatso from Panchen Rinpoche, one of his spiritual masters. Owing to Panchen Rinpoche's diplomacy, the king and his government had ceased hostilities against the Gelug. However, the Gelug community in Tsang felt threatened by the establishment of a large Karmapa Monastery near Trashilhunpo. This increased the risk of Mongol intervention on the grounds of protecting Tsang's Gelug community.

The Fifth Dalai Lama retained bitter memories of his childhood during which the philosophical and religious regarding reincarnation served political purposes. In his writings he recalls with irony the political manipulations of his own religious order, which involved the Mongols in all its affairs. He writes in his autobiography: 'The official Tsawa Kachu of the Ganden Palace showed me statues and rosaries (that belonged to the Fourth Dalai Lama and other lamas), but I was unable to distinguish between them! When he left the room I heard him tell the people outside that I had successfully passed the tests. Later, when he became my tutor, he would often admonish me and say: "You must work hard, since you were unable to recognize the objects!"



Miniature from the secret visions of the Fifth Dalai Lama.

(c) Musée national des arts asiatiques Guimet, Paris. Courtesy of the Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zurich. www.museethno.unizh.ch www.diedalailamas.ch

Sonam Chopel (1595-1657), treasurer of the Ganden Palace, was the prime architect of the Gelug's rise to political power. Later he received the title Desi, meaning 'Regent', which he would earn through his efforts to establish Gelugpa power. He sought the support of the Dzungars of Western Mongolia and inspired them with a military strategy of attacking Mongol tribes sympathetic to the king of Tsang, then the eastern Tibetans of Kham, who were also partisans of the royal government, and finally the king and his entourage in Tsang, resulting in Gelugpa political and religious supremacy.

Gushri Khan: king of Mongols, patron to the Dalai Lama

The Dzungars had indeed been actively supporting the Gelug in their own country. In 1636, one of their leaders, Gushri Khan of the Qushot tribe, attacked the Mongol tribe of Chogthur, an ally of the king of Tsang. Originally from Khalkha, Chogthur's tribe had been expelled from Central Mongolia in 1634 and had settled in the Kokonor region in

Amdo, northeastern Tibet. In 1637, having defeated Chogthur and his 40,000 men in Kokonor, Gushri Khan settled there and soon became leader of the region's Mongols. He and several of his men traveled to Central Tibet that year disguised as pilgrims in order not to raise suspicion of other Mongol factions. He received an audience with the Fifth Dalai Lama who, before the holy image of the Buddha in the Jokhang Temple in Lhasa, bestowed on him the name of Tenzin Chogyal, the King of Religion, the Holder of Doctrine, for having defended Gelug interests in the Kokonor region. The meeting would have far-reaching historical consequences.

In 1641, after a year of fighting in Kham, Gushri Khan defeated the king of Beri, an ally of the king of Tsang and a Bon practitioner. Gushri Khan's prestige as a warrior was now as unequalled among Tibetans as it was among Mongols. During the campaign against Beri, the Fifth Dalai Lama and the Desi discussed whether Gushri Khan and his men should return to Kokonor from Kham. They decided to send an emissary to Kham to contact the Mongol chief. In the presence of both the Dalai Lama and the emissary, the Desi pretended to agree with the Dalai Lama that Gushri Khan should return to Kokonor. But just as the emissary was about to leave, the Desi ordered him to tell Gushri Khan to lead his army against the king of Tsang.

In early 1642, when news of Gushri Khan's victory in eastern Tibet and his army's advance against Tsang reached Lhasa, surprising the Dalai Lama, the Desi finally told him the truth: that he had issued this order in the Dalai Lama's name! The Dalai Lama was dismayed and remarked that the Desi had gone too far. However, it was now out of the question to turn back the Mongols. Shortly after, Gushri Khan's army confronted the king's troops in what was a long and bloody war. Towards the end of 1642, having resisted the Mongols and the Gelug Tibetans for almost a year, the king and his two ministers finally surrendered.

Immediately, the Dalai Lama was invited to Samdruptse castle, where he was enthroned as the temporal leader of Tibet and Gushri Khan offered him his conquests of central and eastern Tibet as a gift. For the first time in Tibetan history, a Dalai Lama, previously merely the abbot of a monastery and leader of one religious order, became the country's leader. Soon after, the Desi took on the function of Regent, and became responsible for government affairs, while Gushri Khan, who never claimed a political position, retained his role as the new government's defender, always ready with his army if the need arose. The Fifth Dalai Lama continued to address him as 'king' because he was still the king of the Mongols of Kokonor (and not because he was the 'king of Tibet' as has often been claimed). Thus the new state's political structure took shape: the Dalai Lama, as head of state, was placed above the *choyon* structure, the 'preceptor-patron' relationship. The Desi assumed the role of preceptor and Gushri Khan that of patron even though he was not really considered a foreigner, since he had established himself in the Tibetan region of Kokonor and placed himself entirely at the service of the Dalai Lama.

The Ganden Palace in Drepung Monastery no longer befitted the purposes of the new state, as the monastery could not be considered Tibet's political capital. This was equally true of Gongkar castle, Gushri Khan's residence. So Konchog Chopel (d.1646), one of the Fifth Dalai Lama's spiritual masters, suggested Potala Hill as an ideal site for constructing a palace that could be used as the seat of government, as it was situated between the monasteries of Drepung and Sera and the city of Lhasa. Construction of the Potala palace began in 1645 and the Fifth Dalai Lama and his government moved into its eastern section, the White Palace, in 1649.

The Dalai Lama as leader of Tibet

During this time a new power, the Manchus (who spoke Tungus), emerged in the east. They had conquered China and established their capital in Peking, but felt threatened by Mongolia (today's Outer Mongolia). The Fifth Dalai Lama had considerable religious and political influence not only in Mongolia, whose majority had converted to the Gelug Order, but also



in the Kokonor region. Thus he played an essential role in the maintenance of peace, which the Manchus, fearing Mongol attacks, desperately needed.

After receiving several invitations from the Manchu Emperor Shun-chih to visit Peking, the Fifth Dalai Lama finally accepted in 1652. He set out with an entourage of 3,000 men and the journey lasted nine months. Near Peking, the Manchus built the Yellow Palace specifically for the Dalai Lama to reside in during his visit, which lasted two months and was marked by two grand imperial receptions in his honour.

For having successfully completed this long and hazardous journey, he was welcomed home by all of Lhasa. In return for the Buddhist teachings he provided throughout his journey to Amdo Tibetans, Mongols, Manchus and Chinese, he was given thousands of horses, camels and precious objects.

In 1674, the Fifth Dalai Lama received the Karmapa Choying Dorje (1604-1674) at the Potala Palace, a reconciliation welcomed by both parties after the many conflicts and misunderstandings between 1612 and 1642. But he was not so lenient towards other religious orders, banishing the Jonang from Central Tibet to Amdo, and forcing some Bonpo monasteries to convert to the Gelug tradition. But the new government's attitude was actually determined by political rather than religious considerations.

Two other incidents during the Fifth Dalai Lama's rule provide insight into that era's court intrigues and the link between religion and politics and its effects, which are still felt today. Among the three candidates for the reincarnation of the Fourth Dalai Lama was Drappa Gyaltsen, recognized as the reincarnation of another important lama of Drepung Monastery. As a result, he was seen as a rival of the Fifth Dalai Lama even though he invariably proclaimed himself to be his disciple. In 1654 he died under mysterious circumstances. Afterward, it was believed that his spirit had returned as a sort of 'protector of the Buddhist religion'. This marked the beginning of his cult, by the Gelug Order, as a protective deity named Dorje Shugden. However, the cult has been controversial and was recently banned by the Fourteenth Dalai Lama in India.

In 1662 Panchen Rinpoche died at age 93 and the Fifth Dalai Lama immediately established the tradition of recognizing the reincarnation of Panchen Rinpoche. He ordered monks of the great monasteries to recite a prayer, which he composed himself, requesting the master 'to return'. The reincarnation was discovered in 1667 in the Dru family, one of the five great lineages of the Bon tradition, probably in a gesture of reconciliation with this religious tradition, which he later recognized as one of Tibet's official religions. Officially establishing the tradition of this particular reincarnation has not always been favourable to the political unity of the Gelug nor of Tibet as a whole. The lamas of this series of reincarnation became known as the Panchen Lamas and were often considered spiritually eminent, but on the political level their relations with the Dalai Lamas were often difficult despite the spiritual mas-

ter-disciple relationship they were supposed to maintain with one another. Moreover, the Panchen Lamas were often used against the Dalai Lamas, first by the Manchu, then by the British in India, and by both the Kuomintang and Communist Chinese.

The Fifth Dalai Lama's ever increasing diplomatic activities covered not only the Tibetan world, Mongolia, Ladakh and Bhutan, but extended as far as China. The danger of conflict was ever present and the Dalai Lama not only had to ensure the survival of his own government but also to act as mediator between rising political powers threatening to disrupt the established order.

Under the Fifth Dalai Lama's rule, as under the ancient Tibetan empire, Kokonor in Amdo became one of the most strategic regions. He was quick to realize this as he traveled the region in 1652 and 1653. Eight of Gushri Khan's ten sons and their respective tribes had settled there in 1638, after their arrival from western Mongolia, and constantly quarrelled over territory. In 1656 and 1659, the Fifth Dalai Lama sent several governors to Kokonor. Over time the region's Mongols were completely Tibetanized but continued to enjoy prestige among the Tibetans as Gushri Khan's descendants and played a significant role in the Gelug Order's expansion in Amdo.

In 1647, the Desi launched a military campaign against Bhutan that ended in a humiliating defeat for the Gelug and their Mongol allies. But the campaign against Ladakh in 1679 was successful, and the territories of Ngari, in Western Tibet, previously annexed by the kings of Ladakh, were regained. Thus under the Fifth Dalai Lama, Tibet – from Ngari in the west to Dartsedo and Kham in the southeast to Kokonor in Amdo in the northeast – was unified for the first time since the Tibetan empire's 9th century collapse.

A mystic, a humanist, a man of letters

From the age of six until he was 24, the Fifth Dalai Lama studied traditional subjects such as Buddhist philosophy, Sanskrit and poetry. He developed a keen interest in Buddhist philosophy and later composed a number of treatises on the subject. At the same time, he also performed his duty as abbot of the monastery. In 1633, he met Konchog Lhundrup, a master of the Nyingma Order, whose teachings the Gelug had not always approved. This meeting was a turning point in his life. He learned about mystical practices and tantric rituals entirely unknown to him and realized that his philosophical training at the monastery alone was not sufficient to attain spiritual enlightenment.

For despite his political achievements, the Fifth Dalai Lama was more concerned with spiritual matters. He loved writing, whether he was traveling or in retreat. In addition to a number of treatises on various subjects, he also wrote about his visionary experiences, which he kept secret owing to the disapproval of such matters by his own religious order. His works fill 24 volumes, including a detailed history of Tibet enthusiastically written at the request of Gushri Khan in 1643.

Using many local words, he wrote in a very free, personal style that allowed him to express his feelings and was at once frank and ironic. His autobiography is characterized by his spontaneity, sarcasm and humorous remarks concerning his own status as a reincarnation and the fundamentalist attitude of his own religious order. Often, unlike traditional Gelug authors, he gives his own independent interpretation of Buddhist doctrines, which he never attempts to impose. Concerning two treatises he had read, he writes: 'When I finished the *Oral teachings of Manjushri* (written in 1658), I had to leave the ranks of the Gelug. Today, having completed the *Oral teachings of the Knowledge-holders* (written in 1674), I will probably have to withdraw from the Nyingma ranks as well!' The second work concerns Dzogchen teachings and both texts are considered masterpieces by all Tibetan Buddhist orders. Thus his approach to the various religious and philosophical traditions was indeed deeply universalist, his reign marked by great tolerance toward the religious orders. To take just one example, after overcoming difficulties at the beginning of his rule, the Bonpo, followers of the Bon religion, Tibet's only non-Buddhist religion, became respected at both doctrinal and political levels.

His exceptional, complex and engaging personality made him one of Tibetan history's most important figures. His legacy had a profound effect on almost every aspect of the country's culture, notably architecture, poetry, historiography, civil administration, painting and, of course, philosophy and meditation. He was remarkable as both statesman and monk, embodying the Buddhist ideal of a 'great being'; Tibetan tradition still venerates him as Ngapa Chenpo, the 'Great Fifth'. His strict monastic discipline concealed his great interest in tantric, magical rituals, and his affinity for mystical meditation, which provided him with visionary experiences throughout his life. These he revealed only in his writings, largely unknown during his lifetime, which show his never ceasing concern for the welfare of his people and country. The Fifth Dalai Lama continued to write until his death, in 1682, at age 65. ◀

For further reading

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Black Fever and British medical policy in India

Black Fever, or *kala-azar*, was a major health problem in northeast India under British rule from the 1860s. It affected Assam, Bengal and Bihar, both epidemically and endemically, and was a major cause of mortality. The disease attacked all economic classes and social groups, although it was less frequent among British and Indian troops. It led to depopulation and desertion, and affected the cultivation of tea and other crops, plantation profits and government revenue.

case in point: it was rampant in England and India in the second half of the 19th century. While sanitary reform eradicated this waterborne disease in the West, nothing similar was carried out in India. Only in Punjab were some measures made after considerable bureaucratic foot-dragging. It is difficult to ascertain how much of the revenue collected in India was spent on health and sanitation, but it was certainly not more than a fragment. It is undeniable that low priority was given to the health of India's rural population.

The Medical Department, perhaps more than any other, felt the effect of financial stringency. Fund retrenchment in medical research occurred frequently and reduced the research activities of the IRFA (GoI 1928: proceedings 20-21). In 1943 the expenditure per head on medical relief and public health for India was between 3 and 4 annas per annum. Of this, only one-third went to preventive medicine. In the UK Rs. 54/- per head per year was spent on medical relief alone (Vaughan 1944: 7).

There was no dearth of co-operation from the people in combating *kala-azar*. In Assam the people co-operated with health officials in maintaining regulations under the Epidemic Diseases Act for checking the progress of *kala-azar*. The villagers reported *kala-azar* and requested medical assistance and attended the anti-*kala-azar* campaign conducted by the Health Department. The people of Assam, Bengal and Bihar were not opposed to western medicine and they walked many miles to dispensaries to receive treatment. But the government's health policy had limited coverage; it could not bring the rural masses under the purview of treatment facilities.

The majority of villagers were left out of the scope of the public health service. Only the barracks, plantations, mines, factories and administrative headquarters received adequate medical attention. Conditions in most rural dispensaries were deplorable; they lacked medicine, qualified doctors and necessary infrastructure. An official estimate put the ratio of doctors to population in India in the 1930s at a very inadequate 1:10,000 (Bradfield 1938:2). The dispensaries and hospitals in the 1940s could treat only a segment of the population. The bulk of medical relief for India's 400m, more than 80% of whom lived in villages, was still provided by practitioners of indigenous medical systems (Grant 1943: 16, 19).

Deficient measures

The public health service was only partially developed in India and consequently diseases were widespread. In Bengal, the recorded incidence of *kala-azar* (probably a fraction of the actual incidence) had been steady from 1924

to 1943. After 1920, responsibility for tackling the disease was left to local authorities, who had inadequate resources (Ray 1998: 71-72). Affected villagers were often left to their fate and died untreated; Arthur Dash, Secretary to the government of Bengal in 1927 depicts in his memoirs a dismal *kala-azar* dispensary in Bengal, staffed by unskilled medical practitioners. Though the disease was showing signs of regression in certain districts in West Bengal by 1944, the incidence was increasing in a number of districts in East Bengal, particularly Chittagong, Dacca, and Faridpur. Even in Calcutta, part of which had been a focal point of infection in 1920-21, the disease was not only more prevalent in 1947 in that area, but had spread to other areas of the town as well (Sengupta 1947: 281-286).

Curative and preventive measures to control the incidence were also meagre in Assam. There had been several *kala-azar* epidemics and the incidence there was higher in the 1940s than in the previous decade. Inadequate arrangement for the treatment of diseases in rural areas of Assam was reported in public health reports (1933, 1944). The number of *kala-azar* patients at the CSTM became so large that the staff were unable to cope.

Moreover, no effective means of prevention based on the epidemiology of the disease was devised. Medical research had provided important clues pointing to the sandfly as the vector, but even after 1942 when the transmission agent was confirmed and the Director of Public Health in Assam advocated further preventive measures, means for controlling the vectors were not found. Continuous surveillance in key areas could have helped to prevent its spread. But thorough surveillance could not be carried out because of a paucity of doctors. Nothing was done to prevent the spread of disease by attacking the transmitting agent. There were neither short-term nor long-term projects for vector control, either by spraying insecticides or by providing better sanitation, even after the War.

Improvement of sanitation in rural areas and liberal use of lime wash might have been effective in making conditions unfavourable for the sandfly. But sanitary conditions in most towns in Assam, Bengal and Bihar, as in other parts of India, remained unsatisfactory until the end of British rule. In rural areas there was no conservancy system or protected water supply. Though pollution of the water supply was not directly connected with the prevalence of *kala-azar*, it is justifiable to suppose that defective conservancy might have been a determining environmental factor. In 1943 the government appointed the Health Survey and Development Com-

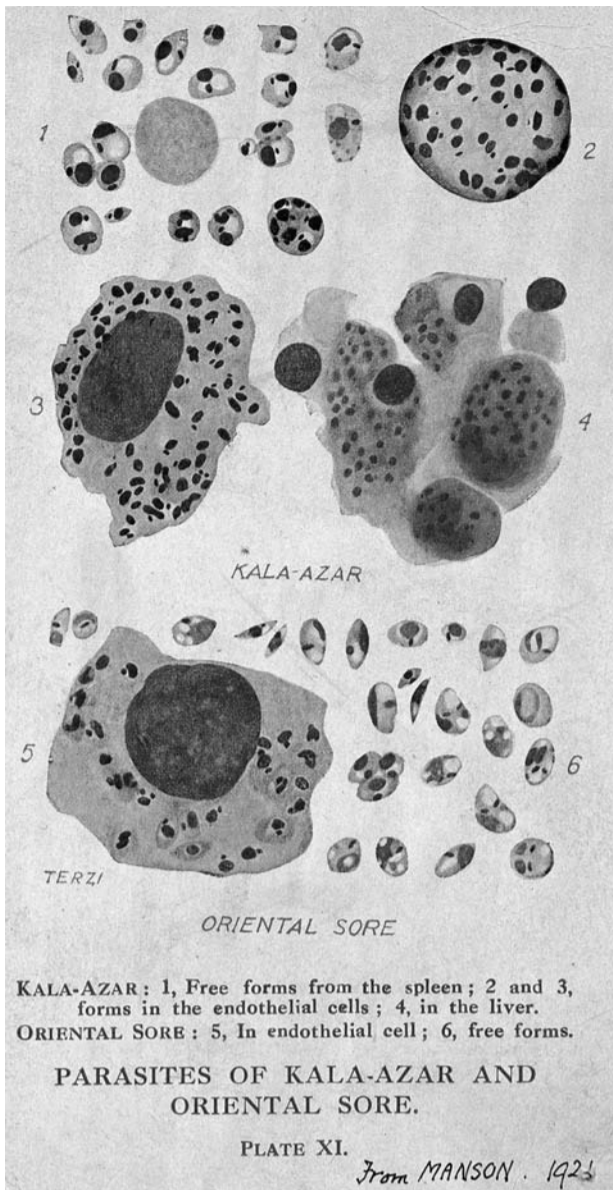
mittee (Bhore Committee), as part of the post-War development plan, to report on health conditions in India and take necessary measures for improvement. The report portrayed a shameful picture and recommended measures for controlling lethal diseases and improving public health.

Health policy changed following independence. Control of epidemic diseases received priority and modern medical technology was extensively used; both preventive and curative measures were emphasised. Based on the Bhore Committee's recommendations, the government of India launched health programmes and action plans for the control and eradication of major communicable diseases. The National Malaria Control Programme, launched in 1953, was one of the earliest effective steps in combating malaria. Because of the results it achieved and subsequent advice from the World Health Organization and other countries, the government launched the massive National Malaria Eradication Programme in 1958. Matching assistance from the central government, hitherto unavailable for any other public health programme, was given to assure the states' participation. Indoor residual spraying with DDT in appropriate seasons and fortnightly surveillance, followed by treatment of all detected cases, reduced the incidence of malaria from 75m in 1947 to 0.1m cases annually by 1965, and deaths due to it were almost eliminated (Swasth Hind 1998: 27). As a collateral benefit to extensive insecticide spraying since 1953, *kala-azar* transmission also declined to negligible proportions and death due to it reached almost nil by the mid-1960s. ◀

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Parasites of the tropical diseases *Kala-azar* and Oriental Sore. Colour photomechanical reproduction of a drawing by A.J.E. Terzi, ca 1921. Wellcome Library, London

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K*ala-azar* is an infectious disease caused by a protozoan parasite called Leishman-Donovan body, transmitted to humans by certain species of sandfly, and characterised by sometimes acute fever of long duration, enlargement of the spleen and frequently the liver, anaemia and progressive emaciation. It was first thought that outsiders carried the disease to the region after the advent of British rule; the Garos in Assam described it as *sarkari bemari* or British Government disease.

Medical knowledge

The disease seemed to have been brought under near-control after 1920 as diagnostic, curative and preventive measures were developed and implemented. Successful treatment started with the introduction of tartar emetic (the first effective antidote to *kala-azar*), which from 1919 was spread through propaganda campaigns, legal measures and medical research. The number of special *kala-azar* hospitals and dispensaries increased thereafter in Assam and Bengal. By the mid 1920s, more efficacious drugs were found, the most successful being urea stibamine. Treatment with these drugs reduced mortality rates and the government of Assam made treatment compulsory under the revised *Kala-azar* regulations in 1920 under the Epidemic Diseases Act.

Research on the disease continued until the end of British rule under the Indian Research Fund Association (IRFA) at the *kala-azar* research wards of the Pasteur Institute, Shillong and at the School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, Calcutta (CSTM). Experiments were conducted on the vector's behaviour, while early diagnosis of *kala-azar* used simple pathological tests and new drugs such as sodium antimony gluconate (SAG). In 1942,

the sandfly was conclusively proven to be the vector of *kala-azar*.

Thus all probable methods of conquest of *kala-azar* became known. It was known that treatment of all cases in an endemic area would lead to control if not eradication in that area. It was also known that modern insecticides, such as DDT and pyrethrum, were effective against the sandfly. But the disease could not be effectively controlled and eradicated even up to the 1940s because of inadequate funding and medical infrastructure, and because of the deplorable environmental conditions in the 'coolie lines' of tea gardens, villages and towns in Assam, Bengal and Bihar.

Public health a low priority

India's public health services lagged abysmally behind progress made in western countries. Besides *kala-azar*, diseases such as malaria, cholera, and tuberculosis caused havoc among India's rural population, even in the 1940s. Many of these diseases were rampant in England and other European countries up to the mid-19th century, though the neocolonial literature has portrayed India, in particular, as a quagmire of lethal diseases and epidemics. Some recent writers have taken a more critical view, arguing that European commercial and political penetration in the 19th century and the creation of colonial infrastructure – roads, railways, plantations, and labour migration – facilitated the dissemination of diseases (Arnold 1988: 5). Besides *kala-azar*, dysentery and cholera were associated with unsanitary conditions in the tea gardens. Planters were reluctant to spend money on sanitary improvements and Indians were blamed for their apathy and resistance to sanitary programmes.

The colossal investment in both sanitary reform and research into prophylactics made a vast difference between the tropical and temperate zones. Cholera is a

Urban elections in the People's Republic

From the 1950s onward, residents' committees were established in China's urban areas to ensure social and political control. Until the late 1990s, these committees consisted primarily of elderly women with little education. More recently, economic reform, social change and increased mobility have altered the structure of urban residential areas – the closure of state enterprises, the end of lifelong employment and social welfare, and an increasing floating population have necessitated new organizational structures.

Thomas Heberer

Old residential areas based on affiliation to state-owned economic or administrative work units (*danwei*) are now disintegrating. The decline of previously privileged groups (e.g. urban skilled workers), the rise of new elites (private entrepreneurs, professionals, new middle classes) and a growing floating population mean many neighbourhoods today are divided into areas inhabited by groups of different status – members of still existing or former *danweis*, members of the local political and economic elite who have purchased new flats, migrants from rural areas or other cities, and others.

With the decline of the *danwei*, increased unemployment, urban poverty, and the erosion of family structures and public order, traditional residents' committees could no longer maintain order and security. Thus, at the end of the 1990s, residential areas were merged and reorganized into larger 'neighbourhood communities' (*shequ*) headed by 'neighbourhood residents' committees'. The population of these neighbourhoods ranges from 3,000 to 16,000.

