



# NEWSLETTER 10

AUTUMN

1996

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## GENERAL NEWS

In September 1996 an **INDIAN OCEAN RIM ASSOCIATION FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION** has been formally launched with a membership of fourteen countries from around the Indian ocean rim. The IOR could form the model for the foundation of other South-South regional associations and significantly alter the current predominance of the North, leading to a more equitable economic order.  
**GWYN CAMPBELL** reports.



The relationship of **NEW ZEALAND** with Asia has been in the past confused and ambivalent. Nowadays however, New Zealanders embrace the challenge and excitement of Asia with enthusiasm. **TIM BEAL** explores the situation of Asian Studies in New Zealand.

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## CENTRAL ASIA

Since the demise of the **SOVIET UNION**, a collection of sovereign states has emerged in Central Asia, among them Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan. These Central Asian countries and their languages can be studied in the Netherlands in **LEIDEN** and **UTRECHT**.

11 ▶ 12

## SOUTH ASIA

**ALLAMAH MUHAMMAD IQBAL** (1877-1938) articulated Muslim political separatism in his presidential address to the annual session of the All India Muslim League at Allahabad in 1930. He is now seen as one of the founding fathers of Pakistan.

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## INSULAR S.W. ASIA



**MAURITIUS'** independence from Britain in 1968 marked the transfer of political power to the Indians, in particular the Hindus. The national economy has undergone a rapid transformation towards greater diversification and the island now represents a successful case of a cultural policy to accommodate multiple traditions while containing ethnic conflict.

18 ▶ 20

*Best wishes for 1997!*

## SOUTHEAST ASIA



The IIAS newsletter is publishing a series of five articles by **RENS HERINGA** dealing with **SOUTHEAST ASIAN TEXTILE STUDIES**.

The second contribution to the series offers a selection of recent art historical and anthropological publications in the main loci of batik studies, the Netherlands and Indonesia, briefly referring to other important sources.

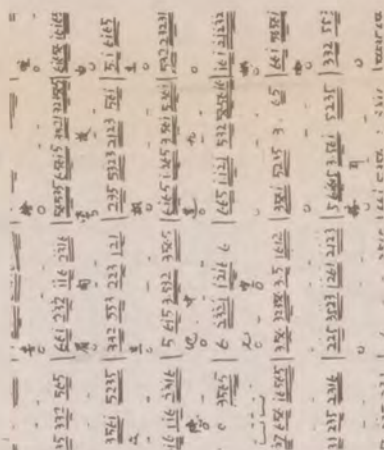


In March 1996, Professor **FRITS STAAL** was invited to attend the cremation of the Princess Mother of Thailand. He was permitted to move around freely and take photographs. In his article, he described the various processions and the **RECURSIVENESS OF RITUAL IN A THAI ROYAL CREMATION**.

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## EAST ASIA

The issue of the position of China versus the West merges with the extensive Orientalism debate which has raged since the publication of Edward Said's magnum opus eighteen years ago. **HANS HÄGERDAL** deals with the relevance of this debate in the Chinese context.



For nine years, Master musician **CHEN ZHONG**, together with his old friend, **DHARMA MASTER CITING**, had been trying to record a ceremony of Buddhist hymns sung to the accompaniment of instruments so that these could be produced on cassettes to be sold in the temples. At their request, **FRANÇOIS PICARD** went to Henan as Tonmeister.

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## IIAS NEWS

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## ESF NEWS

Between 2 to 5 post-doctoral fellowships in Asian Studies will be available in 1997.

43 ▶ 46

## BENGAL STUDIES

▶ 47

## ASIAN ART



With the special exhibition **TWENTIETH CENTURY CHINESE PAINTING**, the Museum of East Asian Art in Cologne presents a comprehensive overview of this century's developments of style of Chinese painting. More than 130 pictures coming from the Hong Kong Museum of Art and significant private collections show the developments of traditional painting up to the experimental works of contemporary young artists.



In the **ART AGENDA**, forthcoming exhibitions and performances on Asian art are announced.

48 ▶ 55

# Editorial

By PAUL VAN DER VELDE

Editor-in-chief

The prime minister of Singapore, Mr Goh Chok Tong, paid a visit to the IIAS on 10 October. He exchanged views with representatives of the IIAS on the future development of Asian-European ties. The cultural dimension of these ties was the particular topic of a debate in an open atmosphere. In his speech, delivered at the Royal Institute of International Affairs in Brussels on 14 October, he stressed the necessity of a cultural rapprochement between Europe and Asia, for which he delineated three stages. In the first or networking phase, the knowledge gaps of each other's cultures should be filled in. It is a period during which the organizational infrastructure of Asian Studies should be strengthened and high-level meetings of resource persons should lead to a intensification of the internationalization of Asian Studies. This is clearly the phase through which we are now passing. Warming to this theme, Goh stressed the importance of the ASEM follow-up, and earlier Asia-Europe meetings such as that held in Venice in January of this year. Constructive dialogue will permeate the second phase in which common concerns should take centre stage in the discussion. The third or consensus-building phase should be the time in which shared values are developed. In this the civil society, e.g. in the form of an exchange of large groups of students, should play a major role. Goh did not confine this process to any timeframe but a conservative assessment is that it would take at least three years to reach phase two.

## Constructive Dialogue

In efforts to forge a durable relationship Goh views this cultural rapprochement as being equally important as the intensification of the economic ties. Goh believes that the business community is increasingly convinced that knowledge of each other's cultures is pivotal to future constructive engagement between Europe and Asia. An initial step in this direction has been the setting up of the Asia-Europe Foundation in Singapore to promote studies of each other's societies and to act as a facilitating institute in educational, cultural, and scientific networking.

In a lecture delivered during a meeting of the Institute Français des Relations Internationales (IFRI) in Paris in November, Professor W.A.L. Stokhof director of the IIAS, defined the cultural rapprochement as encompassing both the global and local cultural influences which affect the relationship between Europe and Asia. European and Asian Studies are two sides of the same coin. He added meat to this argument by making a cogent plea for long-term research programmes addressing broad issues which will pay appropriate attention to the historical foundations and then move on to predict their future developments in the global context. The institutionalization of such a joint research effort will bear fruit in the building up of a pool of Asian and European resource persons who can usher in the constructive dialogue phase outlined by Goh.

## International and National Cooperation

One of the outcomes of the Letter of Intent concluded between the IIAS and the AAS in June of the year is the organization of the First International Convention of Asia Scholars which will be held in the Netherlands for three to four days in June 1998. The IIAS, which also operates the secretariat of the Asia Committee, will organize the conference working with the AAS and in consultation with the ESF Asia Committee and the European regional associations. More than 500 participants are expected. The conference will consist of panels and roundtables proposed by scholars from Asia, the United States, Australia, and Europe. Individual papers and posters will also be invited. The first issues of the IIAS Newsletter and



GOH CHOK TONG, Prime Minister of the Republic of Singapore paid a visit to the IIAS on 10 October 1996.

the AAS Newsletter of 1997 will contain extensive information on this event along with calls for papers. Meetings of various scholarly groups and organizations are anticipated. Taking a page from the book of the AAS Annual Meetings, there will be a large exhibition space where universities, institutes, and companies in the field of Asian Studies can display their resources.

True to its vision of creating a framework in which cooperation can be improved, the IIAS recently concluded several memoranda of understanding and signed letters of intent with institutes and universities. At the international level MoUs were signed with the Institute of Asian Culture (Sophia University, Tokyo); Laboratoire 'Péninsule Indochinoise' (CNRS-EPHE IVe Section, Paris); L'École Française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO, Paris); Mahidol University for the Institute of Language and Culture for Rural Development (Thailand), and at the national level with the Research School for Resource Studies for Development (CERES, Utrecht), the Research School for Asian, African and Amerindian Studies CNWS (Leiden), and the Royal Institute for Linguistics and Anthropology (KITLV). Implementing its facilitating role the IIAS was host to a meeting, organized by Professor B. Dahm of Passau University, of twenty high level resource persons in the field of Asian Studies from Germany on 2 November in Leiden. During the meeting they discussed ways to encourage cooperation between German Asianists which should result in the foundation of a German umbrella association for Asian Studies. The IIAS was also involved in a similar meeting which took place in Madrid on 24 October, where representatives of Asian Studies associations met with the same intention.

On 24 August 1996, the IIAS in cooperation with Asia-House, an Amsterdam-based organization for the promotion of business with Asia, organized a meeting for Dutch ambassadors accredited in Asia. The meeting was presided over by Mr R.S.L.M. de Vilder, Chairman of Asia-House and the scientific discussions were chaired over by Professor F. Staal (University of California at Berkeley). Lectures were delivered by the Japanese author Shintaro Ishihara, Dr. F. Godemont (IFRI,

Paris), founding member of the Council for Asia-Europe Cooperation, and Professor T. Svensson, director of the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies. Their lectures will be published in the 7th volume of the IIAS Lecture Series and will be presented to the Dutch Minister of Development Cooperation, Drs. J.P. Pronk. The latter will deliver a lecture on Asia-Europe relations from the development perspective during the IIAS Asian Ambassadors' day in February 1997 in Amsterdam.