The 1989 Organizational Law of Urban Residents' Committees outlines their two major tasks: to support the government in preserving social stability, and to provide inhabitants with services and social security benefits. Currently, their responsibilities include many previously assumed by the state: birth control, social welfare, job creation, improving hygiene, running leisure facilities, cultivating social discipline, and increasing resident participation. The Party leadership sees *shequs* as the basic units for creating a 'harmonious society', the new social goal announced in September 2004.

Elections in shequs

Chinese law states that residents' committee members must be elected. Since 1999 elections in urban neighbourhoods have been of two types. A minority of *shequs* have direct elections, with all residents voting; in the majority, including those we studied, elections are indirect, via residents' delegates. Vacant positions on residents' committees are advertised and applicants are invited to register for the nomination examination which covers legal regulations, the organization of neighbourhoods, and questions of general political and social concern. The Street Office draws up the list of candidates and assigns leadership roles on the residents' committee, ensuring that candidates are qualified and trustworthy. Committee members are subject to re-election after three years: if they do a bad job, they will not be re-elected.

In recent years the qualification requirements for candidates have been raised. In Shenyang and Chongqing a college or university degree is required, and the maximum age for candidates is 45 for

leaders and 50 for ordinary members. Only Shenzhen has no age restriction, considering upper middle school education sufficient qualification. As the qualification requirements are higher than the prestige and salaries associated with these positions, there is a shortage of younger, qualified candidates.

The *shequs* we studied had only indirect elections, and many informants declared that they knew little or nothing about them. Opinions on the significance of residents' committee elections were divided, with fewer than half the interviewees expressing unreserved approval. This does not reflect a general indifference towards voting, since a clear majority declared that elections to the district People's Congresses were important. Many felt that the residents' committee had nothing to do with their everyday lives. It was widely believed (particularly in Shenzhen) that candidates were nominated by the Street Office and that elections were merely a rubber stamp.

Many voters thought that candidates should introduce themselves personally and explain their programmes. While previously this was not a requirement, it is now stipulated in election regulations and demanded by voters. In most cases elections are run fairly and are monitored by higher authorities. This seriousness, the increasing will of voters to participate in nominating candidates and secret ballots have an impact on voter awareness. For instance, many residents knew that in Shenyang's Tiexi district a residents' committee had been removed by residents when it failed to resolve the crucial issue of water supply. They were aware that such a procedure could apply in their own neighbourhoods too.

In Shenyang a number of informants argued that paramount leaders were more important to the development of a neighbourhood than elections. This argument derives from traditional political culture in its notion that unelected officials who operate according to the 'principle of justice' will be more respected than elected ones who do not, and reflects long experience of paternalism. It also reflects the fact that the residents' committee is identified with the government. As individuals can have no influence on the state, they are reduced to hoping that their leaders will be qualified persons who will act in the interest of the people – hence the vital importance of a 'benevolent leader' at the top.

Direct or indirect?

Current voting procedures continue former practices: the residents' committee selects, the Street Office monitors, and a group of hand-picked people votes – procedures that result in low voter interest. While many would prefer direct elections, they support indirect voting, believing conditions for direct elections do not yet exist. Supporters of direct

elections argue they would better represent the opinions of voters. More people would understand the work of residents' committees and thus more people would participate; direct elections would make more explicit their responsibility to voters.

Those who argued against direct elections, particularly officials, said they were too expensive. Chinese social scientists have calculated direct elections in a single *shequ* in Beijing would cost about 100,000 yuan in publication expenses, administration costs, remuneration and gifts for polling assistants, etc. In Chongqing alone, a city with 1951 *shequs* in 2003, this would total 195 million yuan. Neither cities nor neighbourhoods can raise such amounts. Officials also fear they will be blamed for low turnouts; they see little benefit flowing from the extra work and costs. The voters interviewed saw things rather differently, with supporters of general and direct elections predicting high turnouts.

Residents are unhappy with indirect elections. Moreover, indirect elections are detrimental to the prestige of elections and of residents' committees. As residents have little influence on the selection of candidates, their interest in voting is low. Furthermore, they have the impression that the authorities are not interested in genuine voter participation. Currently, the central government plans to popularize direct elections throughout the country. But there is strong resistance among urban authorities, who fear they will lose control over voters and candidates, reinforcing con-



COOGER, responsibility for the placement of this cartoon lies solely with the editors of this newsletter

licts between the population and local authorities.

Residents' committee elections are a new, developing phenomenon. As they continue, voters will identify with the process and become more involved. This will increase citizens' demand for information and participation, and candidates will find themselves conducting more substantial campaigns to be elected or re-elected. The introduction of direct elections would therefore support the development of trust and legitimacy.

The power of elections

Increasing participation is a crucial element of political modernization. Even if *shequ* elections are still a delegated form of voting we should not deny their participatory character. Admittedly, the party-state selects the candidates and – in the case of indirect elections – determines the composition of the electoral bodies. But even delegated political participation (such as the right to vote), the requirement that elections follow the regulations, and the possibility of voting out poorly performing officials may be internalized and eventually lead to more autonomous patterns of participation. Furthermore, delegated elections create opportunities for electors, for example, to make specific requirements of candi-

dates or to demand an account of their work. It is therefore too simple to argue that elections are merely a way of legitimizing authoritarian structures or monitoring people, despite their ambiguous character.

In contrast to indirect elections, direct elections allow people a greater degree of participation. Voters have an opportunity to participate in the selection of candidates and to discuss their programmes. This increases the possibility for the articulation of common interests and for the nomination of candidates who will act in the interests of the residents in negotiations with the Street Office or the district government. The call for 'democratic elections' may encourage people to put forward demands and to establish shared interests. Moreover, achieving even minor demands (such as the improvement or maintenance of housing conditions) reinforces residents' sense of empowerment, and thus fosters willingness to participate and a sense of community.

Most informants felt that elections would be viewed positively: if those elected had a stronger sense of accountability because they were elected, if people who did not represent the interests of the residents would not be re-elected, and if residents were able to put forward suggestions and voice their opinions. Elections are a sign of political relaxation, and can provide information on dissatisfaction among residents. Additionally, they encourage the removal of incompetent and unpopular officials, thus acting as a corrective to power. They are thus a stimulus for officials to act in the interest of voters. In this way they contribute to regime legitimacy and stability. Moreover, elections contain the symbolic message that there is no alternative to the rule of the Party and that participation will be confined to institutionalized channels.

In electoral theory, elections are seen as opportunities for citizens to influence political leaders. Elections generate support for a political regime. Theories of democracy show a correlation between election turnout and regime legitimacy; fair and regular elections create a sense of trust and empowerment and therefore of regime legitimacy. That is why the Chinese leadership strives to learn from electoral processes: it intends to increase the state's capacity for governance. ◀

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This article is based on the preliminary findings of the research project *Participation, elections and social stability in rural and urban areas in China* conducted by Gunter Schubert (University of Tuebingen), focusing on rural areas, and the author, focusing on urban sites. The project is funded by the German Research Community (DFG). Three surveys were conducted in urban areas, based on interviews with residents and officials: in Shenyang in spring 2003, in Chongqing in summer 2003, and in Shenzhen in spring 2004. The project examines the political awareness of urban citizens and officials in terms of participation, elections and trust.

Rendering history through the Sinhala novel

Sinhala scholarship was traditionally rooted in the Buddhist clerical establishment, and the vast majority of ancient and mediaeval literary works were of a religious nature. Except for a few political treatises, there were virtually no distinguished works of secular interest. From the late 19th century, however, a multitude of secular literary (prose) works began to appear; the close link between modern history and the evolution of the Sinhala novel can be traced back about seven decades.

Manouri K. Jayasinghe

According to K.M. De Silva, 'in the first decade of the twentieth century there was a perceptible quickening in the pace of political activity in the island after the near immobility in formal politics in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.' The early 1920s saw unrest among skilled workers; encouraged by influential political leaders, they demanded better working conditions and higher remuneration. Marxism entered Sri Lankan politics around 1926 through the Suriya Mal movement and gained ground in the 30s, eventually resulting in the establishment of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) in 1936.

Although independence was gained through a peaceful electoral process in February 1948, the post-independence history of Sri Lanka is spattered with blood. The passing of the 'Sinhala Only' Act in parliament in 1956 heightened tensions between Tamils and Sinhalese. With the opening of the economy in the 1960s, Sinhalese felt their jobs being threatened as their knowledge of English was poor compared to Tamils who had close contact with English missionaries. Unemployment among Sinhala youth contributed to the birth of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP), which called for the liberation of the Sinhalese people from the shackles of post-colonialism and led to the youth insurrection of 1971.

Difference in political status, the rift between English and non-English speakers, and measures taken by the Sinhalese governing party resulted in the formation of a separatist group in the Tamil community. Evolving through mergers and splits over 35 years and using guerrilla and terrorist attacks to achieve their ends, this group is known today as the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). In the early 1980s the dormant conflict over land flared up, and the late 80s saw a period of virtual anarchy with government forces combating Sinhalese insurgents in the south and separatist Tamil guerrillas in the north. After 20 years of guerrilla war, an uneasy peace now prevails.

History and the novel

In examining how the Sinhala novel reflects Sri Lankan history, I consider history as resulting from disequilibrium in a nation's cultural, political or economic life. These closely related aspects are in fragile equilibrium: any imbalance in one area will give it prominence over the others, thereby creating social events recorded as history. From its beginnings up to the early post-independence period, the Sinhala novel depicted history mainly as the result of changes in cultural and political outlook; economic trends were given greater prominence from the 1960s. Some Sinhala novelists set their work against a historical background, some treat events ahistorically, while others favour the symbolic representation of political events which make up history.

Wasanawantha Pawula haa Kalakanni Pawula (The Fortunate and the Unfortunate Family, 1866) by Issac Silva (1844-1907) can be considered the forerunner of the Sinhala novel. More a narrative than a novel, the tone is one of debate. In contrast, Silva's contemporary Bentota Albert Silva (1866-1919), known for *Vimala* (1892) and *Adara Hasuna* (Love Letter, 1894), manipulates the imaginary to create atmosphere. Although works of fiction, these authors' writings cannot be classified as novels since they lack many features of the form. Hence *Meena* (1905), a simple love story by Simon Silva (1874-1920), is recognized as the first Sinhala novel – it focuses on the inner workings of the heroine's mind, revealing a gift for character development, and bears other characteristics of the novel as genre.²

Although secular prose works had been appearing for some 25 years, the first writer to deal with history as a central theme was Piyadasa Sirisena (1875-1946), whose works reflect his commitment to safeguarding the values of traditional society

threatened by the anglicization overtaking Sri Lankan society in the pre-independence period. *Apata Wetchche Dey* (That Which Happened to Us) and *Yanthan Galavunaa* (Managed to Escape at Last) represent the views of this highly nationalistic writer as well as the period's cultural climate.

Martin Wickramasinghe (1890-1976) may well be the greatest 20th century Sinhala writer. In his trilogy *Gamperaliya* (The Change in the Village, 1944), *Yuganthaya* (The End of the Era, 1949) and *Kaliyugaya* (The Epoch of Kali, 1957), he depicts the transition of Sri Lankan society from the last vestiges of feudalism to urban mercantile capitalism, which generated socialism.³ Inevitably, his works deal with class differences. *Gamperaliya* is a great work of literature, the first full-fledged Sinhala novel. It describes the advent of capitalism through the experiences of farmers living in a feudal village in southern Sri Lanka. Though the novel is ostensibly the story of the love between Nanda, the daughter of the feudal landlord, and Piyal, a lower-caste school teacher, the theme of social change is its thread, evoked by the changing social status of the two protagonists and their eventual marriage.

The two novels that follow continue this family saga. In *Yuganthaya*, published just after independence, the order is reversed: the focus here is on Nanda and Piyal's British-educated, revolutionary grandson Malin Kabalana, who aims to change the social system upon his return to Sri Lanka. The author explains that the struggle of the working class against capitalism, especially in 1947, influenced the writing of this novel.⁴ In *Kaliyugaya*, written about a decade after independence, Wickramasinghe highlights the confusion of Sri Lankans who had embraced urban capitalism, describing Nanda and Piyal's disenchantment with their family and offering insights into early post-independence Colombo high society. The trilogy is of historical value because it represents the socio-political evolution of the period. On the other hand, *Viragaya* (Detachment, 1956) is a masterpiece considered to be the turning point of modern Sinhala literature.⁵

K. Jayatileka's *Parajithayo* (The Defeated, 1960), depicts the political and social realities of the 1950s. These emerge in the obstacles to social advancement which confront Udeni, a young man from the village who goes to study in Colombo. Another of Jayatileka's novels, *Delovata Nathi Aya* (Those Not Belonging to Both Worlds, 1963), deals with the plight of the masses after independence, the author's disillusionment with the lack of change in Sri Lankan politics after 1956, and the political landscape of that period.

T. B. Illangaratne's *Peraliya* (Insurgency, 1972) and E.R. Sarachchandra's *Heta Etchchara Kaluwara Na* (1975)⁶ are monuments to the 1971 youth insurrection. Gunadasa Amarasekera's *Asathya Kathaawak* (An Unreal Story of a Death, 1977) and its sequel *Premeye Sathya Kathaawa* (A Surreal Story of Love, 1978)⁷ also treat aspects of the youth rebellion. Continuing into the 1980s, Sumithra Rahubhadhdha captures this tumultuous period in her novel *Itipahan* (Candles, 1998), alluding not only to the attempted youth revolution of the 70s, but also to the period of mayhem in the 80s.

Milestones in history

Gunadasa Amarasekera, in his series of six novels begun in the early 1980s, is the most prominent of the novelists who ahistorically illustrate milestones in history. He deals with the evolution and predicament of the rural middle class, which migrated to the capital shortly before independence, and how events in history influenced them. The first book in the series, *Gamanaka Mula* (The Beginning of a Journey), is set in the immediate pre-independence era when migration to the towns began. *Gamdorin Eliyate* (Out of the Village), depicts the post-independence period from 1948 to 1956 and the transformation of the rural middle class into one that emulated its urban counterparts. The third book, *Inimage Ihalata* (Ascending the Ladder), portrays the change in Sri Lankan politics that took

place in 1956. Piyadasa, the main character, is a rural migrant caught up in the whirlwind, with no possibility of return. The fourth novel *Vankagiriya* (The Labyrinth) deals with the 60s, when Piyadasa, now a disoriented, disillusioned youth, rebels against accepted social norms and society in general. In *Yali Maga Vetha* (Back on the Path), Piyadasa mourns his lost rural values; this novel is more inward-looking than outwardly focused. The recently published *Dura Rataka Dukata Kiriya-ka* (Suffering in a Far-off Land) describes Piyadasa's suffering during higher education in England. A transformed man, he returns to Sri Lanka, but not before the long-awaited victory of the United Front in the 1970 general election has been marred by the insurrection staged by the JVP in April the following year.

Another ahistorical work, Sarath Dharmasiri's *Sada Sulanga* (The Violent Winds, 1991), deals with the wasteland reforms initiated by the Colebrooke commission in the 1830s, their impact on the rural economy and the suffering of the rural people which culminated in the uprising of 1848. Piyadasa Welikanna's award-winning *Sudu Sevanali* (White Shadows, 1986), acclaimed as a mirror of the cultural, economic and social spheres of mid-19th century, deals with the birth of the National Liberation Movement around the hill country in 1848, its struggle against British colonization, its eventual defeat and the establishment of British rule in every corner of the country.

The last category of novels, which reveal tendencies in modern Sri Lankan history but give no hint of the period, falls into two groups, either figuratively representing politics or specifically indicating their political references and thus their relation to history. Miniwan P. Tilekaratne's *Thrushnaabharana* (Bedecked in Jewels of Desire, 1991) is of the first type, and takes a refreshingly new approach to political problems. The protagonist, realizing the ridiculousness of the governing system, attempts to undo it by using naivety to expose the idiosyncrasies of the rulers. This novel could refer to various political regimes of the last few decades. Sunanda Mahendra, in the more politically explicit *Unu Alu Palla* (On Burning Embers, 1993), depicts the thorny public and family life of a leftist school teacher who goes to all ends to stand up for his convictions. This protagonist could be representative of the leftists of the mid-thirties as well as their modern-day heirs.

With the centenary of the birth of the Sinhala novel falling this year, it is hoped that this paper can serve as a tribute to it, by tracing its evolution and the many ways the novel can and has been used to illustrate modern Sri Lankan history. ◀

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Rocks washed by the sea as Hayam Wuruk probably saw them at the cape of Tanjung Papuma.
courtesy of author

In the footsteps of Hayam Wuruk

In the Old Javanese text *Nagarakertagama* or *Desawarnana* (1365), the Buddhist poet Prapanca describes King Hayam Wuruk's journey through East Java in 1359. We followed the royal tracks in a 900-kilometer jeep expedition in June 2005 and discovered that many of the places can still be identified.

Amrit Gomperts

The expedition departed from the court of Majapahit, during the day of the full moon on 8 September 1359. The royal caravan drove in ox-carts, with dozens or possibly hundreds of followers on foot; together they covered over 900 kilometres in two months.

R.A. Kern's overlooked but nearly complete map of Hayam Wuruk's journey (Kern 1927) provided the basic data for our venture. Consultation of 500 Dutch and Indonesian small-scale topographic sheets of the area verified and appended Kern's work. Sixty per cent of the two hundred place names and topographical descriptions mentioned by Prapanca could be identified from maps only.

We determined a geodetical datum for Java and converted geographical coordinates from Dutch topographical maps (1915-1942) into the current standard. Finally, we entered all the geographical coordinates into a GPS satellite navigation system. A few highlights of our findings are sketched on the map below with references to Prapanca's text *Desawarnana* (DW; Brandes 1902).

Places not found on the maps

A number of Prapanca's toponyms could only be traced in the field. A place called Daleman identified by Kern does not appear on any of the detailed maps (DW 31.1). With the help of local farmers we found Daleman – a small running spring amidst rice fields – along the road between Besuki and Binor. We also were told that an ancient stone statue of a goddess, said to include an inscription, had disappeared from the spot in 2004, suggesting that the place may be of archaeological importance.

The village of Balerah, which was passed by the royal party to the east of the town of Pasuruan, also does not appear on our topographic sheets (DW 21.1). Neighbouring villagers, however, recognized the name and directed us to a tiny five-house settlement on one hectare amidst irrigated rice fields. After 650 years, the inhabitants still refer to the hamlet as Blerah.

Prapanca describes topographical features visible in the Javanese landscape to this day, referring to them by still familiar Javanese terms. For example, after leaving the still-existing village of

Renes, the caravan passed through a forest referred to as Jati Gumelar or 'spread out teak trees' (DW 23.1). The Dutch topographic maps show details of vegetation that locate the forest near the village of Tasnan which my Javanese travel companions recognized as *jati* 'teak'. Prapanca also distinguishes irrigated rice-fields (*sawah*) and non-irrigated fields (*tegal*) which are also marked on maps. We were able to identify the road that Hayam Wuruk took to the city of Singhasari from the poet's reference to *tegal* (DW 38.2).

Prapanca's terminology may include both toponyms and geographical descriptions, and some distinctions can only be verified in the field. For example, Pakalyan is the name of a river, but the Old Javanese word *pakalyan* also denotes a 'river-bed'. As the riverbed itself is jumbled with rocks, the royal party must have travelled along the road following the river of Pekalen (Robson 1995:115).

A second example: the Javanese understanding of the word *jurang* is more elaborate than just 'ravine'. My Javanese companions showed me that it may also refer to a river running through a ravine but crossed by a bridge. Following Kern's map, we passed over modern bridges spanning impressive ravines. The royal party must have traversed the four *jurang dalem* or 'deep ravines' of the river of Sampean (Robson 1995:112). Such crossings would have required bridges spanning 50 meters strong enough to carry ox-carts. Another such ravine is *Bobo Runting* which literally means 'mouldered and in tatters' (DW 21.2). We identified it as the bridge crossing the river of Sawaran near the village of Juranglor, literally 'North of the Ravine'. Today, piles support the concrete bridge. There is no other road that the caravan could have taken, and

descending the steep ravine is impossible. Thus, in 1359, the wooden or bamboo bridge may have been in a mouldering state but it could not have been entirely in tatters. Such bridges challenge our archaeological imagination. Close to this location, Prapanca's topographical reference *pasawahan* or 'area of irrigated rice fields' suddenly appeared before us (DW 21.2). On both sides of the descending road that leads from the ravine of Bobo Runting, *sawah* extended into the plains as far as the eye could see.

Medieval tourists

The poet continues with the description of a pleasure trip of Hayam Wuruk to the shore of the Indian Ocean. This is the only part of the journey not included on Kern's map (Bullough 2004:19). Prapanca did not attend the trip (DW 22.4-5), but he versified the words of someone else, expressed in Robson's translation as follows (1995:41):

Departing from there the King came directly to Kuta Bacok where he disported himself on the shore, Absorbed in looking at the rocks engulfed by waves with showers of spray resembling rain.

The unusual term *bacok*, literally meaning 'chopped-off', appears on one of our Dutch topographic maps as the name of the village Gunung Bacok. We found it near a stone quarry to which several families of the village have long held the male hereditary right of exploration. The excavated boulders are sold as house fundamentals, offering an obvious explanation for the etymology of the village name. In the 14th century, there was a hill with a *kuta bacok* 'chopped-off peak'. Today, after 650 years of excavating, it has been reduced into a *gunung gacok* 'chopped-off hill'. From here, it is eight kilometres to the white beaches at the

cape of Tanjung Papuma, nowadays a small tourist resort. The rocks jutting up close to the beach remain as Hayam Wuruk may have seen them (see photograph).

Prapanca's (DW 32-33) lyrical description of the Siwaite forest hermitage of Sagara is aptly expressed in the following excerpts from Robson's translation (1995:46-47). My additional interpretations are in brackets [...]:

When the King departed to go on, it was the forest hermitage of Sagara that he headed for....

It was splendid and extraordinary, in the midst of the wooded mountains, its layout bewilderingly beautiful....

The bwat ranten pavilion bore several paintings of stories and had a base of stone, polished and high; Flowers of the nagakusuma tree lay thick in the yard, the [shore-]side[s] (tira) of which was [were] lined with a wall. ...

And all the hermits and especially the nuns, young and old, were virtuous and clever....

The young and pretty hermit-girls remained behind pining every one.

The toponym Sagara is geographically associated with the area around Ranu Segaran – literally 'lake of Segaran'. The region comprises a total of five crater lakes with a diameter of 750 meters in a remote and wooded area that retains its poetic beauty. The yard's wall possibly stood on the shore (*tira*) of a lake. Zoetmulder (1982:1504) has suggested that *ranten* might be the Old Javanese high speech form of the word *ranu* 'lake'. Therefore, in combination with the current toponym 'lake of Segaran' and the reference to shore (*tira*), the Old Javanese *bwat ranten* probably denotes a 'lake-pavilion'. Furthermore, the female hermits must have had access to water for drinking and sanitation purposes. Of the five lakes, we found out from villagers that only the water of the lake of Ranu Segaran is potable. Therefore, the geographical location of the hermitage may be narrowed down to the lake shore of Ranu Segaran itself. As we should interpret Prapanca's language within the context and dimensions of traditional Javanese and Balinese architecture, the *bwat ranten* pavilion was likely an open verandah consisting of bamboo and wood on a base of stones with a palm-fibred roof. The hypothesis is finally supported by the existence of several big black stones worked by

human hands on the southern shore of Ranu Segaran, in front of a terraced garden; this site may well indicate the location of the *bwat ranten*.

At the end of the journey, the royal caravan headed for the court of Majapahit. Prapanca, however, turned off for Rabut Tugu to where his own family lived in *pahyangan*, 'the area of worship' (DW 59.1). Kern's identification of Rabut Tugu with the village of Sumbertugu appears well founded. A farmer of the settlement of Sumbertugu showed us a stone pillar on a venerated spot amidst the maize fields. Locals refer to the location as Pepunden Tugu or 'sacred land with pillar', which is synonymous with Rabut Tugu. We left the pillar untouched for the archaeologists.

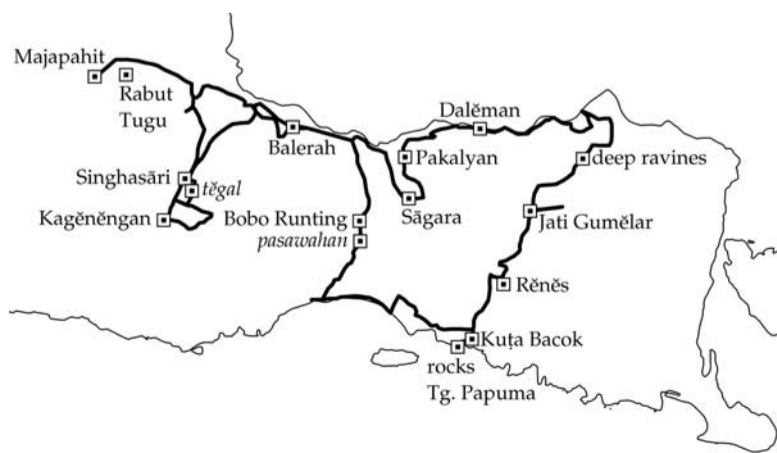
Much remains to be done on the geographical and archaeological aspects of Hayam Wuruk's journey. With all Dutch cartographic material of Java now freely available on the website of the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam (www.kit.nl), and because GPS technology is increasingly affordable, further fieldwork is within easy reach. Finally, archaeological research – and funding – is urgent to prevent the reduction of the subject to historical geography. ◀

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Acknowledgement: The author would like to express words of gratitude to the Bupati of Sragen, Mr. H. Untung Wiyono, who kindly sponsored our expedition: matur sembah nuwun!

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The reconstructed tracks of Hayam Wuruk's journey through East Java in AD 1359.

courtesy of author



Hasanali Alibhai 1872-1918



Mohamedali A. Karimjee 1879-1940



Yusufali Karimjee 1874-1966

Three typical images of male members of the Karimjee Jivanjee family bear striking similarities. All look straight into the camera with serious, self-conscious expressions. Dressed for the occasion, they wear the Bohra turban, signifying their importance within the Bohra business community. Note that Yusufali, the family's representative in the European market, is wearing a tie and a western business suit, testament to the adaptability of dress within the context of Bohra identity.

Asians in Africa: images, histories and portraits

Gijsbert Oonk

Very little is known about the history of South Asians in East Africa, while much of what we know comes from foreign sources. This is not due to a lack of literate qualities; we know that South Asian merchants kept highly professional account books and corresponded regularly with distant markets. When the occasion demanded, they learned English, Arabic, Swahili and Portuguese to complement their knowledge of Gujarati and Kutchi. The historian could conclude that these men preferred to remain faceless – neither their family histories, nor even their community's history, was for sale.

Pictures and paintings may reveal new knowledge and insights on South Asian lives in East Africa. Taken for specific purposes, such as weddings or the beginning of pilgrimages or tours to India, they literally present 'faces' and 'real images' of the past. At the same time, they remain constructions of the

photographer, whose intentions often remain unknown. The scenes often represent photographic styles which go beyond the East-African context – as cultural constructions, they belong to international photography.

These pictures give an idea of the 'faces' of South Asians in East Africa at the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Yet the exercise has limited potential, for in many cases we do not know when, why and by whom the picture was taken. Nevertheless, the history of these images gives some insight into how some South Asians in East Africa wanted to be represented, either to their families or to a wider audience.

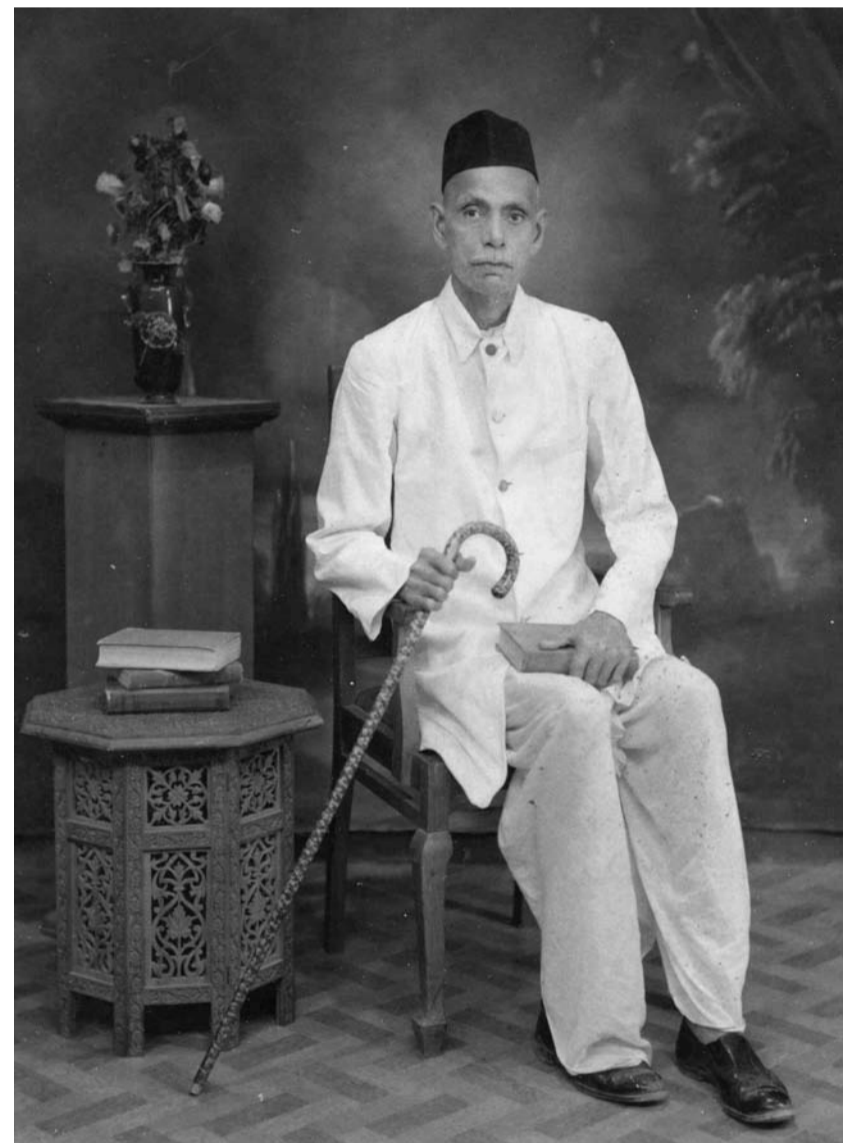
For more information:

www.asiansinafrica.com

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Nanji Damodar 1880-1961

The picture of the Hindu Lohana Nanji Damodar was taken by an Indian photographer in Mombasa around 1920. In the tradition of 'swagger portraits', the picture bears, like European photographs of the same period, diluted traces of painted portraiture. Here Nanji Damodar is portrayed with a book in hand, suggesting a learned and intellectual background, while he may not have been a great reader at all. As in the case of the Karimjee family, dress is an important marker of identity. Here Nanji Damodar wears his black Hindu Nehru cap and white Indian dress. His shoes are too large, and may not have been his own: they are unpolished, unthinkable for a man of his standing. The photographer may have suggested he wear shoes to present a more formal character.



The original headquarters of the Karimjee Jivanjee enterprises, Zanzibar, 1924. Front row, left to right: Mohamedali A. Karimji Jivanjee; Yusufali Karimji Jivanjee; Mr. Boyac and Tayabali H.A. Karimjee. The picture was taken on the occasion of the visit of Mr. Boyac from Texas Company to finalise an export deal to Tanganyika with Karimjee Jivanjee and Company as sole agents. The members of the family wear formal dress, with long sleeves according to Muslim fashion. Typically, the European representative is in the middle of the photograph.

Gijsbert Oonk and Henk Schulte Nordholt were the convenors of the IIAS workshop *The South Asian Diasporas: the creation of unfinished identities in the modern world*, held in Rotterdam, 23-24 June 2005.

The virtual second generation: negotiating ethnicity on the internet

The internet of the new global media, linking people transnationally, providing a public for the marginalised, fostering democracy – versus the internet of virtual unreality, detached from the real world, space for escape, leading to social isolation. From these extremes, research has moved to ethnographic analyses of what actually happens online. Here I analyse how, why and with what consequences second generation Indians in Germany do this.

Urmila Goel

About 45,000 Indian citizens live in Germany. They are relatively few compared to other ethnic minorities such as the Turks, fewer also than Tamils from Sri Lanka or refugees from Afghanistan. Indian migration to Germany started in the 1950s and 60s with individual young men coming as students, interns and professionals. In the late 1960s they were joined by young nurses from Kerala. From the 1970s, entry to Germany became increasingly restricted and Indians came either as asylum seekers or illegal workers. The latest phase of Indian migrants, from 2000 onwards, is comprised mostly of IT specialists.

The early migrants from the 1950s and 60s started to found families in the 70s. Many of the nurses from Kerala married men from their own places of origin and thus a Malayali community developed in Germany. The Punjabis, who came from the 1970s on, have their *Gurdwaras* and places to meet, but many live in legally insecure situations without families. Bengalis meet regularly to celebrate *Durga Puja*; IT specialists have their internet meeting places. But in general, Indian Germans live dispersed in the country and have little everyday contact with others of the same ethnic background. From the middle of the 1990s, members of the second generation began to search for and create their own spaces, organising parties and experimenting with the internet.

In the summer of 2000, Germany began discussing chancellor Schröder's plan to give 'Green Cards' to foreign IT specialists. The opposition began a campaign against this, which soon became known as the *Kinder statt Inder* campaign ('children instead of Indians'). Many second generation Indians followed the campaign closely – for the

first time, their ancestral country of origin had become the centre of xenophobic debate.

Three young Indian Germans began exchanging emails and cartoons on the topic. The idea of an *indernet* (network of Indians) developed, which led to the website *theinder.net*. Wanting to interlink with websites of other 'Indians' in Germany, they began contacting others of the second generation. The website grew: new technical features like chat and a guestbook were included, new content was put online, the editorial team expanded and traditional print media began reporting on the project. During the India boom in Germany the interest of Germans in the website increased and today thousands of users click on *theinder.net* every month.

The research project *The virtual second generation* analyses and focuses on questions of ethnicity, community and online-offline interaction. I interviewed the editors, users and non-users of *theinder.net* as well as other founders of 'Indian' projects in Germany to gain insight into the relevance of this internet portal.

Marginalised groups online

The internet seems to be the right tool at the right time for second generation Indian Germans. Since the second half of the 1990s, the second generation no longer wanting to follow their parents, but wanting to do something on their own, has been growing. Own spaces are sought and created; *the internet* appeals especially to young males. *theinder.net* develops just when there is a general search for own spaces and the majority of the second generation has internet access.

The internet is a particularly suitable media for marginalised groups, requiring only access to computers with inter-

net connections and basic computing skills. It works almost independently of offline hierarchies and dominant discourses, and can link dispersed members of marginalized groups. For some, like homosexuals, the anonymity of the internet is an important factor; for others, like ethnic minorities, it is the possibility for fast and cheap transnational communication. For dispersed Indians in Germany it seems to be the only space where many can meet regularly.

Marginalised groups can use the internet to create their own spaces on their own terms – spaces where they can meet others like themselves, where they can discuss and negotiate their 'witness'. They define and negotiate the rules, discourses and contents among themselves, and thus also their representation to a larger public. Theoretically, the public for a virtual space is the whole world. In practice, the public is more restricted; as with the mass of information online, it needs good links and advertising to make the space known to a wider public.

These are also the self-defined aims of *theinder.net*: communication and information. The editors want to provide a space where the 'community' can interact and where those interested in India can get information. The form and content are shaped by them, not by their parents or host society. This independence is important for the editors and users. Most of them stress the importance of meeting others like themselves; as there are so few Indians in Germany, this is something that hardly happens offline. *theinder.net* is thus one of the few spaces which is their own, where they do not have to explain themselves, where they can just 'be'.

At first glance *theinder.net* appears to be a transnational website. It offers not just a German, but also an English and a

Hindi version. There are special offers for IT Indians coming to Germany. The mixture of English and German in the name *theinder.net* makes Germans think it is also designed for an English-speaking audience. On a closer look, however, *theinder.net* is very German, or rather, German-speaking. The English version has little content, the Hindi almost none. The language used in the interactive elements is German. Sometimes Indian languages – or in some cases Swiss German – are used, but never for long, as one or another user will complain that she does not understand. *theinder.net* is a transnational local website, a German-speaking portal for 'Indians' and images of India in the German-speaking world.

This localisation is not only evident in the language, but in content. *theinder.net* is not a detached virtual space, but closely linked to the physical space of Germany, the reason for its relevance. A major feature of the portal is the announcement of events, especially parties, and later the reporting on them, with pictures. The virtual space makes it possible for the dispersed second generation to get information on what happens offline and thus makes meetings in physical space possible. Furthermore, the interactive elements are used to get to know other second generation members, to flirt and to eventually meet offline.

A virtual community?

To talk of an online community nonetheless does not seem adequate. Although there is a feeling of community for many individuals, community is hardly established. Each part of the internet portal has its own life, and its users do not meet as *theinder.net* community offline. Shared boundaries and symbols are lacking; *theinder.net* caters to the longing for community without being one – it provides a space to meet

and network, from where further activities can take place, which might create communities.

In contrast to the ethnic societies of the parents, *theinder.net* is pan-Indian. Regional conflicts, especially between South and North Indians, occasionally occur in the interactive areas. But as long as the common language is German, there is a sense of Indianness bridging language, regional and religious differences. Many of the second generation consider it a special success to overcome the regional divisions lived by their parents and in India itself.

But *theinder.net* is not only inclusive; it also marginalizes. Although some Muslims and Pakistanis use the portal and some are even on the editorial team, the dominant Indian patriotism fostered on *theinder.net* develops around Hinduness and Hindi. Hindu nationalistic rhetoric appears in many places; most do not notice and mind, but others are put off. Similarly, homosexuals have the impression that *theinder.net* is homophobic. In both cases, this is due less to particular articles that are clearly marginalizing – the editorial team prevents this – but rather, through the atmosphere created in the interactive discussions, the selection of articles and images. Exclusion occurs by what is missing rather than what is there. ◀

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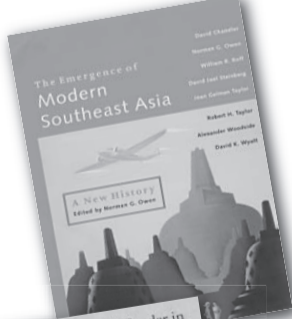

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SKYSCRAPERS AND SLEDGEHAMMERS

The 10th IIAS annual lecture was delivered in Amsterdam on 17 November by world-famous Dutch architect and Harvard professor Rem Koolhaas. Co-founder and partner of the Office for Metropolitan Architecture (OMA) and initiator of AMO, its think-tank/mirror image, Koolhaas' projects include de Kunsthal in Rotterdam, Guggenheim Las Vegas, a Prada boutique in Soho, Casa da Musica in Porto and most spectacularly, the new CCTV headquarters in Beijing. His writings range from his *Delirious New York, a retroactive manifesto* (1978) to his massive 1,500 page *S,M,L,XL* (1995), several projects supervised at Harvard including *Great Leap Forward* (2002) and *Harvard Design School Guide to Shopping* (2002) to his most recent volume between a book and a magazine, *Content* (2005). On these pages of the IIAS newsletter, itself a strange animal between an academic journal and newspaper, we explore why Koolhaas in his last book invites us to *Go East*; why he has a long-time fascination with the Asian city; why the Metabolists have always intrigued him; why OMA has developed an interest in preserving ancient Beijing; and, perhaps most importantly, why he thinks architecture is so closely connected to ideology.

WARARCHITECTURE

Rick Dolphijn

Self-acclaimed amateur detective Rem Koolhaas began his talk by tracing the development of the Asian city from the 1930s to today. Analyzing macro-political structures and how they effectuated urban change, he discussed architecture under fascism, democracy, communism and the market economy, the four great ideologies that have dominated East Asia for the past 75 years. What emerged over the course of his lecture was that whatever the name of the political regime, it was authoritarianism – veiled or unveiled – which was the motor of East Asia's rise.

Through the study of strategic infrastructure, Koolhaas showed how Chinese and Japanese governments have reformed the Asian cityscape. Despite changes in name and appearance, their deeper ideas of political/architectural normalcy remained. Japanese fascism always implied Japanese democracy, Chinese capitalism always implied Chinese communism. Differently articulated, differently performed, but similar, emblematic of that urban idealism which considers the utility of the mountain its ability to fill a hole. Two political/architectonic regimes that had big consequences for the Asian city and its architecture. Big in every sense of the word.

Japan and warchitecture

Koolhaas began his talk with memories from early childhood. At eight, his family moved to post-war Jakarta, a conglomerate city of *kampongs*, the village structure found everywhere in Indonesia. In Jakarta, the *kampung* appeared in its most condensed form, making the city very different and much more modern than the ones he knew from Holland. Another thing he remembered from his Indonesian years was that Indonesians regarded the Japanese, at least at the start of their rule, as their liberators.

The Japanese invaded territories in search of *lebensraum*. Like the Germans with their *autobahns* (and the Italians with their innovations in Ethiopia), the Japanese radically restructured the new lands as extensions of their own territory; architectural troops began planning new roads and railways to connect the new land and cities to the old. We can see this as a crime, but it was definitely not the first time architecture and crime proved such a fruitful combination.

Japanese fascism was the second wave of architectural modernism after the European invasion. Every extension of the Japanese empire was – at least in theory – rigorously over-coded by modern planning, offering opportunities for great architects to rise. Here Koolhaas makes the key argument of his talk: war, painfully enough, is good for architecture. Architecture has little to expect from civil society. It is under autocratic, despotic or anti-humanist rule that architecture thrives, where the architect finds a colossal canvas on which to test his principles.

This is an argument that can already be found in Koolhaas' early writings. *Delirious New York*, his architectural manifesto of 1978, argues that the *grid*, the uniform block structure of 13 avenues and 156 streets, gives the tiny island its unique appearance. The production of the Manhattan Grid was 'the most courageous act of prediction in Western civilization...' (1978:18). But it was not an act of empathy. It was an autocratic act, which – not for the first time – was good for architecture.

In his lecture Koolhaas gave another example discussed in *S,M,L,XL*: the city center of Rotterdam, which would never have become a national and international center for architec-

Fragment of an image of the OMA website (www.oma.nl)



...THE DAY AFTER

Zheng Shiling from Shanghai, Xing Ruan from Sydney and Anne-Marie Broudehoux from Quebec City were Koolhaas' discussants following the lecture. To give our guests a chance to meet their Dutch and Flemish brothers in arms, IIAS organized a meeting at the Netherlands Architectural Institute in Rotterdam the following day. Bearing the title *(Per)forming Culture; Architecture and Life in the Chinese Megalopolis*, specialists of contemporary Chinese urban change – including scholars of architectural theory, anthropology, sinology and philosophy as well as conservators, journalists and urban developers – engaged our international guests in discussion, entering territory left untouched or only hinted at the day before.

ture had Nazi Germany not bombarded it in May 1940. We cannot but conclude that imperialist, autocratic regimes are good for architecture. They give rise to the most daring architects and the most spectacular buildings.

Back to Japan's imperialist expansion. Here too we see a group of young architects benefiting from opened land. Among them, recent graduate Kenzo Tange, soon-to-be father of the Metabolist movement (see frame), child prodigy of the Japanese regime. In the postwar period, a democratic government that, as Koolhaas and his team found out, bought architectural competitions by corrupting juries. Tange was the true Manchurian Candidate, Koolhaas claims, as shadowy politics turned this veteran of the fascist order into the face of the new democratic architecture that placed Japan on the world map. Tange, backed by his administrative creator Shimokobe and talented ghost-writers, brought the Metabolists their worldwide fame at the 1960 World Design Conference. Their zenith was at the 1970 World Fair when Japan, thanks to technological giants such as Sony, represented true modernism. A modernism which in architecture was very much connected to Superstar Tange.

China and warchitecture

The newly installed Chinese communist regime began restructuring cities following Soviet ideology. Mao's Red Book contains pictures of villages with forests of chimneys, an image seen today in every corner of the country, homage to the architectural revolution that accompanied communist revolution. Despite rigorous and often brutal spatial reforms following the revolution, things really took off under Deng Xiaoping. 'To get rich is glorious', stated the paramount leader. And it shows, especially in town planning and in the ultra-fast composition of stacks of concrete that only vaguely remind us of the city as defined in the post-industrial West.

With his students, Koolhaas studied developments in the Pearl River Delta, five cities from Hong Kong to Macau, very different in character but linked in their growth. It is estimated that these five cities today house 20 million people, and will, in less than 20 years, turn into a single urban conglomerate of 36 to 40 million inhabitants. Of nightmarish proportions, the largest in the world.

What is happening today in the Pearl River Delta, Koolhaas notes, is not very different from what happened in Manchuria 65 years ago. Here, too, land is colonized, regardless of inhabitants. Nature is flattened with unusual rigor, railroads and highways laid down, territory straightened to the party's demands. The government's ruthless optimism and 'blackboard-urbanization' in these Special Economic Zones of unbridled capitalist experimentation is, moreover, a continuation of Maoist tradition. The only difference is that market capitalism has today brought party officials money they previously lacked, providing the regime with the tools to radically restructure territory, in ways the hammer and sickle just weren't capable of.

JAPANESE
MODERNITY:
METABOLISM

Kenzo Tange (1913-2005) was an architect and critic skeptical of the nostalgic use of tradition in Japanese architecture and in what he saw as dull international modernism. He sought something new. Together with brothers in arms Noriaki Kurokawa and Tadeo Ando, Tange combined symbolic forms from Japanese tradition with modern technology, giving rise to the futuristic and fluid forms that symbolizes Asia's new modernity. Tange's most famous project, the Tokyo Bay area, seems to show the Asian need to surpass every western accomplishment. Tange, too, organizes territory following a grid, but outran Manhattan and other American cities by taming the water. It was in Singapore (another early 'democratic' state under Lee Kuan Yew's iron rule) where the modern metabolists' vision was most nearly realized.

In the meeting at the Netherlands Architectural Institute, Shanghai-based architect and theorist Zheng Shiling argued that whereas Japan had succeeded in giving form to a new Asian modernity, the current building boom in China has not led to a new 'Chinese' architecture. Anne-Marie Broudehoux's study of construction for the Beijing Olympics indeed showed the participation of major architects from the West (Norman Foster, PTW, Herzog & de Meuron). But no Chinese master builder is involved in any of these \$500m projects. It is difficult to say why. One could argue that Chinese architects have (out of necessity) specialized in quantity rather than quality. But it may be more plausible to conclude that Chinese officials are only interested in getting China on the world map. And world recognition means the participation of world-famous architects, Zheng sadly concluded.

CHINESE
MODERNITY:
?

CCTV = BIGNESS = REMOLOGY

OMA's new CCTV headquarters is 230 meters high and has a floor area of 360,000 square meters. Its novelty lies in its incorporation of every aspect of TV-making (administration, news, broadcasting, studios and program production) in a sequence of inter-connected activities. The building is a monolith, a block with continuous loops of horizontal and vertical sections, an urban site rather than a finger pointing to the sky. The irregular grid on the building's facades is an expression of the forces traveling throughout its structure, western and Chinese and neither.

Copyright Hans Welemann / OMA



Artistic impression of the CCTV complex in Beijing

In *S,M,L,XL*, Koolhaas explains ultimate architecture, what mobilizes architecture's full intelligence. He conceptualizes it as 'BIGNESS'. It began about a century ago, paralleling other modernist revolutions in the arts, a time when creative spirits like Picasso, Marinetti and Joyce radicalized their fields, united by a quest for what their particular artform or medium of expression was all about. Picasso experimented with painting as a two-dimensional play of colours and lines; Joyce worked the margins of literature by messing with language, signs and print; Marinetti, frontman of the Italian Futurists, revolutionized art by introducing speed and volatility into presumably static forms.

With Mies van der Rohe, Gropius and Lloyd Wright, architecture began a productive period of experimentation, a search that Koolhaas summarizes under five themes: a search for multiplicity, for elevation, for the facade, for a disintegration of the urban tissue and most important, for a new ethics, beyond good and evil, beyond the imaginable. These

themes give rise to Bigness. A true Nietzschean search for inhuman quantity: because architecture in the end can *only* achieve its goal by becoming ultrabig and fiercely inhuman. Can CCTV architecture therefore be bad, as Xing Ruan asked Rem after his lecture? No it cannot. It can never be. Architecture works with crime, with despotic regimes, because this is the way to its goal: to achieve bigness. CCTV is no doubt the biggest building Rem Koolhaas has made. It performs the ultimate REMOLOGY.

DOWN FALL OF THE SKYSCRAPER

The history of the skyscraper is of eastward travel. Starting in the 1920s in New York and Chicago, it arrived in Europe and Africa after the Second World War and then on to Asia. In the meantime its functions and meanings changed. The skyscraper has always been a capitalist tool, but there is no single way for capitalism to use it. Differences are easy to find. New York's Seagram Building is a capitalist machine made of steel and glass because the building integrates spaces and times, within and without. How different are these complex early 20th century constructions from the high-rises now merely collecting bureaucrats and businessmen in Pudong, the new Shanghai? One dimensional compositions, created merely to impress. Just look at the symbol of Pudong, the Oriental Pearl TV Tower. A building that hardly has an inside, a sign of potentiality, only to be admired from the other side of the Huangpu River, the new Bund/the old City. The skyscraper is the emblem of the market economy, of ultra-democracy, of VIAGRA-potency. Koolhaas claims he could realize his CCTV non-skyscraper only in Beijing, in the still communist heart of increasingly capitalist China. CCTV is a statement against the banality of the skyscraper, an exploration of the space of communism for architecture today. And thus Koolhaas, in *Content*, invites us to **KILL THE SKYSCRAPER!**

WELCOME TO PHOTOSHOPOLIS!