## Meeting Editors Newsletters

On 26-27 September a meeting of editors of European Newsletters on Asia took place in Leiden, organized by the IIAS (Newsletter). Seventeen newsletters were represented by people from ten different nationalities, ranging from Finland to Spain. The two-day meeting was devoted to discussing practical matters and to discussions of the future of newsletters on the threshold of the electronic age. There was a consensus that the number of printed newsletters will decrease and that a new concentration will take place reminiscent of the end of the eighties which saw a re-grouping of several newsletters on one region in one joint newsletter. Therefore information sharing was high on the agenda. One of the 'deals' made was to make a joint international conference agenda which will be operated by the IIAS and IAS with inputs from all other newsletter editors. These have all been invited to become correspondents of the IIAS Newsletter. The next issue of this Newsletter will carry a supplement containing articles on most of the newsletters on Asia in Europe. During the Annual Meeting of the AAS in Chicago in March 1997, a special booth will be devoted to Newsletters in Europe so as to acquaint our American and Asian colleagues with newsletters on Asia in Europe. By that time most of the newsletters will be (partially) available on the site 'Newsletters on Asia in Europe' and can be downloaded on the spot.

In the three years of its existence the editors of the IIAS Newsletter have become more intensely aware of the many activities, the wide variety, and originality in the field of Asian Studies. We have been inspired by the many positive reactions we have received to 10 issues of IIAS Newsletter. Until 1995 we focussed mainly on Asian Studies in Europe but since this year articles and reports on Asian Studies in the rest of the world have been pouring in on to our desks. Demands to be put on our mailing-list rose accordingly so that our circulation now stands at 18,000 copies worldwide. Top priorities for next year will be the continuing improvement of the quality and scope of the articles we offer, the extension of our network of correspondents, the improvement of the interactivity of the electronic version of our newsletter, and the knowledge sharing with other newsletters in the field. Last but not least the staff wishes you a happy New Year and hopes to hear from you in the near future. ■

## LIST OF ADVERTISERS

- Alphabetum Tibetanum 17
- Asia-Pacific Arts Magazine (insert)
- Asian Rare Books 41
- Charbo's Antiquarian 17
- China Perspectives 37
- ESF Asia Committee (insert)
- Gé Nabrink Antiquarian Bookseller 22
- Gert Jan Bestebreurtje, Antiquarian Bookseller 7
- NIAS 10
- Paragon Books 27
- The Association for Asian Studies 5
- Verlag der Osterreichischen Akad. der Wissensch. 17



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# The Indian Ocean Rim Initiative



The Indian Ocean Rim Initiative (IOR) is one of the most exciting developments of the 1990s. In September 1996 an IOR association for economic cooperation has been formally launched with a membership of fourteen countries from around the Indian ocean rim. By the year 2000 it will most probably comprise upwards of fifty countries, thus forming the largest major regional trading association and the only major South-South one. This has major global implications, as the IOR could form the model for the foundation of other South-South regional associations and significantly alter the current predominance of the North, leading to a more equitable economic order.

By GWYN CAMPBELL

The IOR initiative was the product of major economic and political changes in the early 1990s – notably the collapse of the Soviet Union and of the apartheid regime in South Africa, the signalling of the end by the year 2000 to the subsidies given to developing countries under the Lomé convention, the blessing given by the WTO and EU to coherent regional economic groupings, and the conclusion of the Uruguay Round of GATT. The formerly highly protectionist policies of India and South Africa suddenly found themselves bereft of political support and they were obliged to undergo a radical change in economic strategy in order to compete internationally. At the same time Australia faced formidable competition in the Pacific region with which it had been traditionally aligned and was looking for alternatives. Finally, Mauritius, reaching the end of its phenomenal growth cycle, was faced with the choice of radically widening its economic choices or stagnating. These four countries saw in the countries of the Indian ocean a vast potential market and the possibility for inter-regional trade and investment which might provide mutually advantageous. In late 1993, South Africa and India proclaimed an interest in the idea of forming an IOR association for economic cooperation, in early 1995 Nelson Mandela gave the movement his blessing, and in September 1996, after 18 months of sometimes tense negotiations, a formal constitution was adopted and the IOR association launched.

By the year 2000 it will probably constitute the largest major regional grouping in the world. At present, membership is open to all 'sovereign' states littoral to the Indian ocean. Although the question of what constitutes the borders of the Indian Ocean (e.g. does it include countries bordering the Red Sea? What is the status of Brunei and Sarawak and other parts of the Indonesian Archipelago given that Indonesia is a member) has not been fully answered, the minimum membership is likely to be around thirty.

Non-littoral states, whose major communication outlets are via the Indian ocean (e.g. Swaziland and Zimbabwe) also have a strong case for joining, which would boost membership considerably.

## Economic potential

Although such membership covering such a large area is likely to cause administrative headaches, the economic potential is undeniable. At present, there is little intra-regional

Almost 75% of the growth in world trade in the period up to 2010 will occur in the developing countries, notably in the BEMs.

trade and investment, but the pattern is quickly changing as the potential is being realized. The Indian ocean Rim market has a population variously estimated at between 25 and 31 per cent of the global population. (The population of India alone is growing by 18 million a year and will exceed one billion by the year 2000). Thus the 'dynamic gains' in terms of potential economies of scale are considerable. Moreover, the region is characterized by economic asymmetry, for it comprises economies ranging from the sophisticated high-tech economies of Southeast Asia, to the oil-rich Gulf, the trading entrepot of Mauritius to the newly industrializing India and the less developed countries of Africa. Thus although competition is inevitable – e.g. the mining industries of Australia and South Africa – in principle there is ample opportunity within the region for mutually beneficial trade and investment.

The IOR also has the potential to become the first major South-South regional grouping to counter the hegemony of the North (in the form of regional groupings like ASEAN, the EU, and NAFTA and institutions

like the World Bank and WTO). This stems from the presence in the IOR of a major economic power (Australia) and four of the seven 'Tigers' that formed the core of the East Asian miracle (Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, and Indonesia), and three economies (Indonesia, India and South Africa) that the American Foreign office identified as amongst the seven regional economies classified as 'Big Emerging Markets' (the others being the Chinese Economic Area – comprising China, Hongkong, and Taiwan – South Korea, the Latin American trio of Argentina, Brazil and Mexico, and Poland). Garten, American Under Secretary of Commerce for International Trade, commented in January 1994 that 'Big Emerging markets' (BEMs) will have an 'extraordinary influence on global affairs in the new post-Cold War era. They will become major actors in trade and finance, and ... will be the

nations that will make the decisive difference in the kind of global economy that exists in the next century – liberal and open, or protectionist and closed'. It has been estimated that almost 75% of the growth in world trade in the period up to 2010 will occur in the developing countries, notably in the BEMs. The BEMs share of the world's GDP is, over the same period of time, likely to double from 10 to 20 per cent. By 2010, their share of world imports is likely to exceed that of Japan and the EU combined.

The IOR is, therefore, no minor grouping, it has the potential to bargain successfully with the economic blocs and institutions of the North to bring about a more favourable economic climate for poorer countries – and the IOR possesses some of the most ravaged economies in the world (e.g. Madagascar, Mozambique, Somalia). It can also provide a model for other regional groupings in the South, notably the ZPCAS in the South Atlantic region, and thus even greater hope for the achievement of a more balanced and equitable international economic order in the next century. ■

## GWYN CAMPBELL

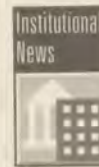
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## REFERENCE

Jeffrey E. Garten, *India and the United States: Ending the Era of Missed Opportunities* address to the Asia Society, Washington DC, 20 January 1994.

HALLE/SAALE, GERMANY

# The Franckesche Stiftungen



The Franckesche Stiftungen at Halle/Saale in Germany is an almost 300-hundred year old institution. The founder, August Hermann Francke (1663-1727), was a Pietist Lutheran pastor and professor of Oriental languages at the Friedrichs University at Halle. Shortly after he came to Halle, Francke founded an orphanage and a charity school in 1695. This was the beginning of his wide-spread involvement in social, educational, and ecclesiastical enterprises.

By THOMAS J. MULLER

By the end of his life Francke had built up a complete township with a population of 3000 directly in front of the city walls of Halle. The Francke institutions gained a worldwide reputation throughout the 18th century and soon they became the centre of an almost global communication network. Amongst the many other contacts and exchanges, the first Protestant mission was started by Halle Pietists in South India in 1706. Halle was responsible for this mission until the 19th century. This is the strongest relationship between the foundation and Asia, but not the only one.

After being part of the University for more than 40 years, the Franckesche Stiftungen became an independent corporation again in 1992. The historic complex of buildings with the impressive timber frame-work structures characteristic of the first half of the 18th century, still exists though supplemented by many edifices from the 19th and 20th century. At present the area covered by the foundation encloses 50 buildings. During the last few decades the early modern buildings were on the verge of falling into ruin and one major goal of the foundation is to restore them completely in the coming years.