If there is one thing Koolhaas tries to grasp in his writings, it is how cities of today perform a different logic than cities of the past. A logic he continuously conceptualizes in neologisms. Koolhaas is not interested in clarifying, nor in framing history. He writes experiences, swamping us with images and signs of the unknown, the unheard of, urging us to think the social, cultural, political and architectural consequences of these new forms of life.

So what makes the Chinese contemporary cityscape? Looking at the urbanization of the Pearl River Delta, of the Three Gorges region, of the deconstructed cities of Shanghai and Beijing, Koolhaas overwhelms us with questions from what he sees, hears and feels. Isn't it strange that the city centre of Shenzhen is a golf-course? What of our idea that skyscrapers form urban conglomerates, when, in China, a ten-story building is as readily built in a 'rural' environment? And how come the government and private organizations have no qualms about the enormously expensive Wu Freeway (it hardly touches the ground) which leads to nowhere?

Koolhaas poses these questions not necessarily to answer but to conceptualize them. The building of seemingly unnecessary infrastructure and even complete towns, he captures in words like 'POTEMKIN CORRIDORS(c)' or 'POTEMKIN CITIES(c)'. The urban landscape no longer grows in harmonic concentric layers, separated by time, united by space, but consists of atonal fragments pressed into one another like felt, 'the generic city'. Only gravity makes it stick, an urban form that lacks urbanity, that neglects traditional differences between city and countryside, that thickens the body of the earth with a plaque of urbanity more and more organized by time, less and less by space. And what about Zhouhai, a non-city without public spaces or people, that exists on the horizon but evaporates as soon as you near it? Isn't this merely an 'Announcement of the City'?

In his lecture, Koolhaas stressed the sheer speed by which Chinese cities erupt. Shenzhen, not yet a teenager, already claims several million inhabitants. Everywhere in China, building occurs at great speed, often the product of a simple apple computer in

the kitchen of the parental home. Skyscrapers are designed within weeks. Koolhaas states that the Chinese architect is the most important in the world – the way his product is conceived requires a deep and thorough understanding of the laws of architecture. Or rather, it presupposes a radical unlearning of the laws of architecture which have made it such a cumbersome and lethargic practice.

Such rapid designing cannot happen with pencil and ruler, the standard equipment of architects not long ago. One needs AUTOCAD, or better, PHOTOSHOP, the tool that combines everything possible in one frame. To cut and paste 200 meters of skyscraper in 20 days. This new way of designing has enormous consequences for the kind of city that results. For cutting and pasting does not lead to cities where different styles and forms of building achieve melodic coexistence. The city produced by PHOTOSHOP is the city of frantic coexistence. It is the true 'City of Exacerbated Difference(c)'.

IS OMA GETTING OLD?

Rem closed his lecture by admitting that his bureau has begun doing things he wouldn't have dreamt of ten years ago. A project he considers most eccentric: the preservation of cultural heritage in Beijing. Should traditional *hutongs*, square courtyards enclosed by houses now giving way to modern high rises, be protected for future generations?

The problem with preservation, Koolhaas argues, is that it leads primarily to gentrification, best intentions notwithstanding. It is unlikely that people who lived there will still live there. Preservation is most often thought of in terms of authenticity, the restoration of buildings. But what forms a particular site? Showing a picture of daily life in a Beijing *hutong*, Koolhaas argued that what should be kept was its *atmosphere*, for it is here that these miniature social units differ most from their modern high-rise counterparts. This way, preservation is not about stones or buildings, but keeping what cannot survive in modern environments: the life articulated *between* the buildings and its inhabitants. Nor does it limit the architect to preserving buildings, or forbid new constructions. But it may also ask the architect *not* to take action ... something which comes unnaturally to him, Koolhaas admitted.

Rick Dolphijn lectures cultural philosophy at the cultural studies department at Erasmus University Rotterdam. Currently he is also an IAS-fellow researching The TIME-city, the Asian Megalopolis and its Production of Life. www.rickdolphijn.com

Women of the kakawin world

- Creese, Helen. 2004. *Women of the kakawin world: marriage and sexuality in the Indic courts of Java and Bali*. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe. 357 pp. ISBN 0-7656-0160-5

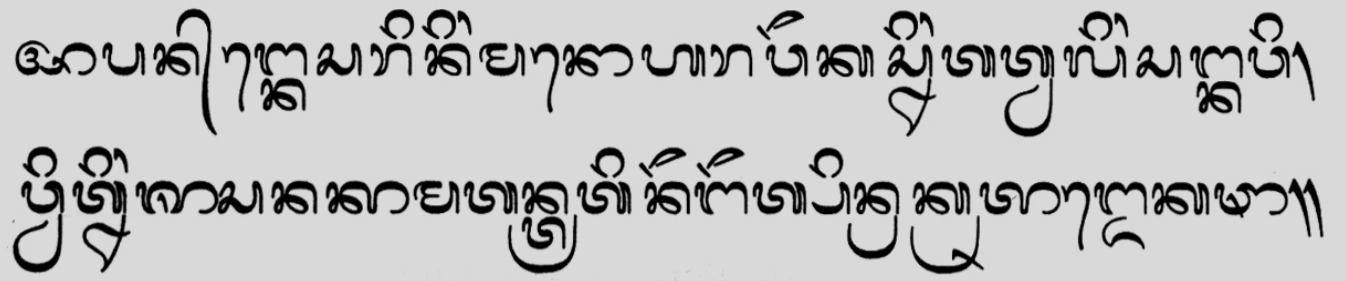
Dick van der Meij

After finishing this book, I suddenly realized I hardly ever read a scholarly work from cover to cover. There is a simple reason I did with this book. As quite rightly put by the author, the subject concerns gems of a hidden literary tradition: kakawin. Over a period of more than 1,000 years, these Old Javanese poems in Indian or Indian-inspired poetic metra constitute a world of beauty quite 'beyond the realm of the senses', as put by Raechelle Rubinstein, or in the words of Helen Creese, 'beyond the power of the senses.'

Kakawin are usually inspired by the great Indian epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* and focus on romantic love, poetic lovemaking, idealized nuptial relationships and heroic battles. Kakawin were written in Java, and after the fall of the Hindu empire of Majapahit in the 15th century, in Bali. Most manuscripts containing kakawin texts were copied and composed in Bali, where the practice has continued to the present day. Gems from the Javanese period include the kakawin *Ramayana*, *Bharatayuddha*, *Sumanasantaka*, *Smaradahana* and the popular *Arjunawiwaha*. The Balinese period includes the *Parthayana* (edited by Helen Creese), *Subadrawiwaha* and many more.

Kakawin are, or used to be, transmitted on palm leaf manuscripts in Old Javanese script. Nowadays they are also published on paper, sometimes with a Balinese translation. A (small) number of them have been edited by scholars in Dutch, Indonesian or English. Helen Creese is the most knowledgeable western scholar on the subject alive today.

Women of the Kakawin World leaves the battles and concentrates on aspects of love, courtship, marriage, and their intricacies. The role of women – as exemplary daughters, wives



For here is the soul of all that pleases the heart, the epitome of the essence of beauty, said the Poet, Originating in the doctrines of the sacred Kamatantra, kept ever secret, composed in colloquial form to give birth to tales of wonder.
Mpu Dharmaja, *Burning of Smara* 1:23. 12th century, East Java

and widows – are explored in great detail through Javanese and Balinese kakawin. Their role in the Indic courts was restricted, but by no means insignificant – mostly noble women lived sequestered from the outside world in the inner courts of the palaces, closely guarded by their male relatives and female attendants. The role they played in courtship, marriage, lovemaking and death is described in relation to the men they court, marry and follow in death.

Despite its title, my sense is that the book is not so much about women and female sexuality as it is about gender relations as seen by women. The book presents these female roles by following lives from birth to death. The author has also linked the kakawin world to remaining temple reliefs in Java and to Balinese illustrations of Old Javanese literature, evoking a continuum between the literary world and the world as it might have existed, describing the world depicted in kakawin in such

detail as to enable us to form an idea of the world outside the confines of the literary tradition.

The book is peppered with quotations from 15 kakawin from the Javanese period and 14 from the Balinese period. The English translations provide the reader a unique opportunity to appreciate the beauty of the poems; it is to the great credit of the author that she has translated the Sanskrit-like titles into English to make the poems and her book as accessible as possible. Helen Creese has done an admirable job and has succeeded in opening up the hidden kakawin world for a public much wider than ever before. The book is therefore a must for anyone seriously exploring Asian literature in its widest sense. <

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Caring for Japan's elderly

- Wu Yongmei. 2004. *The care of the elderly in Japan*. London: RoutledgeCurzon. pp.224. ISBN 0-415-32319-3

Elisabeth Schröder-Butterfill

The *Care of the Elderly in Japan* is a fascinating ethnographic study of life in an institution for elderly people in suburban Tokyo. By drawing on six months' participant observation as a care volunteer and in-depth interviews with residents, staff and visitors, Yongmei Wu constructs a detailed picture of institutional care.

Wu's primary interest lies in what constitutes quality of life for elderly residents. Yet her secondary aims of understanding what brings elderly people, staff members and visitors to the home, and how institutional old-age care is experienced and evaluated by different subgroups, occupy most of the book and yield many of its most interesting insights. The core chapters describe the home, which combines 'assisted living' with a nursing care section; the experiences of residents before and after entry; staff members' perspectives on work, workplace, and old-age care; visitors' evaluations of the home and their reasons for visiting or volunteering; sources of conflict in the institution; and an assessment of the impact of policy changes on life and work in the home.

The study takes place at a key juncture in Japanese welfare history. Ideas about welfare and responsibility for old-age care are being renegotiated, while the actual practice of welfare provision is radically changing following the introduction in 2000 of the new Long Term Care Insurance system (LTCI). With it, institutionalisation and formal old-age care, traditionally considered acts of government benevolence, are redefined as the right of every elderly person. This redefinition is not taking place smoothly or uniformly. One of the great contributions of the book is the way in which the author captures and juxtaposes the disparate, ambivalent, and at times contradictory views different cohorts and players have about non-family care in Japan.

The elderly in the study experience the tension between the ideal of co-residential family-based care and the reality of their lives, often characterised by a lack of family or family conflict, economic vulnerability or severe care needs. Considering they belong to cohorts in which institutional care was associated with abandonment and the stigma of charity, their capacity for adaptation and positive reinterpretation of their situations is remarkable. One elderly woman, for example, first suffered from the tensions her presence was creating in her son's marital household and then found the non-normative solution of living with a married daughter embarrassing and constraining. Despite expressing disappointment, even humiliation, at not receiving the customary care she feels she earned by serving her parents, husband and children, this woman actively sought admission to the residential home and thrives on its leisure activities and services.

Optimism among many older residents is not easily reconciled with the pity with which some staff and visitors view them. Their negative views are epitomised by the head matron, who tells the author: 'Look at the residents ..., aren't most of them unfortunate people? ... I think many elderly here will pass away in misery. This is their fate' (p. 102-3). Most middle-aged care staff and visitors have ambivalent feelings about institutional care, claiming to prefer it for themselves over 'becoming a burden' on children, yet eschewing institutional solutions for their own parents. It is only the youngest cohorts – young care staff and students on placements – who seem to have embraced the view of welfare as entitlement. Wu shows that normative consensus exists most readily where severely frail or impaired elderly people are concerned. Residents, staff and visitors agree that the quality of care the home can offer such patients far surpasses what families could provide, while the burden of such care on family caregivers, many of whom are elderly women themselves, is considered unacceptably high.

The book's drawbacks lie in its weak theoretical underpinnings and discussion. Some of the theories dealt with, like disengagement theory, are outdated; even in the topical area of quality of life, more recent works are not considered. In the empirical chapters, links to theory are brief and chiefly confined to footnotes. The discussion of the empirical material remains too close to the case studies which form its core; greater abstraction and critical commentary by the author would have been desirable.

That said, Wu's analysis of Japanese cultural constructs surrounding family relationships and their applicability to institutional care is fascinating. For example, the notion of *amae*, which refers to a person's ability to presume upon another person's care and indulgence, is central to intergenerational family relations and has been invoked to explain Japanese elders' more willing dependence on others compared with elders in the West. Wu is able to challenge the view that *amae* is also found among unrelated 'patient-caregiver' relations by pointing to the powerful sense of indebtedness that elderly

people feel towards state support and home staff. With the exception of physically dependent elderly people who have succeeded in forging close bonds with a particular matron over a long period of time, none of the residents feel entitled to make demands or presume on the indulgence of staff, who remain 'strangers', not family.

The book's strengths lie in the detailed descriptions of life in the home, and the perspectives on Japanese society that are opened up through the actions and statements of people associated with the home. In reading about one elderly resident's earlier neglect of his family when he was successful, or another man's involuntary confinement to a mental institution by his mother when he was young, we are reminded that even in the past Japanese family solidarity could not be taken for granted. And lest we rush to the conclusion that whole-sale institutionalisation of elderly people is likely in the near future, consider the following statistic and anecdote. In 1995, less than 2% of people aged over 65 in Japan resided in some kind of old-age institution. (This fact actually renders the book's title misleading). One young trainee caregiver, impressed with the quality of food in the home, took some for her grandmother to taste, but she flatly refused. The trainee apologised: 'to her, the food in a home for elderly is dirty. There is still prejudice towards institutions' (p. 146).

This prejudice is doubtless waning, partly due to the introduction of the entitlement-based care insurance system. In one of the best chapters of the book, Wu reports on attitudes to the new law before its implementation and assesses its implications soon after its introduction. The picture that emerges is far from rosy. Cuts in government fees and the exclusion of 'non-essentials' have meant that food quality has dropped and leisure activities now have to be paid for by residents themselves, with the result that participation is declining. The home's renowned dietary section is under threat, while staff are increasingly hired on a part-time basis. Linking fees to the degree of elders' dependency has also led to the home accepting more care-intensive patients, leaving less time and resources for maintaining the autonomy and well-being of more independent residents. In a market-based environment, aspects which contributed most to residents' quality of life (leisure activities, excellent food, an emphasis on Japanese traditions, 'a loving heart' among the criteria by which employees were hired) are sadly no longer assets.

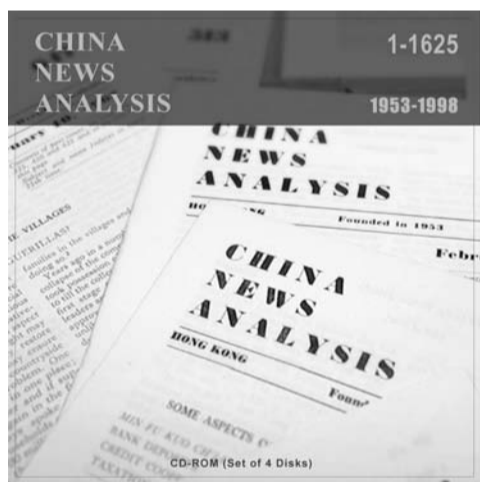
Wu has succeeded in portraying both institutional old-age care, and the ambivalences surrounding the question of how best to manage care for frail elderly people, in such a way that the reader doesn't – and can't – come away with his or her mind made up. The author's perceptive description of the institution and its elderly and non-elderly members avoids judgement and thereby does justice to the sensitivity and complexity of intimate care at the end of a person's life. <

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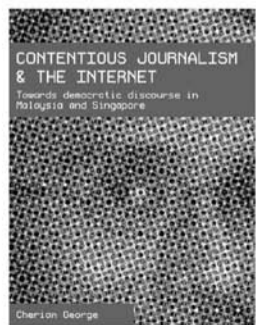
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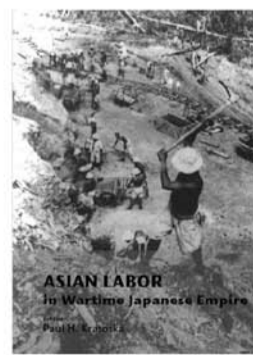
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Museums, material culture and performance in Southeast Asia

- Fiona Kerlogue, ed. 2004. *Performing objects: museums, material culture and performance in Southeast Asia*. London: The Horniman Museum. xiv + 187pp. ISBN 1 903 33801 8

Sandra Dudley

Recently, an increasing number of books have dealt with museum-related issues and with material culture. From the perspective of many working in the *intersection* of these areas, however, the number of books on material culture in museums is still relatively small – despite Kerlogue’s suggestion to the contrary in her introduction. True, there are now classic volumes (such as Karp and Lavine 1991), together with works on museums and material culture in terms of cultural property or colonialism or both (e.g. Peers and Brown 2003, Bennett 2004). A growing number of volumes also deal with collection histories and practices (e.g. Shelton 2001a and 2001b; Gosden and Knowles 2001). Yet overall, there are still relatively few works addressing the huge and important subject of material culture in and of museums.

New books in this area are thus usually welcome, and this one is no exception. The result of a 2001 conference of the Association of Southeast Asian Studies in the UK, its regional focus also makes it of significant interest to area specialists.

Kerlogue, who does not have a paper of her own in the book, applies recent theoretical approaches to the lives of objects by comparing museum objects with stage actors. The objects’ ‘performance’, she argues, emerges when they are utilised in exhibitions; curators provide their ‘lines’ in the form of labels and text panels. When they are back in the museum store, they are ‘resting’, like actors between jobs. We may, she suggests, question these objects’ roles, their relationships to the stories they tell during a ‘performance’, and how their role in a museum can be reconciled with their previous role in ‘real life’ as opposed to ‘stage life’.

While interesting, this object/stage actor analogy is problematic. I am not sure, for example, that objects ‘rest’ when not on display. They may still be experienced and interacted with by museum staff and others, and their traces – material, textual, imaginary – may linger in places other than their current one. Similarly, I am not sure the museum lives of objects are less ‘real’ than their pre-museum lives: rather than being synchronously juxtaposed to reality as actors’ stage performances are to their real lives, objects’ lives in museums come *after* their lives in their original ethnographic setting.

On one level, this is really just nit-picking over Kerlogue’s otherwise effective introduction. On another level, it relates to another quibble – over the book’s title. *Performing objects* implies, especially given the early thrust of the introduction, that the book will examine the lives and performances of specific items of



In the bowels of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden

museum material culture. Some chapters do indeed do this, but others take a different approach. The prospective reader could also be forgiven for expecting from the title that the book concentrates on museums, performance and material culture located *in* Southeast Asia. Again some of the chapters do this, but others interrogate museum and material culture issues that today are either physically outside Southeast Asia or thematically general enough to pertain to areas other than or in addition to Southeast Asia. Some Southeast Asianists may thus initially be disappointed, while many museum and material culture specialists with no interest in Southeast Asia may never pick up the book at all. Yet to potentially disappoint or lose readers because of its title would be a shame, for this is a fascinating, wide-ranging and well-edited book, of interest to Southeast Asianists and museum and material culture specialists alike.

Preservation, posterity and pusaka

The opening chapter questions the very notion of museums and what they do, and challenges the conventional view that preserving objects for posterity in museums is largely a Western idea. Christina Kreps explores the Indonesian concept of *pusaka* both ‘as a non-Western form of cultural heritage preservation’ and in terms of ‘how practices surrounding the care and treatment of *pusaka* constitute forms of museological behaviour’ (p.1). By problematising the idea that only in the West is there a concern for the care and preservation of cultural heritage, Kreps seeks – and to a large extent succeeds – both to undermine arguments used to legitimise keeping others’ cultural property in Western museums and to question the ‘imposition of Western-style systems of cultural heritage management’ (p.2).

The book then considers the sociopolitical uses and history of museums in Southeast Asia. Katherine McGregor’s case study of the colonial-era Batavia Museum’s transformation into the Indonesian National Museum draws on Anderson’s ideas about national identities (1991), and Nicole Tarulevicz’s examination of the Singapore National Museum’s presentation of history draws largely on Foucauldian approaches. Both are well-written and useful case studies, but without new theoretical contributions to analysis of nationhood and the representation of history.

Laurens Bakker, in the book’s only chapter dealing solely with representations examines the differences between representations of the island of Nias in ethnographic museums in the Netherlands and in Indonesia (including on Nias itself). Dutch museum representations and their focus on religious belief and practice are at odds with changes in recent decades in the importance of these issues on Nias itself. Bakker uses this to discuss the problems museums face in keeping up with socio-cultural shifts within the continually changing communities they represent in their essentially fixed, static displays. This well-written chapter is one of the most valuable in the book, although its conclusion would have been enhanced had Bakker presented a more detailed description of how museums might begin to tackle these problems.

The fabric and performance of life

The book then moves to collections and collecting. Genevieve Duggan’s chapter is a richly detailed, though uncritical account of textile traditions on Savu and the contemporary process of documenting and collecting textiles and related materials for the Horniman Museum.

Two chapters on colonial-era collections in European museums – Antonio Guerreiro on the cartographer Jacques de Morgan’s late 19th century journey across mainland Malaya and his collection of Orang Asli material (Musée de l’Homme), and Sudeshna Guha on Ivor Evans’ photographs taken on the Malaya peninsula and in northern Borneo (Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology) – are both interesting excursions into aspects of the imperial endeavour. It is also pleasing to find a chapter on photographs in a book about museums and material culture; ignored for too long, photographs are only now being seen as material culture in their own right (see Edwards and Hart 2004).

Three chapters examine material objects intended for use in public performance. Two contributions on puppets (Poh Sim Plowright and Matthew Cohen) emphasise in different ways the multiple contexts of material culture and the intersections of these contexts across time and space. As an analysis of a ‘new tradition’ in transformation, Laura Noszlopy’s paper on *ogoh-ogoh* effigies in Bali then raises important questions about the nature of tradition and cultural authenticity. It is a well-written ethnographic account, and the author is keenly aware of the wider questions, but it would have been nice to see more theoretical underpinning and location of these issues within the literature on ‘tradition’.

The closing chapter by Andy West on contemporary material culture and urbanisation in southern China asks if and how museums should reflect rapid socio-cultural change. In some ways this goes back to the relationship between collections and representations of cultures raised in previous chapters. It also returns to the wider questions on the

very nature of museums, what they do, and how and why they do it.

In general, this is an ethnographically rich and thematically wide-ranging book. It is also, as with other books in this Horniman Contributions in Critical Museology and Material Culture series, nicely produced with black and white illustrations, and is a pleasure to read. The reader will not find in-depth theoretical analysis, but hopefully they will come away feeling they have gained new insight into the ethnographic contexts and themes raised. I regret that the book has so little on mainland Southeast Asia, and I would also have liked an index. <

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Bringing Indonesian media history to life

- Steele, Janet. 2005. *Wars Within: The story of Tempo, an independent magazine in Soeharto's Indonesia*. Jakarta and Singapore: Equinox Publishing and ISEAS. xxxiv + 328 pp, appendices, index, ISBN 979-3780-08-8
- Tesoro, José Manuel. 2004. *The invisible palace: the true story of a journalist's murder in Java*. Jakarta: Equinox Publishing. 326 pp, maps, sources, ISBN 979-97964-7-4

David T. Hill

The appearance within the past year of these English-language books about the Indonesian press says a lot about both the vibrant state of the publishing industry in Indonesia and the burgeoning international interest in – and increasing quality of research about – that country's media. From the same innovative English-language publisher in Jakarta, the books focus on different, if overlapping, aspects of the Indonesian press. Importantly, each offers a new and exciting approach to the writing of media history, setting them apart from previous studies.

Steele, a specialist in Media and Public Affairs at George Washington University, came to Indonesia in 1997-8 as a Fulbright professor. While teaching about American mass media at the University of Indonesia during the final assault against the New Order, she was drawn inexorably to that community of activists involved in the Indonesian media's struggle against government constraints, an agglomeration of media workers that gravitated around the memory of Indonesia's most prominent newsweekly, *Tempo*. When *Tempo* was banned by the Suharto regime in June 1994 (together with two other weeklies, *DeTik* and *Editor*) it spawned waves of protest around the country, and came to symbolise the middle-class' broken hopes for political openness. Ex-*Tempo* staffers mobilised above and below ground against the New Order, and generated a substantial part of the agitation that was to bring the regime down in May 1998.

Steele's engagement with the spirited staff of *Tempo* through this period led her to delve more deeply into what made them tick. She pushed back into the history of the magazine's establishment, ranged over its various crises and bans, through to its resurrection after the eventual fall of Suharto. Returning regularly to Indonesia, spending extended periods living, researching and teaching in the capital, Steele acquired a valuable insight into the ethos and camaraderie of these media workers and the principles around which they coalesced. *Wars Within* opens up this circle of journalists, their motivations, their conflicts, and their commitments.