In October 1995 the main building which dates from 1700, was reopened after three years of restoration. Now the foundation can continue its cultural programme on a broader platform than before. Several exhibitions are on display to introduce the visitor to the history of the foundation and to the motivating forces of Halle Pietism in the 18th century. This building also houses the only surviving cabinet of curiosities from early modern times still in its original shape.

## International Research Centre

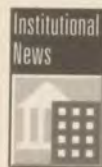
Another major project launched by the foundation is to build up a research centre concentrating on the large historical collections in the archives, the library, and the cabinet of curiosities. The archives house the worldwide correspondence of the leading Halle Pietists in the 18th century. One of the archival sections contains all the manuscripts concerning the missions in India and America. Besides their theological and ecclesiastical content the sources provide information for area stud-

ies. For instance, these manuscripts contain the earliest scientific meteorological records for South India, noted by the Halle missionaries in the 18th century. Another section in the archives holds the second largest collection of palm leaf manuscripts in Europe. These comprise Bible translations, translations of theological literature, and sermons in several Indian languages composed by the Halle missionaries. Nowadays the archives are kept in a historic warehouse. In the same building is the reading room and the catalogues accessible at regular opening hours, as well as the catalogues of the library. The book collection itself is housed in a different building within the historic complex. It dates from 1728 and is the oldest remaining building in Germany which was actually built for the purpose of being a library. Inside you find about 120,000 books mainly from the 17th and 18th century covering all early modern fields of knowledge. Another large collection is the above-mentioned cabinet of curiosities with more than 3000 items which is found in the main building. All the collections are catalogued and accessible for the academic work. The foundation wants to attract researchers to work with these extensive historical sources. So far there is close cooperation with the Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg. Some of the faculties, like the theological and the educational departments, are already housed in the historic complex, others will follow. External cooperation with international partners has been launched and will be extended in the future. A publication series under the title *Hallesche Forschungen* was recently begun by the foundation. The next step in the renewing of the foundation's activities is the celebration of the three-hundredth anniversary in 1998. Before this takes place, the buildings for the research centre will be restored, creating a place in which the Franckesche Stiftungen can offer the most modern conditions for international and interdisciplinary research. ■

## FRANKISCHE STIFTUNGEN

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# Asian Studies in New Zealand



A small collection of islands located on the southern fringe of Asia, first settled by Polynesians, named after a province of the Netherlands but settled mainly by the British and known by the anglicized name of New Zealand; it should come as no surprise that the relationship with Asia has been in the past confused and ambivalent. Nowadays however, New Zealanders embrace the challenge and excitement of Asia with enthusiasm.

By **TIM BEAL**

Although the first exports of any significance – sealskins to China – predated trade with Britain the development of the colonial relationship meant that New Zealand was very much politically, economically, and culturally intertwined with Britain. Asia was viewed sometimes with hostility but mainly with indifference. Nowadays things are very different. The indifference has gone. There are still elements of hostility, arrogance, and suspicion in various quarters but generally speaking New Zealanders regard Asia as of vital importance to New Zealand and some, an increasing number, embrace the challenge and excitement of Asia with enthusiasm.

Asian Studies reflects this change in attitude. There have been New Zealanders in the past who have had an impact on our understanding of Asia. Keith Buchanan the geographer and James Bertram, who as a young journalist was one of the few foreigners to interview Mao Zedong in the 1930s, and who later became a professor at Victoria University, spring to mind. But in general Asia was not well represented in academic studies until fairly recently.

Conscious of the rapidly growing importance of Asia to New Zealand – the

region is our major export market for instance – the government moved a few years ago to introduce what it called the Asia 2000 Programme to improve the New Zealander's knowledge, and perceptions, of Asia. This programme was upgraded by the establishment of the Asia 2000 Foundation some two years ago. Few of us would regard the funding from government and especially from the private sector as adequate and anywhere



**RT HON. DON MCKINNON**, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, opening the New Zealand and Xhina – Issues and Prospects Conference, held on 28 June 1996 at the Faculty of Law, Victoria University of Wellington.

near commensurate with the important of Asia to New Zealand, but it is certainly a very positive development. It would also be misleading to think of government leading the way; in fact many would argue that the government has been very slow to recognize the challenges facing New Zealand education and society to adapt to a world where Asia has become so important for the country. In one respect at least the way forward has been led by the secondary schools where,

over a twenty year period, Japanese has grown rapidly in popularity and has recently overtaken French as the main foreign language. This is, un-

fortunately, an isolated example and the other Asian languages of most relevance to New Zealand – Chinese, Korean, Indonesian – are still little taught at the moment.

## Asian Studies Association

Also in the vanguard were academics. In the early 1970s the New Zealand Asian Studies Association was formed, just beating its counter-



(From left to right) **DR TIM BEAL** presenting Associate **PROFESSOR KICHIMOTO ASAKA**, Tokyo University, with a gift on the occasion of his farewell reception after completion of his research.

part association in Australia. The association has until recently been quite small, being comprised mainly of university academics with an interest in Asia. As the number of those has grown, very rapidly in recent years, so has the association and it



**AMBASSADORIAL DELEGATION** to Victoria University of Wellington, February 1996.

now numbers some 170 members. It is attempting to widen its membership to bring in educationalists outside the universities and those with a professional interest in Asia outside the education sector entirely. The association has organised an international conference every two years and the 12th conference is scheduled to be held at Massey University in November 1997.

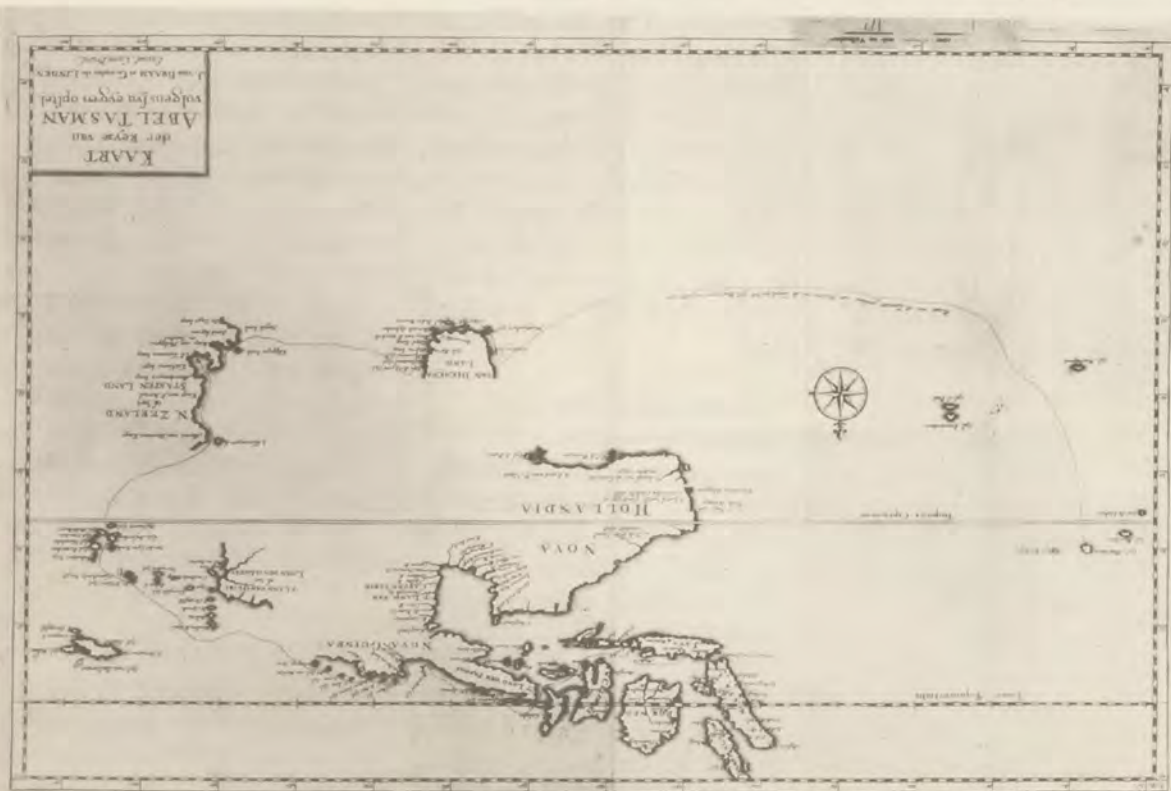
In 1993 the society published a Directory of Asian Studies and this year produced a second edition. The Directory offers the most comprehensive description of the current state of Asian Studies in New Zealand as well as giving a lot of information about the individuals who teach and research on Asia. It is the best place to look for anyone who wants to identify NZ academics with particular Asian research interests. It is also available on the World Wide Web at the society's site: <http://www.vuw.ac.nz/~caplab/nzasia.htm>. Since Asian Studies in NZ is growing at a rapid rate it is impossible to keep track of all the changes in institutional structures, in new staff, courses and research but we will be attempting to keep our web site as up to date as possible.

Tertiary institutions in NZ can still be divided into polytechnics and universities. Some excellent teaching on Asia is going on in the polytechnics. The Auckland Institute of Technology is noted for its very active Asian language programme and for developing relations with Asian institutions, especially in the ASEAN region. Christchurch Polytechnic is well known for its focused languages programmes, particularly Japanese.