For Steele, as for a generation of Indonesians, *Tempo* had come to symbolise the best of Indonesian journalism; it was passionate, probing, innovative, articulate, upfront, and prepared to take the consequences. Yet *Tempo* was also, in some senses, politically compromised; a product of the early New Order's alliance with the anti-Sukarnoist student movement in eliminating the Left, the magazine enjoyed the backing of figures such as Golkar's treasurer Eric Samola, who became *Tempo*'s publisher. Steele writes with great sympathy of the complexities of operating a news publication in an authoritarian political environment, in which the cultivation of close relations with power-brokers was part of a necessary balance between idealism and pragmatism.

Wars Within is more than an academic account of the rise, fall, and rise of one Indonesian newsmagazine. Based on thorough research, it is engagingly readable, with characters – both well-known and those behind the scenes – emerging from the pages with the texture of well-crafted fiction. Steele eschews the conventional unfolding of arms-length history to tell the reader of her own interactions with, and attempts to understand, the community and events she unravels for us. Yet the text never lapses into name-dropping. Her insights provide an entrée into the *Tempo* community, and, through it, a broader understanding of the cultural politics of the New Order.

State terrorism

If one can read *Wars Within* for all the pleasure of a tale well-told, *The Invisible Palace* takes us a step further to a re-telling of history as 'faction'. Steele's account of *Tempo* is one of uplifting spirit and determination in the face of a repressive state; Tesoro's subject matter is the gruesome underbelly of state terrorism. He lays bare the circumstances surrounding the murder of Indonesian journalist Fuad Muhammad Syafruddin in August 1996, and the cover-up of the state's involvement.

Syafruddin, known commonly as Udin, was a journalist with the local Jogjakarta daily paper *Bernas*. He had stirred the ire of local political figures including the regent (*bupati*) Colonel Sri Roso Sudarmo with his forthright exposure of corruption and malfeasance. After the more routine forms of verbal intimidation failed to silence him, this unassuming small-town reporter was beaten to death one evening at the door of his modest home. Government investigations ignored evidence pointing to the involvement of political figures and instead framed a scapegoat in an attempt to deflect public criticism and close the case. Despite tireless efforts by journalist colleagues and press organisations to focus evidence upon more credible culprits and to press for their conviction, no one has been found guilty of the murder, nor have any officials been jailed for the miscarriage of justice which accompanied the state cover-up.

Tesoro's goal was to examine 'how *injustice* functions: What happens when, in the wake of a crime, the authorities seek not to punish the perpetrator but to hide him and not to discover the truth but to bury it' (p.25). Despite the separation of the Indonesian Police Service from the Armed Forces after the fall of Suharto, Tesoro's account of the botched police investigation, including the failure to protect evidence, may be of added interest given heightened curiosity about the conduct of recent high profile arrests in Indonesia.

A Philippines-born journalist and Yale-graduate, Tesoro was based in Indonesia for *Asiaweek* from 1997 to 2000, when he resigned to write *The Invisible Palace*. In it, he has attempted to unravel hundreds of pages of court transcripts, legal mem-

oranda, witness testimony, police reports, and personal interviews, to present these to the reader as creative non-fiction – an account of the events prior to and after the murder, more in the genre of novel than of history or reportage. He begins, 'This is a work of non-fiction. But, like all true stories, not everything found within is fact.' While this treatment may seem a touch strained in places – such as when he recounts mystic encounters with Javanese *dukun* (seers) – the technique is vividly successful as a general strategy to bring the complexities of the case to life. *The Invisible Palace* opens up the New Order's media and system of 'justice' to informed scrutiny, and the tale is a powerful one.

There is much common ground in these two books: the split between the official journalists' association PWI and the activist Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI); the forms of intimidation used against Indonesian journalists, and their strategies for resisting; the craven behaviour of authorities bowing to the dictates of the regime. Though the analytical approach, style and focus of the books vary greatly, together they flesh out, in the lives (and deaths) of the journalists they feature, the fate of the profession in an authoritarian state. In making such history so readable, the authors – and their publisher – are to be congratulated. ◀

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Language and politics in Mao's China

- Ji, Fengyuan. 2004. *Linguistic engineering: language and politics in Mao's China*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. ISBN 0-8248-2536-5

Manfred B. Sellner

Imagine that George Orwell's account of an imaginary future society is actually a meticulous copy of 30 years of Chinese Communist Party control over thought and language climaxing with the Cultural Revolution.¹ Imagine that Orwell's 'newspeak' of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* owes its model not to Nazi Germany but to the mechanisms of linguistic engineering ('the attempt to change language in order to affect attitudes and beliefs', p. 3) as propagated in 'Maoist newspeak'. Then you will realize that Orwell's utopia is not a novelist's fantasy, but, for the most part, a lucid account of the possibilities of mind and language control of a society.

It is well known and documented that the Chinese Communists were firmly committed to language reform after their 1949 takeover. They initially concentrated on simplifying the traditional writing system and on a massive literacy program (about 80% of the population was largely illiterate at the time of the proclamation of the People's Republic). Their less successful endeavours were the unification and dissemination of *putonghua*, or 'common language' (actually, the speech of Beijing), and the popularization of the phonetic transcription-system, known as *pinyin*, in

order to phoneticise the script and thus abolish the traditional writing system. Most forcefully propagated and enforced, however, was the successful program of linguistic engineering during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). It was used as an instrument of ideological persuasion to create new, revolutionary human beings.

'Love'

Ji begins by reviewing the possibility of guided interpretation of messages and the relationship between language and thought, as initiated and covered by the 'Whorfian-Hypothesis' and Relevance Theory. She subsequently reviews in detail linguistic engineering before the Great Cultural Revolution: how information was controlled and disseminated by several government agencies from the beginning of the communist takeover in 1949; how radio, newspapers, film, school lessons and discussions with communist cadres in schools and workplaces propagated political information in a linguistic form that even illiterates could process, grasp and memorize. The author gives numerous examples of strategies that included the propagation of a personality cult ('quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong'), numerical formulae of various kinds ('the Three 'isms': collectivism, patri-

otism, socialism), keyword slogans (the 'Great Leap Forward'), and even Chinese character slogans (such as the 'eight character constitution' to popularize agricultural policy). Its success was so great that even illiterate peasants began to use 'ideological vocabulary' in daily life. The vocabulary of everyday life was thus semantically extended to conform to Party policy and to show its user's commitment to the Party and especially to chairman Mao. Thus 'revolutionary love' became the basis of the relationship between husband and wife, while 'hot love', pertaining solely to the Party and Chairman Mao, showed one's 'Mao worship'. At the same time, the distinction between 'blood relatives' and 'party associates' was semantically and politically eliminated, so that all Chinese became 'quin ren' (relatives) or 'xiongdi' (brothers and sisters) of one another.

The red and the black

Linguistic engineering was driven to its extreme during the Great Cultural Revolution. Ji gives convincing examples to show that Mao's words became the stock phrases of everyday life and communication in China. People fought 'quotation wars' (*da yulu zhang*) to win arguments, while streets, shops, theatres, and even people and children (the name 'Wenge', for example, meaning 'Cul-



Mao zhuxi yulu: lishide jingyan (Quotation from Chairman Mao: the historical experience) Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 1968. Printno. 68105-6.

IIAS, the S.R. Landsberger collection

tural Revolution') were (re)named to conform to Mao's revolutionary spirit. Simultaneously, one was afraid to commit a 'one-character-mistake' (*yi zi zhi cha* – the mispronunciation of one Chinese character) because it could destroy an individual and his family: mispronouncing the name of a leader was taken as a measure of counter-revolutionary conviction. In brief, the era's Chinese discourse was in part speaking and writing using quotations from the 'Mao Bible / The Little Red Book' and was characterized as 'repetitive, narrowly political, and cliché ridden' (p. 155), with the color 'red' elevated to cult status. Thus there were (good) 'red words' (*hongzi*), a (good) 'red storm' (*hongse fenbao*) and (good) 'red terror' (*hongse kongbu*), all of which contrasted with 'black' (*hei*), symbolizing all evil in Mao's empire.

It is not surprising that the so-called 'Public Criticism Meetings', in which suspected opponents of the communist regime were verbally and physically dehumanized, were also macro-structured to consist of rituals and formulae. Ji argues that these were the agents of persuasion and control of the people that permeated all public and private life: even traditional greeting habits were changed, and characters in the new model revolutionary operas spoke in standardized scripts that revealed their class and exposed their ideological standpoint, thereby following Mao's dictum that art should be secondary to politics. The result was a culture lacking literary imagination. Hardly any novels were published between 1966-1972, while Mao's works were published en masse.

When life is primarily a class struggle against the 'black evil', school instruction is of primary importance to its rulers. The study of English survived the Cultural Revolution, probably owing to Mao's 1968 remark that 'It's good to know English'. Yet, as Ji illustrates nicely, the method of instruction was completely void of any foreign cultural ref-

erences. It lacked any sense of structured curriculum, because instruction was based on themes of Mao worship and reciting stock phrases of propaganda that ignored structured grammatical foreign language instruction.

Because of the Revolution's apparent success, it comes as a surprise that Ji can summarize 30 years of indoctrination by concluding: 'The Maoist dream of a revolutionary people retooled by formulae, propaganda, and directives to follow the right path remained a fantasy' (p. 246). But as we all know, a great deal has changed with the rise of Deng Xiaoping in 1978, when the Party moved away from most of its totalitarian goals and policies and the people followed suit at breakneck speed.

Ji's book makes fascinating reading. She brings much new information to the attention of people interested in 'Chinese Affairs', to socio-linguists interested in language planning and policy, and to historians and political scientists who want to know more about the Great Cultural Revolution and its foundations. The linguistic part of the book is written non-technically, in a clear style, and thus makes pleasant reading even for a wider audience. She includes so much background information that history and politics stifles the emphasis on linguistics, resulting in a pace that sometimes drags. Nevertheless, it should be on the bookshelf of every non-totalitarian-oriented reader as a constant warning against the possible impact of 'the people's democratic dictatorship' that is now trying to protect its people by formulating new directives of censorship.² ◀

Notes

1. For excellent as well as first-hand accounts of the reform attempts between 1949 and the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, see also Martin, Helmut. 1982. *Chinesische Sprachplanung*. Bochum: Studienverlag Brockmeyer; and Geduhn, Hans-Jörg. 1985. *Sprachplanung in der Volksrepublik China 1976-1980*. Bochum: Studienverlag Brockmeyer. Geduhn concentrates on the time between 1976-1980, when the Chinese authorities concentrated on reactivating their original language planning efforts. In this respect, these German accounts complement Ji's monograph.
2. See Yuwen, Zongguo. 1957. (Chinese Language) 'Editorial' (August 1957, p.2). Reprinted in Seyboldt, Peter Y. and Chiang, Gregory Kuei-Ke, eds. 1979. *Language Reform in China: Documents and Commentary*. White Plains, N.Y.: Sharpe; Folkstone, Kent: William Dawson & Sons Ltd. See this volume also for representative accounts of Chinese Communist rhetorics.

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Globalization and local development in India

- Landy, Frederic and Basudeb Chaudhuri, eds. 2004. *Globalization and local development in India: examining the spatial dimension*. New Delhi: Manohar & Centre de Sciences Humaines. 248 pp. ISBN 81-7304-540-2.

Hans Schenk

The nation-states of the world open up from above and from below, write editors Landy and Chaudhuri in their introduction. The interaction of 'globalization' and 'localization' – i.e. 'the progressive extension to the entire planet of exchanges of all kinds' (p.7) and increasing political power at the local level – challenge the national role in economic development. The editors question how these interacting forces affect development processes at local, regional, national and global levels.

The volume contains nine case studies, each focusing on problems and developments in a specific economic sector. Beginning with the overall opening of India's economy in the 1990s, the reader moves to India's health systems (western and indigenous), electricity supply, the leather industry in Tamil Nadu, diesel engines in Maharashtra, a hydro-electric plant in Madhya Pradesh, oil-seeds, dairy in Gujarat and Haryana, and finally, to food security and fertilizers. Each case study makes for interesting reading. Lachaier's contribution on the successful adaptation of erstwhile diesel pump builders to the sophisticated demands of the multi-national car industry and Kennedy's study of the strategies of leather industrials to cope with national anti-pollution measures convincingly demonstrate the interplay between forces operating at several levels influencing the fortunes of local actors. Heuze's intriguing case study deals with a large development project in the middle of nowhere, ongoing for over four decades, which I will discuss here in detail.

Heuze presents the complexity of a large-scale development project in which all possible levels from local to global are present: a public sector hydro-plant on the borders of Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. The author discusses the project's impact from 1960 onwards. 80,000 local peasants were the first victims of the project; they were displaced and provided with scant agricultural land and few project-related jobs. Private companies moved into the area as it developed into a new industrial region. New forms of administration – Special Area Development Authorities – replaced existing village and district councils. Economic, social and administrative changes led to the emergence of new actors on all levels, often with conflicting interests. Tension and in-fighting among the new elites included public sector interests competing with private sector interests, politicians with administrators and issues of competency between local, state and national authorities, and between authorities in the two states.

The already complex political scene became considerably more confused when foreign (global) actors came to the fore. The World Bank and foreign and Indian NGOs entered the project

area in the 1980s. The WB (pressured by American NGOs) agreed to a loan for further investment under the condition that more attention be paid to the project's environmental and socio-economic impacts. Other foreign NGOs also started to take interest. Heuze argues, however, that the entry of the new global actors 'introduced an additional dimension without changing old power equations' (p.155). These remained invariably in favour of local, regional and national elites, while no one seemed to care much about the plight of former peasants and un-skilled workers. Heuze cynically concludes: 'No one, not even the ecologists who were fascinated by the talk of the "good wild tribal" who had to be protected, found fault with the fact that the peasants of the villages surrounding the five giant power stations themselves had no electricity' (p.160).

The authors in this book show relevant dimensions of 'economic development in practice'. The cases also show that global or local – spatial – levels contain many actors with conflicting interests. The levels are heterogeneous, divided by social, economic and political position, as the well-presented case studies clearly show. The book concludes with a plea to focus on the micro-level when looking at development to avoid generalizing visions.

Old wine in new bottles?

The book, however, is puzzling for several reasons. Many of the issues discussed in the case studies sound familiar when looking at earlier Indian history and need not be specifically attributed to globalization. Some cases, such as the hydro-plant, deal with foreign involvement much earlier than the 1990s. Though India's economy was more protected in the pre-globalization past than it is now, there are many examples of past foreign economic involvement (e.g. steel plants with Russian, German, US and British participation in the 1960s, Maruti, Green Revolution rice varieties, World Bank loans for urban improvement, cement and Operation Flood), apart from more ideological foreign involvement (e.g. family planning in the 1960s and early 1970s). Even the phenomenon of localization, here dated from the 1992-3 constitutional amendments (p.16), began much earlier. Rural self-governance in a hierarchy of village and regional councils (*panchayats*) was attempted in the 1960s, and failed for a variety of reasons. What is then the surplus value of the globalization-locality framework? Do we need the interacting concepts of globalization and localization to understand the issues, problems and solutions so clearly analysed in the case studies? Landy and Chaudhuri turn this argument around by casually remarking that globalization is much older than the concept, although new means of communication have led to growing complexity (p.13). Is their concept of globalization then window-dressing, a display of old wine in new bottles?

Globalization is defined in a neutral way: the progressive extension to the entire planet of exchanges of all kinds is supposed to operate in all directions, in this case to and from India. In the case studies, however, most of the exchanges come to India (barring a few exceptions, such as the export of India's traditional medical system, and of footwear). Many of the global actors remain by and large the familiar ones from the pre-globalization era such as the World Bank, foreign NGOs and multinationals. Foreign involvement in India's economic development is stronger than it was a few decades ago. Private capital investments are now easier to make (e.g. the Japanese automobile industry) and out-sourcing by Western companies has become fashionable (the IT sector), but the pattern has not really changed: the exchanges come mainly to India, for a simple reason – to make profits. Few profitable exchanges from India to the world exist. Globalization can hardly be called a neutral process.

One wonders, therefore, whether development guided by globalization is substantially different from the worldwide development paradigm of the 1950s and 1960s: western-styled modernization. One may wonder as well whether the impact of globalization should not be described in terms of the 1970s – those of unequal economic and political power, such as centre versus periphery or *dependencia* relations. The editors only casually mention the (former) exploitative and unequal character of world economic relations (p.11), and add that exclusion is now replacing exploitation. Discussion on the inequalities of both the progressive extension of exchanges and its exploitative/exclusive impacts would have enriched the book. Are not exploitation and exclusion basic elements of international economic relations and of economic development within India?

The book gives insights into the often contradictory mechanisms that determine India's development. The framework, into which the case studies are squeezed, would have benefited from a historical perspective that could perhaps even have led to a re-valuation of current hypes. ◀

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Hosting major international sports events: comparing Asia and Europe



Major international sporting events have an extraordinary capacity to generate emotionally powerful and shared experiences. Events like the Olympic Games, the Football World Cup, and other major sporting events reveal both the appeal and elusiveness of sport. In the age of global television, the capacity of major sports events to shape and project images of the host, both domestically and globally, make them highly attractive for political and economic elites.

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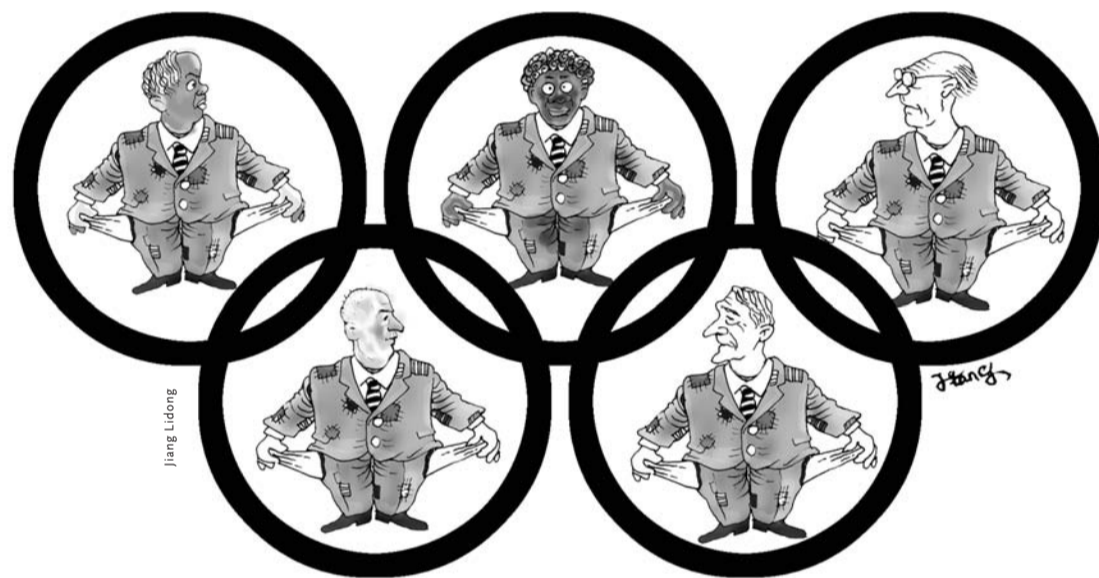
The pursuit of hosting major (or 'mega') sports events has become increasingly popular among governments, corporations, and civic 'boosters' worldwide. They argue that major economic, developmental, political, and socio-cultural benefits will flow from them, easily justifying the costs and risks involved. Numerous studies fuel the popular belief that sport is a generator of national as well as local economic and social development. Economically it has been viewed as an industry around which cities can devise urban regeneration strategies. Socially it has been viewed as a tool for the development of urban communities and the reduction of social exclusion and crime.

Most of these studies, however, have been conducted in advance of the events on behalf of interested parties without adequate measurement of final and intermediate outputs as well as inputs. Critical post-event studies point to their uneven impacts. Research shows that costs have usually been underestimated while beneficial impacts have been overestimated. Regarding social regeneration, there is an absence of systematic and robust empirical evidence on the social impacts of projects. In order to improve research standards, participants at the workshop 'Hosting Major International Sports Events: Comparing Asia and Europe' addressed methodological, theoretical and empirical issues gained from mega-event research in specific localities and temporalities.

The papers were arranged in sessions according to the following topics: failed bids and successful bids; nation and economy building; assessing the costs and benefits for developed and newly industrializing economies; identity politics and political identities; evaluating the economic and sporting impact of sports events and promotional activities; and case studies of impacts and outcomes.

Harada Munehiko (Osaka University of Health and Sport Sciences) focused on the City of Osaka's unsuccessful bid to host the 2008 summer Olympic Games. He argued that failure was due to Osaka's minor global importance and to external factors favoring the other Asian competitor, Beijing. Critics pointing to the huge costs and poor state of public finance in Japan were silenced by the powerful image of the Tokyo Olympics. Harada argued that despite lack of success, Japan's second largest conurbation area was able to pursue urban revitalization. Initial losses can spur cities onto later gains, even though delayed benefits for communities (in terms of 'psy-

chic income') that arise from the bidding process are difficult to measure. John Horne (University of Edinburgh) addressed the North American experience of hosting major sports events to offer a contrasting view on the over-estimated benefits and under-estimated costs of hosting. He suggested that adopting 'boosterism' or 'skepticism' were difficult to avoid in assessing impacts. Even where economic analyses demonstrate that profits can be made on the operational costs of sports mega events, much of this can be accounted for by the free labour provided by the volunteer force enlisted to help run such events.



Nicholas Aplin (National Institute of Education, Singapore) described local sporting traditions and the influence of former Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew as the main reasons for Singapore's resistance to the allure of sports mega events. In some ways this was similar to the People's Republic of China's previous resistance to competitive sport. Yet in Singapore, the alternative choice of a sports-for-all policy failed to realize sustainable mass participation rates. Yi Jiandong (Beijing Sport University) presented a roadmap to 2010 of sports events' hosting in China. Data never seen before outside China provided ample evidence of China's pursuit of the Beijing 2008 Olympics for both status and economic investment purposes. In discussion it was questioned how long the investment would last and how evenly the benefits would be spread. While hosting certainly is popular with the political elite, larger parts of the Chinese people might have different ideas.

Gerd Ahlert (Institute of Economic Structures Research, Osnabrück) outlined a robust econometric forecasting model that has been applied to the Football World Cup 2006 in Germany. The calculation based on the Sport Satellite Account predicts huge pre-event investments and low direct economic impacts. But economic gains can be made indirectly through marketing and nation branding. Sombat Karnjanakit (Chulalongkorn University) argued that Thai-

land has already reached a saturated level of modernity, allowing the city to host and perform credibly in multi-sport events, as demonstrated by the Asian Games in 1966, 1970, 1978 and 1998. The problem for countries such as Thailand – already established on the global tourist route – is the unpredictability of economic benefits.

Salomé Marivoet (University of Coimbra) outlined research on the European Football Championships held in Portugal in 2004 and introduced the mass media into the workshop's discussions. Her paper considered the impact of the mediated event on the internal imag-

ined community and the way different groups in Portugal sought to capitalize on national identification externally. In particular she demonstrated how corporate nationalism was produced when national symbols of the past were portrayed as present-day 'brands' of nations on a globally mediated stage. Xin Xu (Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, Harvard University/ Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University, Japan) also dealt with national identity, in terms of its impact on political relations between the 'two Chinas' (the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China, Taiwan). He foresaw the danger that both unifiers and secessionists might hijack the Beijing Olympics in 2008 for their respective political ambitions.

Kathy Van den Bergh (Vrije Universiteit Brussels) asked how sports events and other sports promotion vehicles can increase participation in sport. While it is often assumed that there is a correlation, it is not based on sound empirical evidence. Van den Bergh reported on attempts to devise and test an instrument to evaluate sports promotion as a means of increasing participation. She concluded that outcomes exist but expectations are usually too ambitious. Sport economist Chris Gratton (Sheffield Hallam University) argued that only through specific studies of major events in particular locations is it possible to answer questions about the economic impact and benefits or non-

benefits of major sports events. Research into ten events in five cities in Britain suggest that a European model where events are staged in existing sports facilities is more cost effective than the North American model of building facilities in the hope that events or franchises will be attracted to them.

Wolfram Manzenreiter (University of Vienna) discussed the winners and losers among cities in Japan that hosted half the 2002 FIFA Football World Cup. While the regional impact was overestimated in most economic dimensions and in each of the ten host regions, the social benefits received overtly positive

appraisal. With the increase of size of the conurbation where the hosting occurred and its rise of importance on the national map, satisfaction with the impact of the multi-site event decreased. Most participants, Manzenreiter noted, were in favour of more transparency in the bidding process and more research to explore the possibilities of expanding social benefits deriving from the mega-event experience. Mustafa Ishak (National University of Malaysia) demonstrated that events such as the Commonwealth Games in 1998 and Grand Prix (Formula One) car racing had put Malaysia on the global sporting map. He argued that these events had helped the country to acquire modern state-of-the-art sports facilities, spurred huge infrastructure investments and fostered an enhanced sense of national pride. Hence he emphasized the importance of sport to processes of economic development in newly industrialized countries and nation building in multi-ethnic societies. Finally Francesco Muñoz Ramirez (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain) identified the importance of place in determining success or failure in hosting sport events. An illustrated guide to pre-Olympic

Barcelona, Olympic Barcelona and post-Olympic developments in the city revealed the importance of partnerships – public and private, and across different sectors of public life – to create 'transversal synergies' and to include the whole city in revitalisation projects. Barcelona has benefited from continuity in strategic thinking on revitalisation and architecture as a means of urban redevelopment.