There are seven universities in the country and six of them would claim to have an Asian Studies programme. Below are brief notes on each university but much more information can be found in the NZASIA Directory. This has a quite extensive description of Asian Studies at each university, giving a list of staff and courses taught. In some cases there is also a brief course description. The Directory also has composite lists of staff and courses so that users can easily identify where in the NZ university system particular courses are taught. ■



**PROFESSOR LES HOLBOROW** (left), Vice Chancellor, Victoria University, and **H.E. MR CHEAANG YUN** (right), Ambassador, Kingdom of Cambodia, on the occasion of Ambassador Cheaang's visit to Victoria University of Wellington.



**KAART DER REYSE VAN ABEL TASMAN VOLGENS ZIJN EYGEN OPSTEL** (Map of Abel Tasman's travels) – [te Dordrecht by]: J. van Braam; [te Amsterdam by]: G. onder de Linden [1726]. Copper engraving; 33.5 x 51.5 cm.

## MASSEY UNIVERSITY

Private Bag 11054, Palmerston North.  
Tel: +64 6 356 9099  
Fax: +64 6 350 5603  
Massey is particularly strong in extramural teaching. Asian Studies units include the Department of East Asia Studies teaching Japanese and Chinese, and the NZ Centre for Japanese Studies. Massey will be the venue of the 1997 NZ Asian Studies Conference.  
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E-mail: [W.Anasz@massey.ac.nz](mailto:W.Anasz@massey.ac.nz)  
(Wanda Anasz)

## UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND

Private Bag 92019, Auckland.  
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Situated in New Zealand's major city, this university is the largest in the country and boasts the greatest range of Asian Studies courses and more Asianists than any other university and the best library collection on Asia in the country. It recently established the NZ Asia Institute to coordinate its Asia offerings. The Institute in turn houses centres for Japanese, Chinese, Korean and APEC Studies.  
Contact: Dr Chris Tremewan, Director, NZ Asia Institute  
Fax: +64 9 308 2312  
E-mail: [nzai-office@auckland.ac.nz](mailto:nzai-office@auckland.ac.nz)

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Contact: Dr Bo Sax, Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies  
E-mail: [w.sax@phil.canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:w.sax@phil.canterbury.ac.nz)

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Situated in the southern city of Dunedin, proud of its Scottish roots and famed for its vigorous student social and political life. It is NZ's oldest university. Chinese and Japanese are taught but other Asian specialists are located in discipline based departments such as Anthropology, History, Politics and Religious Studies. There are plans to introduce an Asian Studies major.  
Contact: Dr Brian Moloughney, Department of History  
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Located in the city of Hamilton, south of Auckland. It has a Department of East Asian Studies where Chinese, Japanese and Korean are taught, but Asian Studies is also strong in other departments such as economics and political science. The university encourages interdisciplinary studies and is noted for its International Management Programme where students study a combination of management subjects and languages, such as Japanese.  
Contact: Dr Mike Roberts, Department of East Asian Studies  
E-mail: [robertsm@waikato.ac.nz](mailto:robertsm@waikato.ac.nz)

**VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON**

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Situated in the capital city, Victoria University established a Centre for Asian Studies back in the late 1960s but disbanded it a few years later. Despite this setback there has been strong growth in Asian Studies in recent years. Indonesian, Chinese and Japanese are taught and there are Asianists over a wide range of disciplines from anthropology and music to geography and commerce. An Asian Studies major was introduced in 1995 and there are currently discussions about the establishment of a pan-university Asia Institute. The Institute of Policy Studies and the Centre for Strategic Studies have been active in Asia-oriented research and publication. These activities are complemented by the Centre for Asia/Pacific Law and Business (CAPLAB) and the recently established Institute of Public Law. Contact: Dr Pauline Keating, Department of History (Convener, Board of Asian Studies)  
E-mail: pauline.keating@vuw.ac.nz

Other New Zealand contacts to note are:

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**TIM BEAL**

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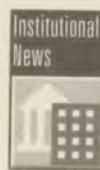
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THE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL STUDIES (ISS)  
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# The Importance of Human Resources in Encouraging Growth



Located in the centre of The Hague, the Institute of Social Studies (ISS) is an internationally renowned graduate school of Social Science teaching and research in the field of development studies.

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By MATTY KLATTER

By dint of a strong policy-oriented and multidisciplinary approach in its teaching programmes, research, projects and advisory work, the ISS aims to contribute to the strengthening of self-reliant development and a more equitable spreading of knowledge throughout the world.

The ISS offers extensive opportunities for graduate study at diploma, master's, and doctorate levels. Courses are taught in English and are intended for specialists who already

have academic training and job experience. ISS courses are multidisciplinary, bringing in knowledge and insights acquired in the fields of economics, sociology, political science, public administration, anthropology, statistics, and international law. Degrees are (inter)nationally recognized and incorporated in the Netherlands Higher Education and Research Law.

The Institute's international character is reflected in the diversity of its student body: since its foundation 8000 students from 160 countries have participated in its programmes, thereby extending its vital interna-

tional network and enhancing its international outlook.

Currently, teaching activities in The Hague involve about 300 students in 15 standard programmes, ranging from short-term courses of 7 weeks to a 15-month Master of Arts and 4 years for the PhD programme.

The ISS has a favourable teacher-student ratio; class sizes are 20-25 students. The Institute's environment stimulates free discussion of development issues among participants and staff, who collectively represent a very broad range of experience and theoretical interests. Curricula are flexible and reviewed regularly according to changing insights in development theory and the changing priorities of students. Policy workshops and (international) seminars are held under ISS auspices in The Hague and abroad.

## Research projects

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Benefiting from its rich experience, accumulated over almost 45 years of international research and project work, the ISS plays a role in the direction of new trends in development studies and contributes to the international dialogue on issues of development and change. Examples of this are the frequent public lectures on policy issues and academic approaches to these as well as the Institute's publishing activities, including the quarterly journal *Development and Change*.

The ISS teaching staff has extensive development research experience. On average, staff spend two to three months per year in developing countries, either to carry out research in collaboration with colleagues in

these countries, to advise governments, or to participate in joint projects. The Institute's vast network of contacts enable it to contribute to the understanding and solution of social and economic problems related to the development process, and to evolve the policy skills and techniques that are needed for the solution of such problems. The staff's continuous learning from field experiences and its spin-off in teaching and research constitute a major asset of the ISS.

The Institute's involvement in a wide range of external projects and advisory work is typical of the ISS approach. Projects of collaboration that combine teaching and research are undertaken with universities and research institutes in various developing countries. Examples include projects such as the project in *Women and Development Studies* with the University of the West Indies, *Graduate Education in Development Economics* with the University of Colombo, the development of the Faculty of Economics at the Universities of Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City, the *Worker's Participation and Development* project, in cooperation with the Organization of African Trade Union Unity, as well as the project *Pastoralism and Resource Competition* with the Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa.

## International Memberships

As an international academic institution the Institute's linkages are world-wide. It is a member of the European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes and a member of international associations such as the *Society for International Development*.

The ISS is also a member of the *Federation for International Education in the Netherlands (FION)*. The ISS participates in the *Centre for Resource Studies for Development (CERES)*, the national, inter-university research school for development studies recognized by the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences.

The ISS is one of the partners in an agreement of Institutes of International Education and the Agricultural University of Wageningen, focused on strengthening the position of international education in higher education and integrating it more cogently into the Netherlands system of higher education and research, a system

Well-deserved honours:

**JOAN RAWLINS** from Jamaica leaving the Auditorium with **PROFESSOR HANS OPSCHOOR**, director of the ISS, after the successful public defense of her PhD thesis.

which itself is going through major changes and as part of that process is increasing its international orientation.

While ISS students are now full-fledged participants in the Dutch university system, the ISS safeguards its specific characteristics of multicultural, interdisciplinary postgraduate education. Regular interaction between ISS and Dutch students at the PhD level signifies the full maturity of the system of International Education in the Netherlands, of which the ISS constitutes an important part.

## Cross-cultural exchange

The ISS is not only a focal point for interdisciplinary research but also for cross-cultural exchange of ideas and insights. Its value can be measured not just in terms of increasing human capital in developing countries, but also in the Netherlands. In many instances, there is value added compared with monodisciplinary research in Dutch universities.

Links with alumni are strengthened through refresher courses held regularly on a regional basis in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Many ISS alumni hold senior public posts such as ministers, heads of planning agencies, senior civil servants and staff of international agencies as well as leading positions in universities and research institutes. ■



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**THE ISS BUILDING**  
on the Kortenaerkade in The Hague.

■ By **DAAN HERTOOGS**  
and **NICO DE KLERK**

All great film archives guard, preserve, and restore the films in their collection. Many archives also programme these films in order to make the general public familiar with its film heritage and to maintain a wider interest in film culture and film as a source of information. But only a few film archives initiate research into their film collection. One of these archives is the Netherlands Film Museum (henceforth: NFM), in Amsterdam. Here, preservation, programming, and research are interrelated activities, the one being input for the other.