The final discussion summed up the issues presented in the papers. First, there was a need to distinguish more clearly between increasingly commercial international sport 'mega-events' such as the Olympics and the Football World Cup, 'big sports events' that generate large national audiences and media audiences abroad but are closed to competitive bidding, and other 'major sport events' with different scope and effect. Second, the dichotomies of post-colonialism (such as 'Asia-Europe') were reflected in differences in approach towards mega-events by developed and newly industrialised economies, established and emerging nations. Third, mega-events were considered of utmost importance for the projects of modernity as well as post-modernity, albeit with distinctive goals. For modernizing nations, hosting a mega-event is a clear marker of international esteem for developmental achievements; in post-modern societies, events large and small fulfill the role of image generator. Fourthly, economic gains are less likely than social benefits, though this kind of legacy is difficult to plan and control.

While the subsequent direction of the research agenda stimulated by the papers was uncertain, participants at the workshop stressed the necessity of multi-disciplinary research and international collaboration to go beyond the limits of one's own research perspective. Our view was that the workshop succeeded in that it enabled all to share greater awareness and recognition of the differences and similarities between the experience of hosting major international sports events in developing and developed nations, modern and post-modern cultures, and post-industrialised and newly industrialised economies.

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Scottish Centre for P.E., Sport and
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University of Edinburgh

The ASEE/Alliance Workshop 'Hosting Major International Sports Events: Comparing Asia and Europe' was convened by John Horne, Hirose Ichiro and Wolfram Manzenreiter, and was held at the University of Edinburgh 9-11 March 2005. Revised versions of some of the papers will be available in J. Horne and Wolfram Manzenreiter, eds. *Sports Mega-Events*. Oxford: Blackwell (forthcoming).

Asia Alliance

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IIAS (secretariat Asia Alliance)

More information:
www.asia-alliance.org

2 - 14 July 2006
Leiden, the Netherlands

Shared views for common challenges:
(ex)changing perspectives on the
international legal order in the 21st century

Call for participants to the 13th ASEF University

Are you an MA (graduate) student, under 28, with an interest in Asia-Europe relations? Do you want to develop your leadership qualities and meet talented university students from Asia and Europe to share thoughts on developments in international law? If so, the organisers of the the 13th ASEF University invite you to apply to this two-week intensive summer school in Leiden, the Netherlands, 1-13 July 2006.

Recent years have seen dramatic changes in international law and practice that challenge traditional views of state sovereignty. As the threat of terrorism grows, judicial systems worldwide struggle with pressure from states to allow investigation and punishment to be more widely applied. The ASEF University will address the ethical issues behind these developments, as well as the wider (legal) context of the global world order.

For information and application details, please visit www.iias.nl or www.asef.org or contact

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Universiteit Leiden



ASEF University



30 November - 2 December 2005

Centre for Khmer Studies, Cambodia
Water in mainland Southeast Asia

Dr. Philippe Peycam, Centre for Khmer Studies, Cambodia
Prof. Barend Jan Terwiel Hamburg University, Germany

5-7 January 2006

National University of Singapore, Singapore

Pensioners on the move: social security and trans-border retirement migration in Asia and Europe

Dr. Mika Toyota, Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore

Dr. Anita Böcker, Institute for the Sociology of Law, Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen, the Netherlands

20-22 January 2006

Walailak University, Nakhon Si Thammarat, Thailand

Voices of Islam in Europe and Southeast Asia

Dr. Uthai Dulyakasem, Institute of Liberal Arts, Walailak University

Dr. Cynthia Chou, Institute of Cross-Cultural and Regional Studies, Head of Southeast Asian Studies, University of Copenhagen

June 2006

Buon Ma Thuot, Vietnam

Locating the communal in Asian land tenure

Thomas Sikor, Institute of Agricultural Economics and Social Sciences, Humboldt University, Berlin, Germany

CALL FOR PROPOSALS

The Annual Asia-Europe Workshop Series 2006/2007

Workshop Series 2006/2007

The European Alliance for Asian Studies and the Asia-Europe Foundation welcome proposals for workshops on themes of common interest to Asia and Europe, to take place in 2006/2007.

The deadline is 1 February 2006. Proposals will be refereed by an Asia-Europe Selection Committee; six will be selected for realisation. Applicants will be informed of the Committee's decision by June 2006.

Financial support, up to a maximum of € 12,500 per workshop, consists of contribution towards travel and accommodation.

CRITERIA

- Three day expert workshop, to be held between September 2006 and September 2007 in an ASEM member country.*
- Jointly organised by an Asian and a European institute from ASEM member countries.
- Participants: coming from at least eight different ASEM countries (Asia and Europe equally); male/female parity; balance between senior experts and promising junior researchers
- Participants are invited primarily from academia - though contributions from

politicians, journalists and representatives of industry are welcome.

- The topic should be innovative and interdisciplinary, address shared interests between Asia and Europe, be of interregional/multilateral importance, and stimulate interregional dialogue.
- Workshops initiated by young postdocs aimed at creating an academic network are favoured.

THE PROPOSAL

- Maximum eight pages, in English. The proposal should contain:
- Title of the workshop, proposed dates and venue, names of initiators and organising institutions in Europe and Asia (include at least two signed letters of intent), and one contact address (p. 1)
 - Introduction to the topic and scientific objectives (p.2-4)
 - List of confirmed participants, with institutional affiliations and disciplinary

competence in relation to the workshop's topic (p.5)

- Detailed programme including paper titles (p.6)
- Itemised, detailed budget showing expenses and expected income (p.7)
- Envisaged follow-up including publication(s) (p.8)

DEADLINE AND ADDRESS

Proposals should be received (by regular mail) before 1 February 2006.

SECRETARIAT ASIA-EUROPE WORKSHOP SERIES
c/o International Institute for Asian Studies
P.O. Box 9515
2300 RA Leiden
The Netherlands



Address for hand delivery or private courier service: IIAS, Nonnensteeg 1-3, 2311 VJ Leiden, The Netherlands



European Alliance for Asian Studies

The ASIA-EUROPE FOUNDATION (ASEF), Singapore, was established by members of the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) on 15 February 1997. ASEF promotes engagement between the civil societies of Asia and Europe and the forging of mutual understanding.

The EUROPEAN ALLIANCE FOR ASIAN STUDIES is a co-operative framework of European institutes specializing in Asian Studies. Members include the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS); NIAS - the Nordic Institute for Asian Studies; the Institute for Asian Affairs (IFA); the European Institute for Asian Studies (EIAS); the Centre for International Studies and Research (CERI-Sciences Po); the Centro de Estudios de Asia Oriental (CEAO); the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS); and the Swedish School for Advanced Asia Pacific Studies (SSAAPS).

* ASEM COUNTRIES:

AUSTRIA, BELGIUM, BRUNEI, BURMA/MYANMAR, CAMBODIA, CHINA, CYPRUS, CZECH REPUBLIC, DENMARK, ESTONIA, FINLAND, FRANCE, GERMANY, GREECE, HUNGARY, INDONESIA, IRELAND, ITALY, JAPAN, KOREA, LAOS, LATVIA, LITHUANIA, LUXEMBURG, MALAYSIA, MALTA, NETHERLANDS, PHILIPPINES, POLAND, PORTUGAL, SINGAPORE, SLOVAKIA, SLOVENIA, SPAIN, SWEDEN, THAILAND, UNITED KINGDOM, VIETNAM.

IIAS research programmes, networks & initiatives

Programmes

Care of the aged: gender, institutional provisions and social security in India, the Netherlands and Sri Lanka

This IDPAD/IIAS research project addresses the implications of population aging for the social security and health care of elderly people. As the experience of ageing is highly gendered and can vary according to class, caste, and religion, the project seeks to capture the dimensions, characteristics and trends related to aging among different social and economic groups, with an emphasis on women. This comparative study of the Netherlands, Sri Lanka, and India draws on diverse experiences of development to contextualize the aging process.

Coordinator: **Carla Risseuw**

Energy programme Asia

This programme on the geopolitics of energy focuses on Chinese, Indian, Japanese and South Korean strategies to secure oil and natural gas from the Caspian region (Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Iran, and Russia) and the Persian Gulf. The programme is institutionally supported by IIAS and the Clingendael International Energy Programme (CIEP), Den Haag.

Coordinator: **Mehdi Parvizi Amineh**

Indonesianisasi and nationalization

From the 1930s to the early 1960s, the Indonesian economy transformed from a 'colonial' economy, dominated by the Dutch, to a 'national' economy in which indigenous business assumed control. This NIOD project explores this transformation, studying the late-colonial era as well as the Japanese occupation, the Revolution and the Sukarno period. Two issues are given special attention: *Indonesianisasi* (increased opportunities for indigenous Indonesians in the economy) and nationalization, in particular the expropriation of Dutch corporate assets in Indonesia in 1957-58.

Coordinator: **J. Thomas Lindblad**

Illegal but licit: transnational flows and permissive polities in Asia

This research programme analyses forms of globalisation-from-below, transnational practices considered acceptable (licit) by participants but which are often illegal in a formal sense. It explores limitations of 'seeing like a state', and instead privileges the perspectives of participants in these illegal but licit transnational flows.

Coordinator: **Willem van Schendel**

Islam in Indonesia: the dissemination of religious authority in the 20th and early 21st centuries

Forms and transformations of religious authority among the Indonesian Muslim community are the focus of this research programme. The term authority relates to persons and books as well as various other forms of written and non-written references. Special attention is paid to the production, reproduction and dissemination of religious authority in the fields of four sub-programmes: *ulama* (religious scholars) and *fatwas*; *tarekat* (mystical orders); *dakwah* (propagation of the faith); and education.

Coordinator: **Nico Kaptein**

Socio-genetic marginalization in Asia

The development and application of new biomedical and genetic technologies have important socio-political implications. This NWO/ASSR/IIAS research programme aims to gain insight into the ways in which the use of and monopoly over genetic information shape and influence population policies, environmental ethics and biomedical and agricultural practices in various Asian religious and secular cultures and across national boundaries.

Coordinator: **Margaret Sleebloom-Faulkner**

Syntax of the languages of southern China

This project aims to achieve a detailed description and in-depth analysis of a limited number of syntactic phenomena in six languages, both Sinitic and non-Sinitic, spoken in the area south of the Yangtze River. The project will systematically compare these descriptions and analyses to contribute to the development of the theory of language and human language capacity, through the study of non-Western languages.

Coordinator: **Rint Sybesma**

Trans-Himalayan database development: China and the subcontinent (Phase I)

The project's main goal is to combine the database of cognate words in Tibeto-Burman languages, maintained by the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences) with language data of the George van Driem Himalayan Languages Project (Leiden University) to create a joint, online database of Tibeto-Burman languages with a mirror-site in Leiden. The project's second objective is to continue documentation of endangered Tibeto-Burman languages in China in cooperation with the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology.

Coordinator: **Katia Chirkova**

Networks

ABIA South and Southeast Asian art and archaeology index

The Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology is a global network of scholars co-operating on an annotated bibliographic database for publications covering South and Southeast Asian art and archaeology. The project was launched by IIAS in 1997 and is currently coordinated by the Postgraduate Institute of Archaeology of the University of Kelaniya, Colombo, Sri Lanka. The database is freely accessible at www.abia.net. Extracts from the database are also available as bibliographies, published in a series by Brill. The project receives scientific support from UNESCO.

Coordinator: **Ellen Raven**

www.abia.net

Changing labour relations in Asia

CLARA aims towards a comparative and historical understanding of labour relations in different parts of Asia, including changes within national economies, links to international markets and the nature of state intervention. It focuses on five overlapping themes: the labour process, labour mobility, labour consciousness, gendered labour and labour laws and labour movements.

Coordinator: **Ratna Saptari**

Transnational society, media, and citizenship

This multidisciplinary network studies the complex nature of contemporary cultural identities and the impact of the globalization of information and communication technologies on the (re)construction of these identities. The programme is based in the Netherlands while the projects are carried out at numerous fieldwork sites.

Coordinator: **Peter van der Veer**

IIAS initiatives

Development of space technology in Asia

The space age has dramatically impacted all nations. In Asia, the 'space-faring nations' of India, China and Japan have successfully developed space technologies and applications. Other Asian nations have readily adopted these applications, including satellites for telecommunications, for gathering data on the weather, and environmental and earth resources. IIAS is launching this new research initiative and has initiated a series of workshops on the topic.

Coordinator: **David Soo**

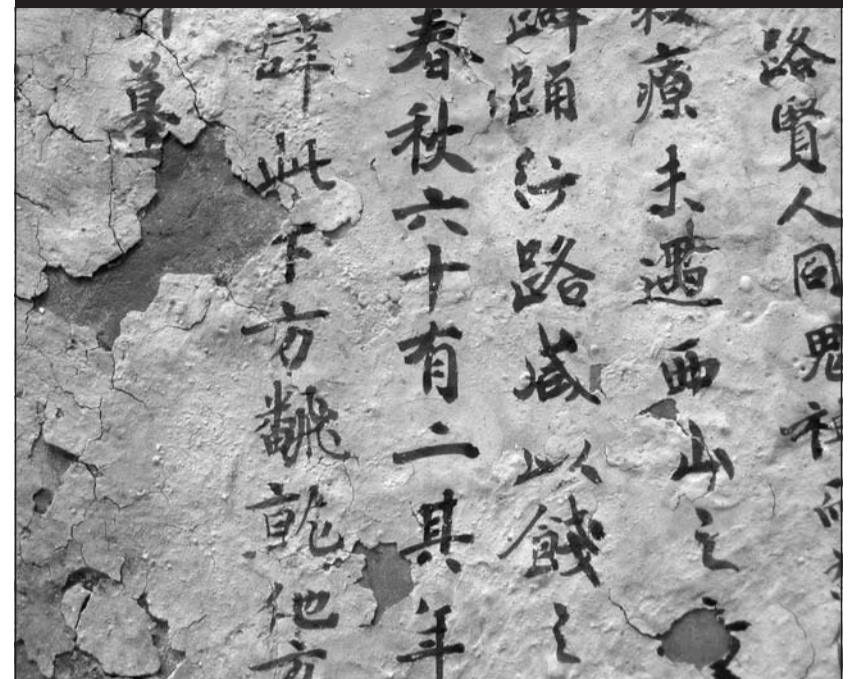
Piracy and robbery on the Asian seas

Acts of piracy loom large in Asian waters, with the bulk of all officially reported incidents of maritime piracy occurring in Southeast Asia during the 1990s. This is of serious concern to international shipping, as the sea-lanes between East Asia, the Middle East, and Europe pass through Southeast Asia. IIAS and the Centre for Maritime Research at the University of Amsterdam are currently identifying issues and concerns, and are delineating core elements of an interdisciplinary research programme on piracy and robbery at sea in Asia.

Coordinators: **Wim Stokhof and John Kleinen**

For more information on IIAS research: www.iias.nl

A N N O U N C E M E N T



Comparative Intellectual Histories of Early Modern Asia

IIAS Masterclass

30 May - 2 June 2006

Leiden, the Netherlands

Led by:

Sheldon Pollock (*William B. Ransford Professor of Sanskrit and South Asian Studies, Columbia University, New York, USA*)

How to understand the logic of an intellectual order founded upon ideologies of continuity and preservation, rather than ideologies of improvement and obsolescence? A comparative intellectual history of the early modern world (1500-1800) can address this question more effectively and develop a more heuristically powerful theory than can any one scholarly tradition investigated in isolation. This masterclass will bring together experts in the field of Sinology, Indology and Middle Eastern studies to consider shared issues not only in the historiography of early modern knowledge, but also in the theoretical challenges we must confront in writing the intellectual history of the non-West, where even the terms of the theme 'intellectual' and 'history' do not go without saying. The focus will be put on three forms of knowledge: aesthetics, political thought, and moral philosophy.

Also presenting:

Michael Cook (*Professor of Near Eastern Studies, Princeton University, USA*)

Benjamin Elman (*Professor of East Asian History, Princeton University, USA*)

Quentin Skinner (*Professor of History, Cambridge University, UK*)

Deadline for registration:

15 March 2006

Registration and information:

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Traditional music theatre by the Kattaikkuttu Sangam

Kattaikkuttu is popular music theatre from Tamil Nadu, South India, which combines intense singing, comical parts, improvisation and ritual traditions. A Kattaikkuttu performance is played by twelve actors and three musicians at night. It is rooted in rituals and religion and is an essential part of life of South Indian rural communities.

From 21 January till 1 February the Kattaikkuttu Sangam from Kanchipuram will tour the Netherlands with two performances of this expressive and colourful music theatre from rural India. The audience is invited to watch the make up before the play and cultural anthropologist Hanne de Bruin will explain the performance.

Concept & direction: P. Rajagopal, Hanne M. de Bruin
Costumes: Hanne M. de Bruin
Actors: P. Rajagopal, B. Saravanan, N. Ramalingam, K. Maheswaram
Musicians: R. Kumar (harmonium), T. Rangasami (mrdangam/dholak), C. Chandiran (mukavinai)

'The eighteenth day': about the meaning of war

'The eighteenth day' (*Pattinettam nal*) is a shortened version of a traditional full night performance. The theme comes from the famous Indian Mahabharata epic. The play opens with King Duryodhana in impressive costume who reflects on his own acts in the horrible war between families. All his 99 brothers are killed, as well as his friend Karna. With the dead in his eyes he talks to the god Krishna and the other survivor, the clown

'Bhima and the flower'

Youth performance
This episode from the Mahabharata is like a fairytale about greed, beauty and exile. The strong Bhima tries to find the beautiful Madaara flower for his wife Draupadi. On his journey he meets in a match the Monkey god Hanuman.

The Kattaikkuttu Sangam, directed by P. Rajagopal, looks after the economic and artistic interests of actors in Tamil Nadu and cares for the education of young actors. Together with Hanne M. de Bruin, he has raised a union, theatre centre and youth theatreschool.

More information
www.kattaikkuttu.org

Kalai Manram supports the Kattaikkuttu Sangam in the Netherlands.
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Chinglish.com: Chinese-English email

Few analysts or trend-watchers will disagree. The internet and China are fueling globalization and the world economy. Chinese and English are the most widespread languages on the web today. Combining them in a meaningful manner would lead to an interesting alliance.

Chinglish.com, a Dutch startup run by a group of Chinese engineers who studied and worked in the West and a group of for-

eigners who studied and worked in Greater China, has picked up the gauntlet. Its vision is that Chinese and English, already major languages in education, business, and tourism, will continue to gain in importance, and that the world is becoming increasingly bilingual.

Interpreting the word chinglish as a contraction of the words Chinese and English, it suddenly becomes a semantic novelty. Semantic not only in the sense that the word is re-inventing itself, changing its original meaning of bad English, but also in the web sense by making ample use of the semantic web and FOAF & RDF technologies, allowing for more efficient querying.

Hundreds of millions of young Chinese are doing everything within their power to master the English language as it is the surest ticket to professional advancement. Simultaneously, tens of millions of foreigners are looking to improve their Chinese language and culture skills. Knowledge of the Chinese language is no longer the exclusive domain of scholars.

Chinglish.com intends to meet the needs of Chinese-English communities by building into its portal maximum flexibility between simplified Chinese, traditional Chinese, and English. All content is presented in a chinglish format, i.e. Chinese and English text in juxtaposition, complemented by a language toolbar facilitating the overall language learning process.

Will the Chinese language really start appearing in European, South American, and African newspapers, the way English has been making an appearance in Chi-



nese media? Maybe not, but come what may, Chinese will not be replaced by a phonetic or characterless system any time soon. A slow but continuing trend of what could be called chinglification will be more likely.

In September 2005, a test version of the new Chinese-English email system went live at <http://beta.chinglish.com>. What sets chinglish apart from conventional webmail in the tradition of yahoo and hotmail are the language features such as translation and pronunciation tools, fully integrated into the email environment. Moreover, switching between Chinese and English has been made very simple. It is also possible to use both a Western and a Chinese name on the same email account.

This 'one system, two characters' represents China's paradoxical relation with itself, the rest of the world, and the internet. What remains to be seen is whether chinglish.com will truly be able to live up to the role it aspires to. The challenge is certainly bigger than mere semantics.

More information:
www.chinglish.com

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Applications are invited for the following positions:

- 1) **one** Research Fellowship in the Migration cluster to begin in August 2006;
- 2) **one** Visiting Research Fellow in the Changing Family cluster from August 2006 to 31 March 2007;
- 3) **three** Postdoctoral Fellowships (one position each in the Changing Family cluster, the Cultural Studies cluster and the Open cluster) to begin in August 2006; and
- 4) **two** Postdoctoral Fellowships (one position each in the Migration cluster and the Religion and Globalisation cluster) to begin in January 2007.

at the Asia Research Institute (ARI), National University of Singapore (NUS).

The Institute is also seeking up to **two** Postdoctoral Fellows for its new "Asian Cities" research initiative from 1 August 2006. Please refer to our website in November 2005 for more information.

Interested applicants should consult the website www.ari.nus.edu.sg for details of conditions and application procedure. Applications will close on 31 January 2006.

Enquiries and applications to:-

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National University of Singapore
5 Arts Link, Level 4
AS7, The Shaw Foundation Building
Singapore 117570
Fax: (65) 6779 1428
Email: joinari@nus.edu.sg

Fellowships at the International Institute for Asian Studies

IIAS invites postdoctoral researchers to apply for fellowships in Leiden or Amsterdam. The institute focuses on the interdisciplinary and comparative study of Asia in the humanities and social sciences, and their interaction with other sciences. IIAS research covers South, East, Southeast and Central Asia. IIAS Fellows are offered office facilities, while the institute will mediate in gaining access to libraries, archives and other institutions in the Netherlands. Fellows may be asked to give a lecture or organise a workshop, remain in contact with European researchers, and make due reference to IIAS in (future) publications, (partly) made possible through research done during your stay.

- IIAS has five categories of fellowships for researchers:
- Affiliated fellows
 - Research fellows (upon vacancy only)
 - Senior fellows
 - IIAS professors (upon vacancy only)
 - Artists in residence

IIAS fellowship applications can be submitted at any time. Vacancies are announced in the IIAS Newsletter and on the website.

For more information and an IIAS fellowship application form see the IIAS website at: www.iias.nl
For specific information, please contact Amis Boersma or Wouter Feldberg at: iiasfellowships@let.leidenuniv.nl



Dealing with the Gods (De Goden Verzoeken)

Exhibition on rituals in the Hindu religion
17 December 2005 - 10 September 2006
Tropenmuseum Amsterdam

On 17 December 2005 the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam launched the exhibition *Dealing with the Gods: Rituals in Hindu Religion*. The display introduces visitors to the deities, traditions, fragrances and colours of Hindu religion. Following the path of wealth, wisdom or love, visitors make their way through the Hindu world. Hundreds of items are presented, ranging from domestic shrines, prints and objects to temple statues made in India especially for the exhibition. A highlight of the collection is a 1,000 year old figure of the Hindu sun god Surya.

The central theme is contact between Hindus and their gods; many different rituals make this contact possible. Exuberant celebrations mark festivals such as Holi and Divali, other customs relate to birth, marriage and death, while many simple practices are for everyday use. Whether it's in the temple or at work, at home or in the car, the gods, for Hindus, are everywhere.

With India as the backdrop, the imagery of Bollywood and the hundreds of objects presented in the exhibition provide a magnificently colourful and theatrical show. Rarely shown exhibits from the museum

are displayed alongside remarkable loans from museums as well as private collections. A range of audiovisual material accompanies the classical Indian objects.

Visitors have a choice of three personal routes through life to experience the exhibition: the path of wisdom (linked to the god Ganesha), the path of love (linked to the god Krishna) or the path of wealth (linked to the goddess Lakshmi). Each path provides a key with which to start interactive presentations. This allows visitors to participate in rituals, to receive small (digital) gifts and to find extra information. Each path teaches visitors how to Deal with the Gods.

For more information and visual material:

Anna Brolsma
the Tropenmuseum
T. +31 (0)20 - 5688418
a.brolsma@kit.nl
<http://home.planet.nl/~j.e.m.houben>
www.jyotistoma.nl

Oral masterpieces online

New Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity Ceremony
www.unesco.org/culture/intangible-heritage/35eur_uk.htm

A N N O U N C E M E N T

Images of the 'wildman' in Southeast Asia

IIAS Masterclass, 7-10 February 2006, Leiden

Led by:

Gregory Forth (Professor of Anthropology, University of Alberta and IIAS senior fellow)

Featured speakers:

Jet Bakels (Independent researcher, Amsterdam)

David Bulbeck (School of Archaeology and Anthropology, Australian National University)

Raymond Corbey (Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University)

Southeast Asia has been the site of a series of representations of hairy manlike creatures, partly interpretable as 'crypto-species' and comparable to the better known Himalayan 'yeti' and North American 'sasquatch' or 'bigfoot'. Remarkably, these Southeast Asian figures have received virtually no attention from anthropologists or scholars in related disciplines. To the extent that these figures have been considered, they have been treated as imaginary constructs and subsumed in ethnographic writing as spiritual beings. The recent discovery of *Homo floresiensis* and the hypothetical linking of the palaeoanthropological discovery with local categories of putative 'wildman' suggest the need to reconsider indigenous representations. This masterclass pursues how anthropologists should understand local reports of 'wildman' and how their occurrence as components of local folk zoologies and cosmologies may challenge time-honoured analytical principles and categories of social and cultural anthropology.

Registration and information:

International Institute for Asian Studies, Manon Osseweijer
PO Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden, T +31 (0)71 527 2227, F +31 (0)71 527 4162
m.osseweijer@let.leidenuniv.nl, www.iias.nl



[advertisement]

Cinemasia asia Film Lab.

CALL FOR ENTRIES

Seeking proposals for short films
with Dutch-Asian content
and/or made by directors with
Asian background with the theme:

'Made in Holland'

Please *email* us a short synopsis of your idea,
your CV, your photo and a paragraph on
your motivation for making this film to:

email: info@cinemasia.nl

3 entries will be selected for production and will be
screened in the 2006 Cinemasia Film Festival.

The filmlab is an intensive project designed for anyone
who is ambitious, independent and creative.

ENTRIES MUST BE RECEIVED BY 5PM ON JANUARY 13TH, 2006

JAPAN *aktuell*

Call for Papers

Japan aktuell is an internationally refereed academic journal published by the Institute of Asian Affairs, Hamburg that focuses on current developments in Japan. The bimonthly journal has a circulation of 500 copies and reaches a broad readership in academia, administration and business circles. Articles to be published should be written in German or English and submitted exclusively to this publication.

Japan aktuell is devoted to the transfer of scholarly insights to a wide audience. The topics covered should therefore not only be orientated towards specialists in Japanese affairs, but should also be of relevance to readers with a practical interest in the region.

The editor welcomes contributions on contemporary Japan that are concerned with the fields of international relations, politics, economics, society, education, environment or law. Articles should be theoretically grounded, empirically sound and reflect the state of the art in contemporary Japanese studies.

All manuscripts will be peer-reviewed for acceptance. The editor responds within three months.

Research articles should not exceed 10,000 words (incl. footnotes and references). Manuscripts should be submitted to the editor in electronic form (stylesheet: www.duei.de/ifa/stylesheet).

Recent and forthcoming topics:

- Collective identity between Japan and the US after September 11th, 2001 (in German)
- Innovation capacity and competitiveness in East Asia (in German)
- Japan's leading role and EU influence on financial integration in East Asia

Editor: Anja Walke

Annual Subscription Rates:

Six issues per year, available in print and digital form
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(Students € 40.00 **)
Online edition: fee per article
*) plus postage

For submission of articles please contact:

Institute of Asian Affairs
Rothenbaumchaussee 32
20148 Hamburg · Germany
Phone: +49 40 4288740 · Fax: +49 40 4107945
E-mail: walke@ifa.duei.de

Subscription and advertising info:

ifa@ifa.duei.de
Website: www.duei.de/ifa



A tale of two museums

Indonesia: The Discovery of the Past

The exhibition *Indonesia: The Discovery of the Past* will be on show in De Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam from 17 December 2005 until 17 April 2006. The result of co-operation between the Museum Nasional of Indonesia (MNI) in Jakarta and the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (RMV) in Leiden, the exhibition is drawn from the collections of both museums, often referred to as the best Indonesian collections in the world.

Pieter ter Keurs

Since January 2004, staff from both museums have been co-operating in an intensive programme addressing storage facilities, registration, conservation, training programmes, research and, last but not least, the creation of a large-scale exhibition from the collections of both museums. *Indonesia: The Discovery of the Past* enabled the project team to combine training with practical results, providing a successful formula

for further co-operation. The exhibition and catalogue – both addressing the two institutions' collecting histories – are the most visible results thus far.

Many similarities exist between the MNI and RMV collections as they often originate from the same source. Finds from archaeological sites or ethnographic collections were often (not always) divided between the colony and the motherland. This is the central focus of the exhibition as well as of the preparatory research. The division of ethnographic collections became official policy in 1862, but collections were often separated before then. A team of curators from both museums worked for two years to compare documentation, to update information about the MNI collections from old Dutch sources, to develop the storyline, and finally, to write the articles for the catalogue.

The Museum Nasional is the successor of the Museum of the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences) founded in 1778 by VOC officer J.C.M. Radermacher. The Dutch Society of Sciences began its activities in 1752; Radermacher proposed a branch in Batavia, which eventually became the independent Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. The Genootschap – a typical Enlightenment institution – stimulated research in the cultures and nature of the archipelago and collected archaeological and ethnographic material. During the English period in the early 19th century, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles backed the Genootschap's activities, while Dutch authorities under King William I developed in the following decades a keen interest in the cultures and nature of the East Indies. Although there was scientific interest, politics and economics were never far removed.

Indonesia: The Discovery of the Past features some of the most spectacular Hindu-Buddhist statues collected in the early 19th century. The main display concentrates on the Singasari period (end of the 13th century), including six large Singasari statues from the Leiden collection and the Prajnaparamita from the Jakarta collection. Also included are the finds of Muteran, Combre and Puger Wetan. In all cases the artefacts were divided between Leiden and Batavia.

C.B.H. Baron von Rosenberg is a good example of an early collector of ethnographic material who played a major role in producing the first catalogue of the Bataviaasch Genootschap's collections. Other 19th century scientific expeditions include those by the Natuurkundige Commissie (Natural Science Committee), the Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap (Dutch Geographical Society) and A.W. Nieuwenhuis' travels through Central Borneo.

Standard for a kris
Tabanan, Bali

Collected by W.O.J. Nieuwenkamp,
RMV 1586-142



Kris
Badung, Bali
Collected during the conquest
of Badung in 1906,
RMV 1602-17



Interest in the archipelago went beyond the scientific. The last decades of the 19th century saw European imperialism at its height, and although the search for ethnographic 'treasures' was never used to justify military involvement, some superb collections were found in the palaces of local rulers, in particular in North Sumatra and on Bali and Lombok. *Indonesia:*

The Discovery of the Past displays objects from these colonial wars from the collections of both museums. The Lombok treasure is a special case. Found after the local ruler was defeated in 1894, it was sent to Batavia; a part of it was later sent to Holland. In 1977 a large part of the Dutch Lombok collection was returned to Indonesia where it is now part of the MNI collection.

The exhibition will display examples from all three parts of the Lombok treasure.

Not all Indonesian rulers were at war with the Dutch; many tried to develop friendly relations by exchanging gifts, whose value depended on the receiver's status. Many colonial officers brought their gifts to the Bataviaasch Genootschap, while others brought some superb objects to Holland after retirement and donated (or sold) them to the museum in Leiden.

Some Dutch developed an interest in 'kunstnijverheid' (applied art) at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. G.P. Rouffaer, who together with H.H. Juynboll wrote a standard work on batik, can be seen as part of this tradition. Another important figure, J.E. Jasper, was a colonial officer who organized *Jaarmarkten* (annual markets), usually in Batavia or Surabaya, where products from all over the country were sold. Jasper worked with the Javanese artist Mas Pirngadi to publish major volumes on *Inlandsche Kunstnijverheid* (Local Arts and Crafts). N. Adriani and A.C. Kruyt of the Protestant Mission in Central Sulawesi documented, collected and stimulated trade in decorated barkcloth from Central Sulawesi. Both the MNI and RMV collections include *sigas* (head cloths) from Adriani and Kruyt with their price tags still attached.

The exhibition and catalogue also focus on collecting in East Indonesia: scientific expeditions such as the military exploration of West New Guinea (A.J. Gooszen), and by missionaries (B.A.G. Vroklage, P. Middelkoop), civil servants (J.G.F. Riedel, G.W.W.C. van Hoëvell) and scholars (P. Wirz). All contributed to the collections of the Bataviaasch Genootschap and the RMV and can be seen in the exhibition in De Nieuwe Kerk. They reveal the story of colonial collecting and of contact between Europeans and local people. They tell a story of appreciation, but also a story of image-building by means of collections. They show images Europeans had of 'the other' and – less explicitly – how 'the other' thought of Europeans. On this last issue, however, much more research is necessary to understand how local people experienced the arrival of the colonizer. <

Pieter ter Keurs
Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden

Wayang kulit figure,
Batara Brama,
Purwadipura,
Central Java

1856, collected by
W.L.H.A. Harloff,
Painted leather, horn,
Length: 59 cm,
RMV 37-729



For further information on this project and upcoming exhibition please visit www.rmv.nl and www.nieuwekerk.nl. The conference *Collecting cultural heritage in Indonesia: ethics, sciences and politics*, co-organized by IIAS, will be held in Amsterdam, 23-25 March 2006. Contact person: Pieter ter Keurs: terkeurs@rmv.nl

The Art Gallery of New South Wales

Art Gallery Road, The Domain
Sydney NSW 2000
T +02 9225 1700
www.artgallery.nsw.gov.au/

16 December 2005 - 29 January 2006

Shirin Neshat
New York-based Iranian artist Shirin Neshat describes her work as a visual discourse on feminism and contemporary Islam. For this two-screen installation and series of photographs she drew inspiration from Shahroush Parsipour's contemporary novel *Women Without Men* and the Koran.

26 January - 23 April 2006

Urnyuan: contemporary lacquer master
Kitamura Tatsuo, working under the art name Urnyuan, specializes in the techniques, forms, and styles of traditional Japanese lacquer work. His fascination with the lacquer of the Edo period (1615-1868) inspires him to emulate the technical sophistication and bold approach to design characteristic of the period. His works include writing cases, incense boxes, tea wares, inro containers and *netsuke* toggles.

10 February - 26 March 2006

Yukinori Yanagi
Yukinori Yanagi explores questions of nationalism and cultural identity through two of Japan's best-known national symbols: the chrysanthemum crest (emblem of the imperial family) and the *hinomaru*, the rising sun of the Japanese flag.

Canada

Art Gallery of Greater Victoria

1040 Moss Street
Victoria, British Columbia V8V 4P1
T +1 250 384-4101
http://aggv.bc.ca/

Until 15 January 2006

Images from the tomb: Chinese burial figurines
Chinese burial figurines reveal ancient Chinese beliefs about death and the supernatural world, and can also provide insight into the lives of these people. The Art Gallery's collection of tomb figurines spans a period from the 2nd century BC through the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). This exhibition also includes a recent addition: a Tang dynasty (618-906) prancing horse.

China

Vitamin Creative Space

301, 29 Hengyijie Chigangxilu
Haizhuqu, 510300 Guangzhou
T +86 20 84296760
www.vitamincreativespace.com

formance art contributes to the development of international performing art and also powerfully asserts an acute sense of culture. The exhibition is comprised of 58 pieces of artwork selected from over 300 entries.

France

National Museum of Asian Art - Guimet

6 Place d'Iéna
75016 Paris
T +01-56 52 53 0
www.museeugimet.fr

Until 13 February 2006

Art treasures from Vietnam: sculpture from Champa

The Indian-influenced kingdoms of the Champa gave birth to the original form of art seen in this exhibition. This display introduces this important aspect of Vietnam's artistic heritage by bringing together three collections of Cham art: those of the Da Nang and Ho Chi Minh-Ville museums in Vietnam and that of the Guimet museum. Many of the stone, wood, bronze, and silver sculptures exhibited here were made between the 4th and 16th centuries.

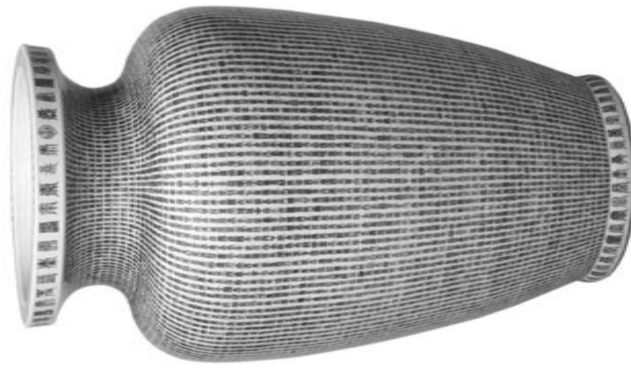
Les Biennales de Lyon

3 Rue du Président Edouard Herriot
69001 Lyon
T + 04 72 07 41 41
www.biennale-de-lyon.org

Until 31 December 2005

Lyon biennial of contemporary art 2005: experiencing duration

Controlling the duration and the time protocols of exhibition has, like the controlling of space, become a major aesthetic issue. This biennial seeks to reaffirm that a work of art is an event before being a monument or a simple testimony and that art is an experience that engages the spectator. The biennial includes work by Paul Chan, Surasi Kusolwong, Michael Minghong Lin, Jun Nguyen-Hatsushiba, Yoko Ono, Rirkrit Triavanija, and Du Wang.



China: the three emperors, 1662-1795
Royal Academy of Arts, London, UK

Germany

House of World Cultures

John-Foster-Dulles-Allee 10
10557 Berlin
T +030 397870
www.hkw.de

23 March - 14 May 2006

Between past and future: new photography and video from China

The House of World Cultures provides the first comprehensive look at innovative photography and video produced in China since the mid-1990s. The exhibition features 130 works by 60 Chinese artists and reflects the enthusiastic adoption of media-based art by younger Chinese artists. Their works, often ambitious in scale and experimental in nature, reflect the range of individual responses to changes taking place in China's economy, society, and culture.

Museum of East-Asian Art

Universitätsstraße 100
D-50674 Cologne
T +0221 940518 0
www.museenkoelh.de/english/
museum-fuer-ostasiatische-kunst/

Until 15 January 2006

Splendor of the sons of heaven - classical Chinese carpets 1400-1750

This first major exhibition on this little-known subject brings together 60 rare masterpieces from European and American museum and private collections. It includes examples of the oldest extant Chinese carpets, at least three monumental imperial palace examples from the 16th century, and examples from the 17th and 18th centuries which demonstrate the further development of carpet design. The carpets were made in the regions of Ningxia and Gansu. Examples of other works of art will be juxtaposed to show how similar patterns were used in other media.

Museum of Indian Art

Lansstraße 8
Berlin-Dahlem
T +030 8301 361
www.smb.spk-berlin.de/mik/e/s.html

Until 29 January 2006

Unknown Tibet - Treasures from Buddhist monasteries

These valuable metalworks from Tibetan monasteries now in the Spühler collection are being displayed to the public for the first time. Gilded metal hinge straps and doorknockers from red lacquer-coated monastery portals are impressive for their rich use of Buddhist symbols and reflect temple wealth. Also included are mountings and hinges for chests, horse saddles, harnesses and other leather horse fittings, and small boxes for valuables and ritual objects. The combination of Central Asian, Indian, Nepalese, Chinese, and Islamic style elements reflect the numerous cultural and artistic influences which shaped Tibetan art.

Greece

National Museum of Contemporary Art

Exhibition space: Athens School of Fine Arts
256 Peiraiois street, Ag. I. Rentis
T +30 210 9242111 2
www.emst.gr

Until 31 December 2005

Videographies - the early decades: from EMST's collection

The exhibition includes 80 representative single channel video works by some of the most important video artists, including Mona Hatoum and Nam June Paik. It is a complete presentation of the basic post-formalist trends of contemporary international art, which adopted this technological medium from the middle of the 60s until the 80s.

Indonesia

Komaneka Fine Arts Gallery

Jl. Monkey Forest, Ubud
Gianyar 80571, Bali
T +62 361 976090
http://gallery.komaneka.com

Until 4 January 2006

Bali biennale 2005 at Komaneka
Theme: space and scape

Bali Biennale - Astra Otoparts Art Award 2005 celebrates the cultural pulses and dynamics that enliven the visual arts in Bali. With 'Space and scape' as the main theme, the exhibition acknowledges a wide range of cultural explorations and highlights the cultural openness of the island.

Italy

Multiple venues in Turin including:

Castello di Rivoli Museo d'Arte Contemporanea, Casa del Conte Verde, Chiesa di Santa Croce, Fondazione Sandretto Re Rebaudengo, GAM Galleria Civica d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea, Fondazione Merz, and 'PalaFuksas'
www.torinotriennale.it

Until 19 March 2006

Turin Triennial
Each edition of the Turin-based triennial exhibition of contemporary art will have two sections: one showing original experimental works by 75 artists from all over the world and the second consisting of two solo exhibitions to celebrate the work of two young, mid-career artists. The first edition, T1, is entitled *The Pantagruel Syndrome*. Paintings, sculptures, photographs, installations, videos, performances, sound projects and collective and anonymous projects explore our Pantagruelian universe. Included are works by Tamy Ben-Tor, Xiaoyun Chen, Hochul Choi, Anny Le, Nalini Malani, Takashi Murakami, Sejin Park, Li Pi, Wit Pimkanchanapong, Ana Prvacki, Araya Rasdjarmrearnsook, Pongtaweesak Rimsakul, and Ahlam Shibli.

Japan

Mori Art Museum

53F Roppongi Hills Mori Tower
6-10-1 Roppongi, Minato-ku
Tokyo 106-6150

The Nieuwe Kerk

Dam Square
Amsterdam
T +020 638 69 09
www.nieuwekerk.nl/en/index.htm

T +81 3 5777 8600
www.mori.art.museum

Until 9 January 2006

Hiroshi Sugimoto: End of time

In his art, Hiroshi Sugimoto attempts to highlight and expand our perception of such abstract qualities as time, light, space, movement, spirit, and the nature of reality. This exhibition is the first chance to survey the artist's whole photographic body of work, made from the 1970s until present. It includes his best-known works, such as the Dioramas, Seascapes, Theatres, Portraits, Architecture, Sea of Buddha, and Conceptual forms. The exhibition also includes the artist's most recent experiments: fusions of photography with architecture and traditional Noh theatre. Colors of shadow, a new series of color photographs of changing light in the artist's studio, will have its world premiere.

28 January - 7 May 2006

Tokyo - Berlin/Berlin - Tokyo

This exhibition explores the cultural contacts between Tokyo and Berlin, and the development of these two cities as avant-garde centers of art and literature from the end of the 19th century until present.

Korea

National Museum of Contemporary Art

San 58-1 (Gwangmyeong-gil 209)
Makgye-dong, Gwacheon-si, Gyeonggi
T + 2 2188 6000
www.moca.go.kr

Until 30 January 2006

Cubism in Asia

Aiming to present the Cubist style that was popular throughout Asia from the 1920s until the 1960s, this exhibition, for the first time in Korea, introduces 130 pieces from 11 Asian countries: Korea, China, Japan, India, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Thailand, Philippines and Vietnam.

the Netherlands

Muziekgebouw aan 't IJ

Piet Heinkade 1
1019 BR Amsterdam
T + 020 788 20 10
www.muziekgebouw.nl

Until 1 January 2006

Star Ferry Movements

Part of the Hong Kong China Festival Dutch photographers Ting Chan and Yee Ling Tang (both born in 1972) have selected work that shows two different aspects of the interaction between China and the Netherlands. With the theme 'Double blood', Ting Chan confronts the ethnic mix which is the visible result of Chinese immigration to Holland. Yee Ling Tang presents a reflective double portrait about hectic and lively Hong Kong.

Until 17 April 2006

Indonesia: the discovery of the past
The exhibition presents the history of the collection and the distribution of Indonesian heritage brought together by the Batavian Society. This society's collection grew as a result of scientific and military expeditions, the passions of individual collectors such as governors and missionaries, and gifts from princes and sultans to the Dutch royal family or Indonesian rulers. Over three hundred masterpieces from the National Museum of Indonesia in Jakarta and the National Museum of Ethnology (Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde) in Leiden are on display, including six large sculptures from the Singasari period (13th century), important gold finds and palace treasures from Sulawesi, Lombok, and Bali, as well as unique ethnographic items from West and East Indonesia, including New Guinea. (See p. 35 in this Newsletter.)

Stedelijk Museum

Oosterdokskaade 5
1011 AD Amsterdam
T +020 5732 911
www.stedelijk.nl

Until 15 January 2006

Yang Fudong, recent films and videos
Shanghai-based artist Yang Fudong, born in 1971, is part of the generation who lived through the radical changes in contemporary Chinese society. A recurring theme in his work is the loss of emotion and ethical values among his generation. This exhibition features eight video works and two series of photographs, examining the difference between Maoist China and the modern, more western society that is developing. Fudong uses various styles but no narrative, concentrating instead on visual impressions, close-ups, or wide panoramas with occasional spoken texts.

Singapore

Singapore Art Museum

71 Bras Basah Road
Singapore 189555
T +65 3323215
www.nhb.gov.sg/SAM

Until 1 January 2006

Blink!
This exhibition presents a perspective on the physical and social changes of Singapore's nation-building years from just before 1965 to the present. Almost in a blink of an eye, landmarks of social history have changed. Blink, and take a look at people, life, and places and pause to think about change and the pace at which it has occurred.

Until 7 February 2006

Gao Jingxian experience
Featuring 60 ink works with ten new works to be unveiled, *Gao Jingxian experience* is the first retrospective exhibition on the Nobel Prize Laureate's work in Asia. An acclaimed novelist and playwright, Gao is also known for his ink paintings. Referring to the ink works as another mode of expression to his literary output,

Gao emphasizes the contemplation of the inner vision as the crux of painting.

Asian Civilisations Museum

1 Empress Place
Singapore 179555
T +65 6332 7798
www.nhb.gov.sg/ACM/about_overview.shtml

Until 9 April 2006

Power dressing: textiles for rulers and priests from the Chris Hall collection
With 125 silken treasures from the Warring States period to the early 20th century, this extensive display brings you to the inner courts of the Forbidden City. Power relations within China and beyond are highlighted through the splendour of these silks. Works include dragon robes, priests' robes, and many hangings.

Switzerland

Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zurich

Pelikanstrasse 40
CH-8001 Zürich
T +044 634 90 11
www.museumno.unizh.ch/

Until 30 April 2006

The Dalai Lamas
The exhibition coincides with His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama's 70th anniversary. It features at least one thangka and one statue of each of the 14 Dalai Lamas. Also on display will be written documents (including large silk scrolls with impressive seals), scrolls depicting the protective deities of the Dalai Lama, representations of Potala Palace (the Dalai Lamas' winter residence), gifts given and received by the Dalai Lamas, rare letters, and old photographs. (See pp. 14-15 in this Newsletter.)

Taiwan

Taipei Fine Arts Museum

181, Zhongshan N. Road, Sec. 3,
Taipei 104
T +02 2595 7656
info@tfam.gov.tw
www.tfam.gov.tw

Until 8 January 2006

Alien land - metropolitan variations
To reconsider the industrialization and urbanization of Taiwan's cities, as well as the relationship between the city and its inhabitants, this exhibition gathers pieces under the topic of 'city'. The works, which are from Taiwanese and overseas artists, are divided into three categories: Geometric cities, Lost spaces, and Hard-boiled wonderland. The many layers of the city and its residents are presented to show the city experience from the modern art perspective.

Until 22 January 2006

Century of treasures: highlights from the permanent collection
Since its founding in 1983, the Taipei Fine Arts Museum has established a permanent collection of more than 3,800 artworks. This exhibi-

tion provides a comprehensive view of the development of Taiwanese art since the 20th century.

The National Palace Museum

221 Chih-shan Rd. Sec 2,
Taipei
T +02 2881 2021
www.npm.gov.tw/index.htm

Until 25 January 2006

Art and aesthetics of form: art and knowledge at the Qing dynasty court
Through the ages, court paintings of animals were presented as a tribute to the court. This exhibition offers an appreciation and understanding of the interaction between art and science in 18th and 19th century China. The focus is on the Qing period, including several albums, such as *A Manual of Birds* of the Qianlong period; the depiction of minorities in *Illustrated Album of the Miao People*; two anonymous albums describing sea creatures titled *Illustrated Album of Sea Oddities* and *Illustrated Record of Sea Oddities*.

Thailand

The Queen's Gallery

101 Ratchadamnoen Klang Rd., Bowonniwet
Phra Nakhon, Bangkok
T +662 281 5360 1
www.queengallery.org

Until 24 January 2006

Spirit of art
Pratuang Emjaroen's stamina, commitment, and creativity are evident in his historic series of works: Universe, Dew drops on lotus leaf, Magic of the river, Grain rainbow, and Lotus-essence of consciousness. This exhibition comprises Pratuang's works from 1963-2005 to reflect and record each step of his creative path, including oil paintings, drawings, and poems. The exhibition also features the artist's paintings created in 2004-2005.