The peculiar nature of NFM's film collection more or less necessitates such a state of affairs. Judging by the standard film historical handbooks, the NFM film collection might be called a 'poor' collection, as it lacks many films that are considered classics. You will look there in vain for *Casablanca* or *High Noon*. On the other hand, though, you may find the shorts that preceded these films in cinema shows. The NFM collection consists predominantly of material that has left no trace whatsoever in the handbooks: films that belonged to the programme of shorts, commercial and industrial films, newsreels, amateur films, scientific and instructional films, wildlife and ethnographic films, and many more.

There was not always any real idea of how to appraise all this material. The films in the NFM collection are usually preserved and restored for their aesthetic qualities, even though that in itself sometimes seems to beg the question rather than answer it (as in the case of NFM's collection of coloured silent films). It was felt, then, that these considerations often do not exhaust the (film)historical significance of the material. From the spectator's point of view, for instance, it may be assumed that for a large number of people the film genres mentioned formed a significant, if not formative, part of their film-viewing experience. If not each of these reasons alone, not to mention the sheer amount of this material in our collection, then surely as a collection they suffice to justify a reconsideration of some of film history's received notions.

### The Amsterdam Workshops

Research in the NFM, then, focuses on contextualizing material that has hitherto been ignored, under or misrepresented. This course of action has produced, among other results, the creation of the Amsterdam Workshop. This workshop is an annual, four-day event that takes the form of a balanced combination of screenings and discussions. For this, some fifty film scholars, archivists, film makers and relevant experts are invited to the museum. The workshop constitutes a platform and a meeting place to exchange ideas and suggest research plans. To bring the ideas put forward during workshops to the attention of a wider audience, after each workshop the NFM publishes a book with the proceedings of the discussions, accompanied by an

# Research in the Netherlands Film Museum

From:

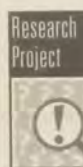
**PAREH, EEN RIJSTLIED VAN JAVA**

(Pareh, a Song of Rice from Java),

Netherlands 1936,

directed by Mannus Franken

and Albert Balink.



Research Project

Even though we live in an age of visual culture, outside film studies film is still not considered a valuable source for research. Perhaps it is the emphasis on aesthetic matters that has discouraged researchers from other fields. Maybe this emphasis has instilled in them a distrust in the veracity of film images. And they are right, of course, as it would indeed be naive NOT to distrust their veracity. A film claiming to portray an authentic ritual in a village in Java, while in fact it is compiled from shots made throughout the entire Archipelago, is dubious as a record of that ritual and that village. Of course, it is important to know about camera work, editing, and the like. Yet, it is equally important to know that the film is a compilation or to know why such films (which really exist) were made by the dozen and why their duplicity passed unnoticed, or at least with no apparent outrage. It is facts such as these in which the Netherlands Film Museum is particularly interested for its research programme about films depicting 'the other'.

essay. For the worldwide distribution of these publications the NFM cooperates with the British Film Institute.

The first Amsterdam Workshop, launched in 1994, was devoted to non-fiction films from the second decade of this century. Standard documentary histories barely cover that period: after an obligatory salute to the Lumière Brothers, they skip twenty-five years, only to resume with Flaherty's famous account of Eskimo life *Nanook of the North* (1922), blithely unconcerned about developments in the intervening years. The NFM's unique silent film collection contains a considerable amount of non-fiction films, largely from this period - travelogues, industrial and wildlife films, newsreels, etcetera - that sheds some light on this 'dark' period. The 1995 workshop focused on the theme of colour in silent cinema, prompted by the museum's large collection of coloured release prints from the first decades of film

history. Future workshops will continue to highlight material from our collection and stimulate research. Although aesthetic issues will always remain a concern of the NFM, it is clear that parts of our film collection would also benefit from approaches from outside film history.

### Anthropology of Film

One future workshop may be of special interest to readers of this newsletter. This workshop, planned for the summer of 1998, will be devoted to what we have provisionally called 'The View of the Other'. For this workshop all of the NFM's travel, expedition, ethnographic, colonial and other relevant material will be mined, from the earliest films until well into the 1950s. This half century covers more or less the period in which film images quite literally determined our view of the world (colonial and other 'peripheral' societies in particular); since then television has taken over this task. In pre-

paring this workshop we want to remove the distinction between material that circulated predominantly in specialized, often educational contexts and films shown at regular, commercial venues, and investigate the ways in which all these views from abroad conceptualize their subject and, perhaps, share certain characteristics. With this workshop, in other words, the NFM wants to undertake an 'anthropology', not so much of the people and places shown in this material, but, rather, of the films themselves and the attitudes assumed in their production and presentation.

A lot of the material to be viewed for this workshop has been filmed in various parts in Asia; not surprisingly a substantial number of films were made in the former Dutch colony, Indonesia. The total number of films shot in Asia for the designated period may well approach a thousand - including, of course, fiction films and individual items in newsreels. Not all of this material will turn out to be directly relevant to the theme of this workshop. Nevertheless, the number of films or a particular film's significance cannot always be determined with precision, as there is material that needs further identification (production and distribution data) and 'deeper', more accurate descriptions (identification of location, time, people, activities, objects, etcetera).

The NFM wants to promote its film collection actively for research purposes. Anyone interested in this material, either for film historical research or for other research topics for which the NFM collections may be an important database, is hereby invited to contact the Research Department of the Netherlands Film Museum. ■



### HET NEDERLANDS FILMMUSEUM

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### DAAN HERTOOGS

is the head of the Research Department of the Netherlands Film Museum. Nico de Klerk is a researcher at the film museum.

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# The 3rd Electronic Buddhist Text Initiative (EBTI) Meeting



The Electronic Buddhist Text Initiative (EBTI) was founded to coordinate the various projects involving computer-readable Buddhist texts in all languages and traditions. This, its third and most diverse meeting, broadened the scope of the group to include other text and image input projects. The Meeting was hosted by the Fo Kuang Shan Foundation for Buddhist Culture and Education.

■ By SUSAN WHITFIELD

The Second Meeting of EBTI was held at Hai-en Monastery in Korea in 1994 when their Koryo Canon Project was still underway. In Taipei they were able to distribute their just released CD-ROM, the first electronic version of a Buddhist Canon in Chinese characters. The font has been designed to emulate the original on the woodblocks, still held at the Monastery, and the text is in vertical format. Other text projects represented at the Meeting included the University of California Sanskrit Project, presented by Professor Lewis Lancaster and Yao-ming Tsai; the Vietnamese Buddhist Canon, presented by Venerable Hanh-Tuan; the Manichaean Text Project, discussed by Gunner Mikkelsen and three separate Pail Canon projects (from Thailand, India, and Myanmar/Burma). A fourth, from Sri Lanka, was also scheduled but its representative was unable to obtain a visa.

All these presentations were impressive, not least for the amount of time and commitment they represented. Despite the achievement, two questions which cropped up at the end of every presentation highlighted the limitations of full-text input. The first concerned the need for some agreement on character coding so that these texts could be read by everyone, and the second the need for at least minimal mark-up of text to exploit the full use of computerization. The former problem has no immediate solution. For example, most complete Chinese character sets still contain fewer than 30,000 characters whereas it has been estimated that about 70,000 are found in Zen Buddhist texts (including some unique to these texts). For other scripts, the development of coding is still in its infancy or there are additional problems. Professors Yoshiro Imaeda and Seiki Miyashita of the Otani University Tibetan Project discussed the history of Tibetan input programmes and the possible existence of a 'Nam language' used in Tibetan pre-Buddhist texts which remains undeciphered.

On the latter point it was agreed that mark-up will be the next stage for most of the projects and only then will computerization be fully exploited. Professor Urs App of the International Zen Research Center in Japan and Dr Christian Wittern of Goettingen University in Germany, EBTI representatives in Asia and Europe respectively, kept emphasizing the need

for the full exploitation of computer technology and therefore the need to move beyond plain text inputting. They were joined in their ideas by Professor Ching-chun Hsieh and Derming Jiang of Academia Sinica, Taiwan, in the final session which was devoted to mark-up (information available on: <http://www.gwdg.de/~cwit-ter/info.ebti96ho.htm>).

There was some light at the end of the tunnel. In their talk on Buddhist Databases and Library Services, Professor John Lehman of the University of Alaska and Howie Lan of the University of California at Berkeley were optimistic that the development of 'middleware', such as Netscape or Java, will soon make questions of compatibility redundant. Such programmes will be able to sit between different systems and make them work together.

Databases, of course, provide mark-up by structuring the text into separate fields and several database projects were also demonstrated at the meeting, including the International Dunhuang Project. One of the most impressive was a database designed by Professor Thomas Price of California State University for teaching schoolchildren about Japan, complete with music and moving images. The computerization of the Huntingdon Archive of Buddhist Art, presented by Jan Glowski of Ohio State University, showed the enormous potential that digitization of images offers. Combined with ground plans of monasteries and shrines, maps, text, bibliographies and other scholarly aids, the images can be used by students, scholars and the public to gain a wide understanding of Buddhist iconography across East Asia.

On the most impressive presentations was by Professor Heng Ching Shih of the Center for Buddhist Studies at National Taiwan University. The www site developed by the Center offers a searchable database of bibliographical information containing over 40,000 references to both Chinese and Western publications, original Chinese sutras, Buddhist dictionaries, and lessons in Sanskrit and Pail with audio pronunciation available (<http://ccbs.ntu.edu.tw/>). The only drawback may be the slowness of the Internet and it is hoped that the data can be mirrored at various sites worldwide.

Computerized dictionaries were the subject of several other presentations, including one by the hosts, the Fo Kuang Shan Chinese Dictionary

Project which will contain over 22,000 entries and be made available on disk with a search engine, and a Tibetan-English Dictionary with over 80,000 entries. As Professor Charles Muller of Tokyo Gakuen University showed in his demonstration of a Chinese-Japanese-Korean-English dictionary of Buddhist technical terms, individuals are also able to create useful resources without institutional support. Other individual projects included Professor Jamie Hubbard's Lotus Sutra Project, developed as an undergraduate teaching aid, and the Asian Classics Input Project by Robert Chiltern. The latter showed the advantages of collaboration. It has recently started paying monks in Sera Monastery, India, a small wage for data input. The monks gain important skills and the Project also supports the monastic university. By this low-cost collaboration, the Project continues to be able to distribute its CDs at a nominal cost.

The alternative of OCR was discussed briefly and a programme developed by Professor Masami Kojima of Tohoku Institute of Technology for recognizing Tibetan was demonstrated at the meeting. However, the consensus was that double text entry is still much faster than any OCR programme.

Gary Ray, editor of 'Cybershangha. The Buddhist Alternative Journal' and based in California discussed the Internet as a resource and noted that the propensity to add images was slowing down the production of new information as style became more important than content. A web-site which certainly did not fall into this category was presented by Dr Matthew Ciolek of Australian National University. As Resources Administrator of the largest on-line collection of Asian Studies data, Dr Ciolek gave a detailed and thoughtful account of his work (available on <http://coombs.anu.edu.au/SpecialProj/EBTI/EBTI96.html>).

The importance of methods of preserving texts whether by digitization, computerization or other means was highlighted by Dr Tom Rabdanov of the Buryat Republic and Professor David Blundell of National Taiwan University. They spoke of the huge and important archive of Buddhist manuscripts, mainly in Tibetan and Mongolian, which are kept in Ulan Ude. Many of the manuscripts are in need of conservation and although a working group of scholars and computer specialists has been created, they urgently require funds to carry out essential work (further details from [burnc/bion@ulan.rosmail.com](mailto:burnc/bion@ulan.rosmail.com)).

DR SUSAN WHITFIELD

works for the International Dunhuang Project, The British Library, London.

The meeting was very lively and high-tech. The Taipei branch of Fo Kuang Shan Monastery provided excellent facilities, impressive technical backup, a warm welcome, and plentiful food. The next meeting will be

held from 2-5 October 1997, hosted by Otani University, Kyoto, Japan. Full details of EBTI with reports of this and past meetings are available on WWW: (<http://zorba.uafadm.alaska.edu/phil/ehti/EBTI-home.html>). ■

16 > 21 JUNE 1996  
SZEGED, HUNGARY

## The Permanent International Altaistic Conference

# The 39<sup>th</sup> Meeting of the PIAC



The PIAC is an informal gathering of scholars, interested in Altaic and Inner Asian studies. Altaic is the collective name for the languages belonging to the Turkic, Mongolic, and Manchu-Tungusic language families and the peoples that speak them. The PIAC is also a platform for scholars who conduct research into the relationship of

Korean and Japanese with the Altaic languages.

■ By HANS NUGTEREN  
and MARTI ROOS

Founded in 1957 during the 24th International Congress of Orientalists, the PIAC had its first meeting in Mainz, West Germany, in 1958. Since then the PIAC has convened regularly every year, in many different countries. The administrative organization is run by the Secretary-General, Prof. Denis Sinor from Indiana University in Bloomington, which is the virtual home of the PIAC.

The Central Asiatic Journal was founded as a result of the PIAC meetings, and a number of the conference proceedings have been published in it. Each PIAC meeting starts with so-called confessions at which each participant in his turn informs the plenum of his work, projects, and future publications. The confessions are followed by individual readings and discussions.

Prof. Árpád Berta, this year's conference president, welcomed a large number of about 90 participants from some 20 different countries. Apart from many established PIAC attendants, a considerable number of first time visitors were present. It is important that young scholars continue to find their way to the PIAC.

Topics discussed ranged from oral literature and the description of endangered languages to historical lin-

guistics and the decipherment of ancient documents, from shamanism to political issues, from traditional music to the use of alcoholic beverages by the ancient Turks, and from the illnesses of horses to the death of Chinggis Khan.

It was the second time that Szeged had hosted the PIAC, 25 years after the first time. The impressive number of visitors may be considered proof of the important position of Hungary in the field of Altaic studies. The 39th PIAC coincided with Hungary's 'Millecentenarium' (the Latin word was invented especially for the occasion), i.e. the 1100th anniversary of the arrival of the Magyars in Hungary. This PIAC was sponsored by the József Attila University of Szeged and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The next PIAC will take place in Utah, USA, in June 1997. ■

To become a member of the PIAC  
(and receive the PIAC newsletter),  
correspondence should be addressed to:

THE SECRETARY GENERAL,  
PROFESSOR DENIS SINOR

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(Information about the PIAC was  
taken from PIAC Newsletter 13)



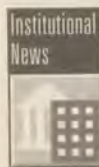




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# Central Asian Languages & Altaic Studies in Leiden



Since the demise of the Soviet Union, a collection of sovereign states has emerged in Central Asia, among them Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan. All these countries had the status of Soviet Socialist Republics within the Soviet Union. Alongside the imperial lingua franca Russian, the indigenous native languages served both as the regular medium for informal intercourse and as the official language of administration and the vehicle of the national literature. Some Central Asian literary figures have gained world renown, such as the famous 'Soviet writer' Cingiz Aitmatov, who is a Kyrgyz.

■ By UWE BLÄSING

Since their independence, these new states have been attracting more attention and gaining in political and economic weight. For investors these nations represent an entirely new market with a highly diverse potential. Many ancient trade routes had passed through these countries but had been effectively shut down by the impenetrable barrier of the Iron Curtain. Now with the fall of the Soviet empire, these antique trade routes have reopened throbbing with new vigour. In addition to political and economic reform, these societies are at a crossroads where native values, cultures, and traditions are being both restored and subjected to reappraisal. This spirit of introspection is reflected in both the language and the literature.

Most of the languages of these new nations belong to the Turkic branch of languages, a salient exception being Tajik, a language of the Iranian branch of Indo-European. The Turkic languages with the Mongolian and Manchu-Tungusic language groups form the Altaic family, to which both Korean and Japanese are also argued to belong. Altaic Studies traditionally constitute a descriptive and comparative linguistic discipline. At Leiden, Altaic Studies is incorporated within the department

of Comparative Linguistics. This departmental configuration combines research and instruction in Altaic languages as well in neighbouring languages of Siberia. Traditionally courses are taught in Classical Mon-

The main focal points of Altaic Studies in Leiden lie in research and lexicology

golian, the modern national language Khalkha Mongolian, Uzbek and Uighur. Classes are also given in Kyrgyz, Turkmen and Kazakh and in the Tungusic languages Manchu and Lamut (Even). The language courses are supplemented by introductions to the literature and history of these people. Courses planned for the academic year '96-'97 include Uzbek, Kyrgyz, Turkmen, Aspect in Turkish, Lamut(Even), the Mongols, Mongolian, the Chagatai literature, Tuvan and Uighur.

## The Yugur

The main focus of Altaic Studies in Leiden lies in research. At the moment a number of interesting projects and activities are in progress.

Dutch linguist Marti Roos is writing a description of Western Yugur. The Yugur are one of China's fifty-six officially recognized nationalities and consist of 12,297 persons. The Yugur live primarily in Sunan Yugur Autonomous County in Gansu Province. The Yugur nationality consists of four linguistically different groups. The largest of these are the Turkic-speaking Western Yugur comprising about 4,600 persons. The Mongolic speaking Eastern Yugur number about 2,800. A very small number of Yugur is reported to speak Tibetan. The remaining Yugur speak Chinese. Chinese is the language of contact between the different linguistic groups and also functions as a written medium. Both Western and Eastern Yugur are unwritten languages. Basically for what are geographical reasons, Western Yugur had long erroneously been held to be a dialect of Modern Uighur. Actually, Western Yugur belongs to the north-eastern subgroup of Turkic and is most closely related to Khakas and Tuvan. The first part of the study is a grammatical description of Western Yugur, followed by a fairly voluminous corpus of Western Yugur folk tales and completed by a Western Yugur etymological dictionary.

## Mongolic and Turkic languages

Leiden researcher Hans Nugteren is working on a comparative phonology of the Mongolic languages, concentrating on the peripheral Mongolic languages spoken in the Qinghai-Gansu region, i.e. Eastern Yugur, Monguor, Bao'an, and Dong-

xiang. His aim is to establish the relationship between these lesser known languages and their connection to the other Mongolic languages. The phonological systems of the individual peripheral languages are described and analysed, collated from the most recent publications. The core of the thesis is a systematic etymological dictionary of the Mongolic languages, the first such lexicon to include all the peripheral languages. The regular phonetic developments which took place in these languages are described and ordered chronologically, thereby yielding a new explanation for many of the phenomena in the peripheral languages that were previously considered peculiar and problematical.