Turkey

Istanbul Modern

Meclis-i Mebusan Cad. Liman Sahasi
Antrepo No:4 Karakoy - Istanbul
T +212 334 73 00
www.istanbulmodern.org

Until 8 January 2006

Centre of gravity
This exhibition coincides with the celebration of the 9th International Istanbul Biennial and other cultural events. The international artists present works united by an invisible common thread: reflection on equilibrium, either in the physical, the psychological, the cultural, or the political sphere. Includes works by Ghada Amer and Anish Kapoor.

United Kingdom

Barbican Art Gallery

Barbican Centre
Silk Street
London EC2Y 8DS
T + 020 7638 4141
www.barbican.org.uk

Until 22 January 2006

Nobuyoshi Araki: self, life, death
Nobuyoshi Araki documents social taboos surrounding sexuality and death. This exhibition encompasses contemporary Japanese sub-culture ranging from poetic scenes of old Tokyo to images from the dark side of urban life.

Royal Academy of Arts

Burlington House, Piccadilly
London W1j 0BD
T +020 7300 8000
www.royalacademy.org.uk/

Until 17 January 2006

Contemporary Chinese architecture part I
China is undergoing rapid building and development and is becoming a dominant force in the future of architecture. This is propelled by a focus on major international events such as the 2008 Beijing Olympics and is occurring within the dynamics of extraordinary domestic change. This first in a two-part series depicts these processes through a series of spontaneous photographic impressions.

Until 17 April 2006

China: the three emperors, 1662-1795
This magnificent exhibition is devoted to the artistic and cultural riches of imperial China. Spanning the reigns of three emperors, Kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong, it focuses on the most powerful rulers of China's last dynasty: the Qing. Drawn mainly from the collections of the Palace Museum in Beijing, this exhibition includes over 370 works, the majority of which have never been seen in Europe.

Victoria and Albert Museum
Cromwell Road, South Kensington
London SW7 2RL
T +020 7942 2000
www.vam.ac.uk

Until 15 January 2006

Between past and future: new photography and video from China
See description under House of World Cultures, Berlin.

United States

Walker Art Center

1750 Hennepin Avenue
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55403
T +0612 375 7600
www.walkerart.org

Until 15 January 2006

House of oracles: a Huang Yong Ping retrospective
This exhibition presents the first retrospective of the work of this contemporary Chinese artist. Working with diverse traditions and media, Huang Yong Ping has created an artistic universe comprised of provocative installations that challenge the viewer to reconsider everything from the idea of art, to national identity, to recent history. Huang's sculptures and installations - drawing on the legacies of Joseph Beuys, Arte Povera, and John Cage as well as traditional Chinese art and philosophy

Japan Society

333 East 47th Street
New York, NY 10017
T + 212 752 3015
www.japansociety.org

Until 19 February 2006

Hiroshi Sugimoto: history of history
Hiroshi Sugimoto is best-known for his photo series of empty movie theaters and drive-ins, seascapes, dioramas, and wax museums. This exhibition juxtaposes Sugimoto's exquisitely minimalist works, selected from the photographer's past and most recent series, with fossils, artworks and religious artefacts ranging from prehistoric to the 15th century, all drawn from his own collection. The result is an extended exploration of time, life and spirituality as perceived in the contexts of nature and history.

Norton Simon Museum of Art

411 W. Colorado Boulevard
Pasadena, California 91101
T +626 449 6840
www.nortonsimon.org

Until 27 March 2006

Durga: avenging goddess, nurturing mother
This exhibition explores the incarnations of the Hindu Great Goddess, focusing on images of Durga. Approximately 70 artworks from India, Tibet, Nepal, and Southeast Asia are featured, among them rare works on paper including watercolor folios and folding manuscripts, a festival altar, and exceptional bronze and stone sculpture, many of which have never been seen by the public. These works illustrate the dual nature of the Goddess as both a nurturing mother and a fearsome warrior.

The Textile Museum

2320 S Street, NW
Washington, DC 20008-4088
T +202-667 0441
www.textilemuseum.org/

Until 12 February 2006

Rozome masters of Japan

This exhibition features the work of 15 contemporary Japanese artists - including folding screens, scrolls, panels and kimono - all created using rozome, a wax-resist dyeing technique. Rooted in ancient Japanese culture, rozome was eclipsed by other resist-dyeing methods, but has been embraced by 20th-century Japanese artists.

Until 26 February 2006

Silk & leather: splendid attire of 19th-century Central Asia

Garments and accessories worn by the ruling class and urban and nomadic elites of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kirgizstan, Tajikistan, and part of Kazakhstan are the focus of this exhibition. Six outstanding coats as well as hats, boots, belts, pigtail covers, children's clothing, purses, pouches, and veils reflect the copious production and multifaceted use of silk and leather and the blossoming of textile and related arts during the 19th century in Central Asia.



House of oracles: a Huang Yong Ping retrospective

Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, USA

- routinely juxtapose traditional objects or iconic images with modern references.

Peabody Essex Museum

East India Square
Salem, MA 01970-3783
T +978 745 9500, 866 745 1876
www.pem.org/

Until 23 July 2006

Taj Mahal

The Taj Mahal and its surrounding complex of gardens, gates, and courtyards remain one of the world's greatest architectural monuments. Paintings, drawings, photographs, and models from the museum's collection explore the architecture and appeal of this remarkable site.

Asia Society and Museum

725 Park Avenue (at 70th Street)
New York, NY 10021
T +212 288 6400
www.asiasociety.org

14 December 2005 - 16 April 2006

Ancient arts of Vietnam
Exploring the full historical, geographic, and cultural dimensions of Vietnam through approximately 150 objects of fine art, this exhibition reveals the country as a hub of cultural and commercial interchange from the prehistoric period in the first millennium BC through the 18th century. Early works from the Sa Huynh culture and the Dong Son culture include large elegant burial jars that contain polished stone adzes, iron axes, and bronze artifacts such as drums, jewelry, beads of semiprecious stones, glass, and gold. Gold jewellery, precious and semi-precious stones from Oc Eo in the kingdom of Funan and Cham ceramics, sculpture and metalwork are also included. The final section of the exhibition looks at the active trade centre of Hoi An from the 16th to 18th centuries and at the ceramics produced in northern and central Vietnam.

December 2005

16 December 2005
Amsterdam, the Netherlands
Development Policy Review Network (DPRN) Southeast Asia Meeting
 seminar
 organized by IAS/Vrije Universiteit
 contact: Josine Stremmelaar
 j.stremmelaar@let.leidenuniv.nl

16 - 18 December 2005
Bangkok, Thailand
Human securities in the Asia Pacific region
 seventh conference of the Asia-Pacific Sociological Association
 information: www.asiapacificsociology.org

17 - 20 December 2005
New Delhi, India
Religions and cultures in the Indic civilization
 second international conference
 organized by Indic Studies Network (ISNew) and *Manushi* - a journal about women and society
 information: madhupurnima@indicstudies.org

19 December 2005
Amsterdam, Netherlands
Towards social stability and democratic governance in Central Eurasia: challenges to regional security
 book presentation
 convenor(s): Irina Morozova
 organized by IAS
 contact: Marloes Rozing
 m.rozing@let.leidenuniv.nl

19 December 2005
Hong Kong, China
The challenge of the Pearl River Delta: interdisciplinary approach for its global-local dynamics
 conference
 organized by Division of Social Science Hong Kong University of Science and Technology
 information: http://home.ust.hk/~demologo/

22 - 24 December 2005
Varanasi, India
Children, youth, and their education in a globalizing India
 organized by Centre for Postcolonial Education
 organizer: Rohit Setty
 settyrb@umich.edu

January 2006

January - April 2006
Amsterdam, the Netherlands
The Asian Challenge
 eighth SWR-Hendrik Muller Seminar
 convenor(s): Peter van der Veer and Govert Buijs
 organized by KNAW
 information: www.knaw.nl

1 January 2006
Copenhagen, Denmark
Responsibly made in China? Chinese development & corporate social responsibility
 workshop
 organized by NIAS and Copenhagen Business School
 information: http://inias.ku/activities/conferences/htm

5 - 7 January 2006
Singapore, Singapore
Pensioners on the move: social security and transborder retirement migration in Asia and Europe
 ASEF-Alliance workshop
 convenor(s): Mika (National University of Singapore) and Anita Böcker (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen)
 information: ariyev@nus.edu.sg

5 - 9 January 2006
Hong Kong, China
Second annual graduate seminar on China (GSOC)
 organized by NIAS and Universities Service Centre for China Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong and its South China Programme.
 information: www.nias.ku.dk

9 January 2006
Amsterdam, the Netherlands
Development Policy Review Network (DPRN) South Asia Meeting
 seminar
 organized by IAS/ASIA
 contact: Peggy van Schijndel
 P.H.J.vanSchijndel@uva.nl

9 - 10 January 2006
Siem Riep, Cambodia
First conference on history of medicine in Southeast Asia
 organized by Centre for Khmer Studies
 information: www.khmerstudies.org

February 2006

3 - 5 February 2006
Kolkatta, India
The Armenian diaspora: history, society, culture and trading networks
 seminar
 convenor(s): Sushil Chaudhury.
 organized by Calcutta University
 information: sushil_c@rediffmail.com

4 February 2006
Berkeley, United States
Discursive hybridity and social coexistence in a Bombay slum
 lecture
 speaker: Martin Fuchs
 organized by Center for South Asia Studies, University of California, Berkeley
 information: http://ias.berkeley.edu/southasia/fuchs.html

7 - 9 February 2006
New Delhi, India
India and East Asia: paradigms for a new global order
 seminar
 contact: Ravni Thakur & Shri Prakash ravthakur@vsnl.com & shriprakash_17@hotmail.com

7 - 10 February 2006
Leiden, the Netherlands
Images of 'wild folk' in Southeast Asia
 IAS masterclass
 convenor(s): Gregory Forth
 organized by IAS
 contact: Manon Osseweijer
 m.osseweijer@let.leidenuniv.nl

9 - 11 February 2006
Leiden and Amsterdam, the Netherlands
Maoist insurgencies in Asia and Latin America
 seminar
 convenor(s): Satya Shrestha-Schipper
 organized by IAS/IISG
 contact: Marloes Rozing
 m.rozing@let.leidenuniv.nl

17 - 18 February 2006
Berkeley, United States
21st annual South Asia conference
 organized by Center for South Asia Studies, University of California, Berkeley
 information: csasevnt@berkeley.edu
 http://ias.berkeley.edu/southasia/conference/conference.html

24 January 2006
Paris, France
Peut-on parler de sinisation en Insulinde?
 speaker: Claudine Salmon (CNRS)
 organized by Lasema-CNRS, CNRS, CNRS - Université Paris X, EFEO
 convenor(s): Fernand Meyer & Michel Picard.
 information: www.cnrs.fr

February 2006

10 January 2006
Paris, France
Comment est conçue la sinisation/hanisation de la Chine?
 lecture
 speaker: Joël Thoraval (EHESS)
 organized by Lasema-CNRS, CNRS, CNRS - Université Paris X, EFEO
 convenor(s): Fernand Meyer & Michel Picard.
 information: www.cnrs.fr

12 - 14 January 2006
Nakhon Si Thammarat, Thailand
Voices of Islam in Europe and Southeast Asia
 ASEF-Alliance workshop
 convenor(s): Uthai Dulyakasem (Walailak Univ. Thailand) & Cynthia Chou (Univ. of Copenhagen)
 information: synchou@hum.ku.dk

23 - 24 February 2006
Singapore
Naming in Asia: local identities and global change
 conference
 organized by Asia Research Institute
 contact: Charles Macdonald, Zheng Yangwen, Anthony Reid
 macdonald@wanadoo.fr,
 arizyw@nus.edu.sg, aridi@nus.edu.sg
 www.ari.nus.edu.sg/conf2006.naming.htm

24 - 25 February 2006
Chicago, United States
Imagining empire: visions of a unified polity in Southasia from antiquity to the present
 third annual South Asia graduate student conference
 organized by South Asian Languages and Civilizations Committee on Southern Asian Studies University of Chicago
 information: sagsc@listhost.uchicago.edu
 http://sagsc.uchicago.edu/

25 - 27 February 2006
Siem Riep, Cambodia
Rethinking mainland Southeast Asia: comparing social and cultural challenges
 conference
 organized by Center for Khmer Studies
 information: cheanmer@khmerstudies.org

23 - 25 March 2006
Amsterdam, the Netherlands
Collecting cultural heritage in Indonesia: ethics, sciences and politics
 conference
 contact: Pieter ter Keurs
 terkeurs@rmv.nl

20 - 24 February 2006

Buenos Aires, Argentina
International forum on the Social Science - policy nexus
 workshop
 organized by UNESCO and the Government of Argentina
 information: ifspworkshops@unesco.org
 http://portal.unesco.org/shs/en

23 - 24 February 2006
Berkeley, United States
Democrats, Maoists and the monarchy: Nepal at the crossroads
 public affairs symposium on Nepal
 organized by Center for South Asia Studies, University of California, Berkeley
 information: http://ias.berkeley.edu/southasia/nepal.html

18 March - 20 March 2006
Mumbai, India
Asia Society's 16th Asian corporate conference
 conference
 co-organized by Dow Jones & Company and the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII)
 information: www.asiasociety.org/conference/

22 - 24 March 2006
Singapore
The unravelling of civil society: religion in the making and unmaking of the modern world
 conference
 organized by Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore
 information: arimk@nus.edu.sg
 www.ari.nus.edu.sg/conf2006/ucs.htm

22 - 24 March 2006
San Diego, United States
The North-South divide and International Studies
 47th annual ISA convention
 information: www.isa.org

23 - 25 March 2006
Amsterdam, the Netherlands
Collecting cultural heritage in Indonesia: ethics, sciences and politics
 conference
 contact: Pieter ter Keurs
 terkeurs@rmv.nl

7 March 2006

Paris, France
Islamisation et sinisation: antagonisme, complémentarité?
 speaker: Elizabeth Allès (CNRS)
 organized by Lasema-CNRS, CNRS, CNRS - Université Paris X, EFEO
 convenor(s): Fernand Meyer & Michel Picard
 information: www.cnrs.fr

23 - 24 February 2006
Singapore
Naming in Asia: local identities and global change
 conference
 organized by Asia Research Institute
 contact: Charles Macdonald, Zheng Yangwen, Anthony Reid
 macdonald@wanadoo.fr,
 arizyw@nus.edu.sg, aridi@nus.edu.sg
 www.ari.nus.edu.sg/conf2006.naming.htm

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 third annual South Asia graduate student conference
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 information: sagsc@listhost.uchicago.edu
 http://sagsc.uchicago.edu/

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 information: cheanmer@khmerstudies.org

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San Diego, United States
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 47th annual ISA convention
 information: www.isa.org

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Amsterdam, the Netherlands
Collecting cultural heritage in Indonesia: ethics, sciences and politics
 conference
 contact: Pieter ter Keurs
 terkeurs@rmv.nl

March 2006

2 - 4 March 2006
Surabaya, Indonesia
Rethinking local knowledge in vernacular settlements: anchoring the concept of place in the post-dissaster and post-global world
 third international seminar on vernacular settlement
 information: altre@peter.petra.ac.id
 http://architecture.petra.ac.id/ISVS3-06/

27 - 29 March 2006

Bonn, Germany

From concept to action
third international conference on early warning
organized by EWC III
contact: David Stevens
david.stevens@univieenna.org

27 - 31 March 2006

Leiden, the Netherlands

First EAEL springschool in Chinese linguistics
masterclass
convenor(s): Rint Sybesma
organized by European Association for Chinese Linguistics
contact: Rint Sybesma
r.p.e.sybesma@let.leidenuniv.nl
http://dbs.rub.de/EACLdat/default_en.htm

31 March - 1 April 2006

Leiden, the Netherlands

Towards an understanding of changing hill societies of Northeastern India
Convenor (s): Erik de Maaker
Contact: Erik de Maaker
emaaker@gmail.com

April 2006

6 April 2006

Berkeley, United States

Vietnam studies: states of the field
information: cseas@berkeley.edu
http://ias.berkeley.edu/cseas

6 - 9 April 2006

San Francisco, United States

AAS annual meeting
information: www.asianst.org

18 - 20 April 2006

Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam

Education/training: the search for quality
international conference
information: infoen@educationhcm.com
www.educationhcm.com

21 - 23 April 2006

Lisle, United States

14th annual ASIANetwork conference
contact: P. Richard Bohr
rbohr@cbsju.edu

27 - 28 April 2006

Leiden, the Netherlands

The decolonisation of the Indonesian city (1930-1960) in comparative (Asian and African) perspective
organized by NIOD and KITLV
contact: Freek Colombijn
f.colombijn@fsw.vu.nl

27 - 30 April 2006

Austin, United States

Sense and substance in traditional Asian medicine
sixth international congress
organized by International Association for the Study of Traditional Asian Medicine
information: www.iastam.org/coferences.htm

29 April 2006

Cambridge, United States

10th annual Korean studies graduate student conference
organized by Korea Institute Harvard University
contact: Sue Jean Cho
jharvard@gmail.com
www.ias.harvard.edu/~korea/ksgsc/index.html

30 April - 1 May 2005

Berkeley, United States

Koyli: invention, imagination, transmission & the temples of Tamil Nadu
U.C.Berkeley Tamil Conference
contact: Layne Little
llittle@stlawu.edu
http://tamil.berkeley.edu/TamilConference%202005/tamilweb.htm

May 2006

11 - 13 May 2006

Vilnius, Lithuania

Cultural memory and cultures in transition
oc@cr.vu.lt
www.oc.vu.lt/confer_eng_3.html

12 - 13 May 2006

Singapore

Asian expansions: the historical processes of polity expansion in Asia
workshop
organized by Asia Research Institute
information:
www.ari.nus.edu.sg/conf2006/expansion.htm

12 - 15 May 2006

Leiden, the Netherlands

Imagining and writing Korea and Worlds
convenor(s): Ja Hyun Kim Haboush,
Boudewijn Walraven, Marion Eggert
contact: Boudewijn Walraven
b.c.a.walraven@let.leidenuniv.nl

18 - 20 May 2006

Leiden, the Netherlands

The generosity of artificial languages in an Asian perspective
seminar
convenor(s): Frits Staal, Martin Stokhof,
Wim Stokhof, Johan van Benthem
organized by IIAS
contact: Marloes Rozing
m.rozing@let.leidenuniv.nl

19 - 20 May 2006

London, United Kingdom

Home and away: historical and contemporary perspectives
first biennial conference of the Gujarat Studies Association
information: s.mawani@gujaratstudies.org
www.gujaratstudies.org/

29 - 30 May 2006

Leiden, the Netherlands

Empires and exact sciences in pre-modern Eurasia
seminar
convenor(s): Kim Plofker, Jan Hogendijk
organized by IIAS
contact: Marloes Rozing
m.rozing@let.leidenuniv.nl

29 - 31 May 2006

Leiden, the Netherlands

Is there a 'dharma of history'?
seminar
convenor(s): Axel Schneider
organized by IIAS/Leiden University
contact: Karin Aalderink
k.a.aalderink@let.leidenuniv.nl

29 - 31 May 2006

Kolkata, India

Concept of environmental conservation in ancient India
information: harappa_04@yahoo.com

30 May - 2 June 2006

Leiden, the Netherlands

Intellectual history in pre-colonial Asia
masterclass
convenor(s): Sheldon Pollock
organized by IIAS
contact: Manon Osseweijer
m.osseweijer@let.leidenuniv.nl

June 2006

1 June 2006

Buon Ma Thout, Vietnam

Locating the communal in Asian land tenure
ASEF-Alliance workshop
convenor(s): Thomas Sikor (Humbolt University) & Nguyen Tan Vui (Tay Nguyen University)
information: thomas.sikor@rz.hu-berlin.de

14 - 18 June 2006

Bochum, Germany

The social history of mining: 19th and 20th century
advanced seminar
organized by ESTER European graduate School for Training in Economic and Social historical Research
contact: Klaus Tenfelde
klaus.tenfelde@ruhr-uni-bochum.de
www.rug.nl/posthumus/eSTERinternational
Program

24 - 25 June 2006

Beijing, China

The global cooperation of energy efficiency and its impediments
EPA workshop, in cooperation with CASS
convenor(s): Mehdi Amineh and Shi Dan
organizer: IIAS/CASS (Institute of Industrial Economics)
contact: Mehdi Amineh
m.p.amineh@uva.nl

25 - 27 June 2006

Singapore

Chinese nation, Chinese state, 1850-2000
biannual conference of the Historical Society for the Twentieth Century China
organized by Asia Research Institute
contact: Thomas Dubois
histdd@nus.edu.sg

26 - 29 June 2006

Wollongong, Australia

Asia reconstructed: from critiques of development to postdoctoral studies
16th biennial conference of the ASAA
convenor(s): Adrian Vickers
information: asaa@uow.edu.au
www.uow.edu.au/arts/conferences/asaa/index.html

27 - 28 June 2006

Manchester, United Kingdom

Third international conference on South Asian popular culture
information:
rajinder.dudrah@manchester.ac.uk
www.arts.manchester.ac.uk/subjectareas/drama/research/centreforscreenstudies/conferences/

27 - 30 June 2006

Leiden, the Netherlands

19th European conference on modern South Asian studies
convenor(s): Dirk Kolff
organized by IIAS
contact: Marloes Rozing
ecmsas2006@let.leidenuniv.nl
www.easas.org

29 June - 1 July 2006

Münster, Germany

The ritual articulation of cultural identity and socio-political order in Indonesia
convenor: Jos Platenkamp
contact: Jos Platenkamp
platenk@uni-muenster.de

July 2006

10 - 14 July 2006

Edinburgh, United Kingdom

13th world Sanskrit conference
organized by International Association of Sanskrit Studies (IASS) and Asian Studies (LLC), The University of Edinburgh
J.L.Brockington@ed.ac.uk
P.Dundas@ed.ac.uk
www/arts/ed/ac/uk/sanskrit/13thWSC

August 2006

1 - 2 August 2006

Chicago, USA

Annual conference of the Association of Asian Performance (AAP)
information: pauka@hawaii.edu
www.yavavika.org/aaponline/

3 - 4 August 2006

Singapore

Rationalising China's place in Asia, 1800 to 2005
conference
convenor(s): Zheng Yangwen & Liu Hong
organized by Asia Research Institute
information:
arizyw@nus.edu.sg & chsliuh@nus.edu.sg

20 - 23 August 2006

Beijing, China

Tourism and the new Asia: implications for research, policy and practice
information: wfeighery@beltourism.com
www.pkutourism.com/news/jmap/conference2006.htm

24 - 26 August 2006

Dakar, Senegal

Youths and the global South: religion, politics and the making of youth in Africa, Asia and the Middle East
conference
organized by African Studies Centre (ASC), ISIM, IIAS, CODESRIA
contact: Manon Osseweijer
ias@let.leidenuniv.nl

25 - 26 August 2006

Canberra, Australia

Asia-Pacific missionaries: at home and aboard
second biennial ANU missionary history conference
convenor(s): Australian National University
organized by NIAP
information: ian.welch@anu.edu.au

27 August - 2 September 2006

Königswinter / Bonn, Germany

11th seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies
information: iats2006@uni-bonn.de
www.iats2006.uni-bonn.de

September 2006

7 - 9 September 2006

Singapore

Of Asian origin: rethinking tourism in contemporary Asia
information: ariwtc@nus.edu.sg
www.ari.nus.edu.sg/conf2006/tourism.htm

25 - 26 September 2006.

Goa, India

Gi4DM: Remote sensing and GIS techniques for monitoring and predicting disasters
second international symposium on geo-information for disaster management
organized by the Indian Society for Remote Sensing in cooperation with AGILE, FIG, ISPRS, ORNC, TUDelft, UNOOSA
information: www.commission4.isprs.org

October 2006

20 October 2006

Berkeley, United States

Founding a new Islamic state in Asia
lecture
speaker: Jit Singh Uberoi
organized by Center for South Asia Studies, University of California
information:
http://ias.berkeley.edu/southasia/uberoi.html

November 2006

11 - 12 November 2006

Berkeley, United States

Translating culture: Sikh and Punjab studies in global perspective
conference
organized by Center for South Asia Studies and Department of South and Southeast Asia Studies, University of California
contact: Michael Nijhawan
mnsijhawan@gmx.de
http://ias.berkeley.edu/southasia/translatingculture.html

You can increase public awareness of your conference in this newsletter and in the online Agenda Asia by submitting your conference details to www.ias.nl/portal/

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 'Asian History'
 1 October 1999 - 1 October 2007
 Prof. H. Steinhauer (the Netherlands)
 Special Chair at Nijmegen University
 'Ethnolinguistics with a focus on Southeast Asia'
 1 September 1998 - 1 September 2006

> Colophon



IIAS Newsletter #39
 Winter 2005

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Design

JB&A raster grafisch ontwerp, Delft

Printing

Wegener grafische groep, Apeldoorn

ISSN

0929-8738

Circulation

25,500

Next issue

15 March 2006

Advertisements

Submission: 16 January 2006

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