Etymology is currently one of the main research priorities. Foreign influences in Turkish and other Turkic languages have been subject to increasing scrutiny in recent years. Uwe Bläsing has undertaken exhaustive compilation of the Armenian and Turkish material, but is also taking stock of regional interaction involving Kurdish, Greek, languages of the southern Caucasus and, of course, also the languages of Central Asia.

Research in the realm of Irano-Turcica has embraced the etymological research and description of Iranian loans in Turkic languages. The synchronic and diachronic extent of Iranisms within the Turkic languages and other tongues of the region is being documented. A major study of North-west Iranian has recently appeared under the title 'Kurdische und Zaza-Elemente im türkeitürkischen Dialektlexikon' in Dutch Studies published by NELL 2 (1995), pp. 173-220.

Hans Nugteren and Marti Roos have co-written an article entitled 'Common vocabulary of the Western and Eastern Yugur languages: the

Turkic and Mongolic Loan-words' (Acta Orientalia Hung.) on loan relations between Turkic Western Yugur and Mongolic eastern Yugur.

## Lexicology

Lexicology is another focus of Altaic Studies in Leiden. A comprehensive Kalmyk-German Dictionary is currently being compiled. This lexicon not only comprises the material from various extant, older sources, but also contains historical linguistic and etymological references. The digitalization of a series of dictionaries of Central Asian languages is also planned. For Uzbek a database comprising over 40,000 lemmas has already been compiled and currently serves as a resource for etymological investigations. Ultimately, this database will be published both in an Uzbek-Dutch and an Uzbek-German version. Other dictionaries of Central Asian languages have also already been digitalized, either wholly or in part.

A study of proverbs is another branch of study, which aims to preserve a very specific portion of Central Asian lore and culture. In the book *Tschuwaschische Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche redensarten* (Turkologica, volume 20 (1994)), Uwe Bläsing compiled over 4000 Chuvash proverbs and sayings, with German translations and commentary, also listing any comparable or equivalent proverbs in other Turkic languages and in Russian. The book contains exhaustive indexes of various types and a bibliography. ■

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23 > 25 OCTOBER 1997  
 UTRECHT, THE NETHERLANDS

## Soviet Legacy, Islam and Civic Society in Central Asia



Under the aegis of the IIAS and the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences a seminar will

be held in Utrecht, as a follow-up to the 1995 St. Petersburg workshop (see IIAS Newsletter 7 winter 1996, p.22)

By TOURAJ ATABAKI

The five newly-independent states of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan, which have emerged in Central Asia as the successor states to the Soviet Union, are at present confronting a wide range of problems associated with modernization. An Islamic-oriented society, a secular civic society based on

a Western model, or a paternalistic old-style communist system, all vie with one another in competition for popular support. The Central Asian societies during the Soviet era went through a very peculiar type of modernization, based chiefly on nation and nation-state building. If therefore the political developments in Central Asia are to be understood, it is crucial to take account of the Soviet legacy.

The aim of this workshop will be to bring together scholars working in different disciplines for an exchange of views on this vitally important region of the world. ■

For information, please contact

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PAKISTAN

# Allamah Muhammad Iqbal's Concept of Muslim Nationalism in India



It is well known that it was Allamah Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) who articulated Muslim political separatism in his presidential address to the annual session of the All India Muslim League at Allahabad in 1930. He expressed the wish that: 'I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India.'

■ By RIZWAN MALIK

The enunciation of this political objective was the genesis of the two-nation theory when Iqbal's vision was adopted by the Muslim League in its Lahore Resolution of March 1940. The philosophical moorings of the two nation theory suggest that a separate Muslim homeland, as viewed by Iqbal, was essential to a healthy development of both the major communities in the Indian subcontinent. In his Allahabad address, Iqbal stated that a separate state for Muslims would be in the best interests of India and of Islam. He explained: 'For India it means security and peace resulting from an internal balance of power; for Islam an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian imperialism was forced to give it, to mobilize its law, its education, its culture, and to bring them into closer contact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of modern times.'

Based therefore on this concept of a 'Muslim state', he expressed the desire to see an independent Muslim state in the north-west of India. Explaining the rationale behind this demand, Iqbal observed that since each community has the right to free development according to its own cultural traditions, Muslim demands should not be viewed as reflecting any feeling of hostility towards Hindus. He stated that: 'The principal that each group is entitled to free development on its own lines is not inspired by any feeling of narrow communalism ... A community which is inspired by a feeling of ill-will towards other communities is

low and ignoble. I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religions and social institutions of other communities.'

Iqbal's articulation of the views set out above suggests the remarkable distance that he had travelled between his youth and his mature years. Iqbal first gained fame as a nationalist Muslim who cherished the ideals of a united India like the other great poet from Bengal, Rabindra Nath Tagore. It was during 1905 and again in 1908, when he was studying in Europe, that he began revising his thoughts about the principles of territorial nationalism. His studies of Islam and modern philosophy gradually and irrevocably caused him to repudiate his earlier views. On his return to India in 1908, Iqbal ceased to be an Indian nationalist and started deviating from his earlier views on Muslim-Hindu communal unity. Iqbal attempted to prove that Islam constituted a millat which could not and should not be identified with any one particular country. He also emphasized that being culturally different and separate from the Hindus with a precisely defined political orientation, Indian Muslims did not want to be assimilated into a Hindu-dominated Indian political nationalism. On the other hand, Iqbal advocated a repudiation of political nationalism by substituting for it the idea of cultural nationalism. He was clear in his mind that nationalism, originally a Western concept, demanded affiliation to a territory without having anything to do with the cultural values of the people concerned. In the West, nationalism was most generally understood in its political

context. The Indian National Congress had also adopted this concept and defined various communities living in India as one nation merely because they inhabited a common territory. Cultural nationalism, in contrast, describes people a nation on the basis of their inwardly felt sharing of religious, racial, or linguistic values. Viewed from this perspective, Indian Muslims constituted a cultural nationality. Logically then, the creation of an independent Muslim state was to be an external social organization required simply to guard the inner and natural needs of its members. Therefore, in Iqbal's vision, the notion of cultural nationalism as applied to the case of a culturally and religiously defined Muslim nation seeking a territory to give tangible expression of itself was not antithetical to Islam. In a public statement, Iqbal elaborated on this point.

## Cultural Nationalism

Nationalism in the sense of love of one's country and even readiness to die for its honour is a part of the Muslim's faith; it comes into conflict with Islam only when it begins to play the role of a political Islam should recede to the background of a mere private opinion and cease to be a living factor in the national life. In Turkey, Iran, Egypt, and other Muslim countries it will never become a problem. In these countries Muslims constitute an overwhelming majority and their minorities, i.e., Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians, according to the law of Islam, are either 'People of the Book' or 'like the People of the Book' with whom the law of Islam allows free social relations only in countries where they happen to be in a minority, and nationalism demands their complete self-effacement. In majority countries Islam accommodates nationalism; for there Islam and nationalism are practically identical; in minority countries it is justified in

seeking self-determination as a cultural unit. In either case, it is thoroughly consistent with itself.

Nevertheless, the cultural definition of nationalism used by Iqbal as an instrument to prevent the assimilation of a minority into the majority community, could be interpreted negatively to mean the unwillingness of Muslim community 'to be ruled by a non-Muslim political power'. But Iqbal's cultural nationalism was mainly a desire to facilitate his vision of the reform of the existing Muslim social and economic order. This, in his view, could be done by mobilizing the Muslim masses, at least, those in the Muslim-majority provinces of north-west India. It should be emphasized here that Iqbal did not make the demand for a separate Muslim state as a defensive proposition against the numerical strength of the Hindus. The logic of cultural nationalism in Iqbal's case was based on the practical necessity of first acquiring a Muslim state, which would then make it possible for Indian Muslims to proceed with their experiment of building a society in accordance with the Shari'a. Should such a state be denied them, Indian Muslims would be bereft of the opportunity to introduce innovations which the Turks had taken upon themselves. As a student of Islam, Iqbal contended that a commitment to a progressive reform of the social conditions of Muslims by the All India Muslim League would, in fact, be a return to the original principles of Islam. Accordingly, Iqbal wrote to Jinnah, in his letter on 28 May 1937, that it was about time that the League finally decided whether it has to represent the interests of upper class Indian Muslims or the Muslim masses. He believed the reason why Muslim masses were not attracted to the Muslim League was its lack of promise of any improvement in the lot of the average Muslim. As this ideal could only be achieved in an independent and sovereign Muslim state, in the same letter, Iqbal wrote to Jinnah that the question of 'Muslim poverty' demanded much more serious attention than did the 'atheistic socialism' of Nehru.

'Happily there is a solution in the enforcement of the Law of Islam and its further development in the light of modern ideas. After a long and careful study of Islamic Law I have

Iqbal wanted to rescue the principles of Islam from being reduced to a personal affair and its consequent extinction as a system of life.

come to the conclusion that if this system of Law is properly understood and applied, at least the right to subsistence is secured to everybody. But the enforcement and development of the Shariat of Islam is impossible in this country without a free Muslim state or states. This has been my honest conviction for many

years and I still believe this to be the only way to solve the problem of bread for Muslims as well as to secure a peaceful India.'

On the other hand, Iqbal argued with Muslims about the need to renew Islamic culture. He used his poetry as an instrument to make Muslims realize that to become once again dynamic, enterprising and assertive, there was a need for reform of the traditional interpretation of Islam. He exhorted Muslims to wake up and learn to live with the changed times, considering reform to be effort to rekindle the dynamism of early Islam.

## Turkey

It is relevant to note that Iqbal viewed the activities of Mustafa Kemal in Turkey generally speaking as positive. The movement of reforms initiated by Mustafa Kemal, Iqbal believed, despite many flaws that it may encompass, was wholesome in general and to be encouraged as an illustration of how Muslim thought might be reactivated. Appreciating the decree of the Turkish Grand National Assembly finally to close the chapter of the Muslim Khilafat, he wrote: 'Let us now see how Grand National Assembly has excised this power of Ijtihad in regard to the institution of Khilafat. According to Sunni Law the appointment of an Imam or Khalifa is absolutely indispensable. The first question that arises in this connection is this - Should the Caliphate be vested in a single nation? Turkey's Ijtihad is that according to the spirit of the Islam the Caliphate or Imamate can be vested in a body of persons, or an elected Assembly. The religious doctors of Islam in Egypt and India, so far as I know, have not yet expressed themselves on this point. Personally, I believe the Turkish view is perfectly sound. It is hardly necessary to argue this point. The republican form of government is not only thoroughly consistent with the spirit of Islam but has also become a necessity in view of the new forces that are set free in the world of Islam.'

What once had been the symbol of the unity of the Muslim ummah, Iqbal believed, had become an impediment to the development of Islamic thought. Iqbal never endorsed the contributions of the Kemalists secular experience, as is sometimes thought, in its anti-mullah and anti-Sufi interpretations of Islam. To meet the challenges of the modern world, he advocated the use of ijtihad (fresh thinking and independent judgement). He believed the example of Turkey should be followed by Muslim countries in order to rebuild and strengthen their states on modern lines. In the same vein he hoped that with the disappearance of the institution of the Khilafat the unity of the Muslim world will

have to be derived from the independent and sovereign status of individual Muslim states. Iqbal wrote: 'It seems to me that God is slowly bringing home to us the truth that Islam is neither Nationalism nor Imperialism but a League of Nations

TO BE CONTINUED

which recognizes artificial boundaries and racial distinctions for facility of reference only, and not for restricting the social horizon of its members.'

### Religious Ideal

It would be in this 'League' of Muslim countries that Indian Muslims, living in an independent state of their own, would participate and contribute to the unity and stability of the Muslim world. Iqbal's vision was that there was a logical connection between the proposed independent Muslim state in South Asia and the territorially broken up but spiritually united nation-states in the rest of the Muslim world.

In supporting the rationale of territorial Muslim nation-states based on cultural nationalism, Iqbal was trying to emphasize Islam as the real foundation of Muslim *ummah*. In fact, Iqbal wanted to rescue the principles of Islam from being reduced to a personal affair and its consequent extinction as a system of life. He stated that the nature of the Prophet's religious experience, Qur'anically speaking is [of an] individual experience creative of a social order. Its immediate outcome is the fundamentals of a polity with implicit legal concepts whose civic significance cannot be belittled merely because their origin is revelation. The religious ideal of Islam, therefore, is organically related to the social order which it has created. The rejection of the one will eventually involve the rejection of the other. ■

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■ By GERARD J. TOLSMA

Spoken in the remote Hongu valley of Solu Khumbu district, Kulung does not enjoy great popularity among the younger people who are willing to migrate to the capital Kathmandu where more facilities are available. Descriptive linguists working in the Himalayas are analysing complex grammatical constructions and recording native vocabulary of languages that are on the verge of extinction.

### The Language

Kulung is one of the Kiranti languages, spoken in the hills of eastern Nepal. Despite their close genetic relation, the Kiranti languages are not mutually intelligible. Some shared distinct Kiranti lexicon and the complex morphology of the verb have led to linguistic classification of these languages as Kiranti. A verb in a Kiranti language consists of a verb stem to which affixes, i.e. prefixes or suffixes, can be added. An affix expresses grammatical notions such as tense, person, number, or negation, or may consist of a combination of these. The suffix '-i' in Kulung, for example, indicating a first plural person in the preterite tense, can not be analysed into more morphemes.

Such affixes, known as *portemanteau* morphemes, are especially interesting since they reveal something about the history of the language and, even more importantly, about the Kiranti languages in general. Another feature of Kulung verbal morphology is the system of verb stem alternation which is found throughout the whole verbal paradigm. Each verb stem in Kulung can have as many as seven allomorphs. What historical process gave rise to this development of allomorphy is not yet clear, but after descriptions of the verbal system of other Kiranti languages have become available more can be said about this curious phenomenon.

Kulung is an ergative language, i.e. agents of transitive verbs take ergative case endings while patients of transitive verbs and subjects of intransitive verbs are found in the unmarked absolutive. The Kulung case system shows a total of eleven cases.

Deictic categories are found in all parts of Kulung grammar. In nominal morphology different case endings are found denoting various deictic notions such as up, down, and level. With verbs, deictic notions determine the use of different auxiliaries, which are verb forms that are attached directly to the verb stem and add a semantic nuance to the meaning of the main verb.

It is no coincidence that the area in which Kulung is spoken is dominated by the geographical environment in which hills and rivers play an important role.

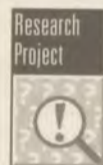
### The People

The Kulung are a small tribe of sedentary farmers whose main crops are millet and maize. Millet is not only the ingredient from which *yuw* a kind of paste is made which forms the sta-

## Descriptive Linguistics in the Himalayas of Nepal



## The Kulung: Language and Traditions



Nepal is unique in its linguistic variety of languages belonging to different language families such as Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic, and Tibeto-Burman. The Indo-Aryan language Nepali, which has become the official language of the Hindu kingdom, is gaining more and more popularity among speakers of minority languages, the upshot being a new generation of minorities which has completely lost knowledge of its mother tongue. Kulung, still used by an estimated 15,000 people, is no exception.

ple diet of the Kulung, but is also used in the preparation various types of local beer.

Collecting firewood and working in the fields are the main tasks of a Kulung household, which generally

consists of about six members. Marriage takes place between members of different clans. Only in special circumstances can members of the same clan intermarry. Unlike the Hindu population of Nepal, the Ku-

A KULUNG GRANDMOTHER with grandchild.

lung bury their death. According to the Kulung people, the Kulung ancestors migrated from the Tarai, i.e. the lowlands of Nepal and settled in the Hongu valley some thirty-five generations ago. Having settled there, they waged war against the local people called *rupiyongchha* by the Kulung. Eventually the *rupiyongchha* were defeated and tried to escape to the sun with the aid of a ladder made of buckwheat.

### Ritual Tradition

Ritual tradition is the most important aspect of Kulung cultural life. Rites, lasting for one or more days, are sometimes quite elaborate and are always performed by a local shaman. To ensure good health and prosperity rites have to be performed by a household at regular intervals and the neglect of rites is said to cause illness and material loss.

Other rites, of a more social character, are performed by the local people of a whole village. During the *tos* rite for example, the deceased relatives of the Kulung are invoked and the growth of crops is promoted. People gather on a hill in the village, beating cymbals and blowing on a *pung*, the horn of a water-buffalo. The *nokchho* or priest, adorned with a head-scarf made of feathers pours ritual millet-beer (that may not be drunk), out of a gourd on to a stone, which has been put in a hole in the ground. People dance around this hole and beat the cymbals. After a while the priest also starts to dance. The purpose of the beating of the cymbals and blowing on the horn is to invoke the ancestors. Dances are performed to promote the growth of the crops. After the rite is finished millet-beer is drunk and ritual food is distributed and eaten. ■

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THE NOKCHHO performing the *tos* rite.

THE HONGU VALLEY in Nepal.



■ By MOHAN K. GAUTAM

The Copenhagen Conference was very actively attended by 265 scholars representing 24 countries, including Austria, Australia, Bangladesh, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, India, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Nepal, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Russia, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Switzerland, The Netherlands, United Kingdom, and the United States of America. It was interesting to note that, unlike other conferences, the proportion of female to male was quite substantial, i.e. 100 - 165.

The organizing committee also made funds available for many scholars to be able to attend (8 from South Asia, 4 from Russia, 1 from Bangladesh, and 1 from Latvia) and supported their participation in the conference. In addition to this gesture, the conference registration fee of many scholars was waived. Since Copenhagen in the year 1996 is also enjoying the status of the cultural capital of Europe, the delegates were also welcomed with a reception by the Mayor of the city of Copenhagen. Three members of the organizing committee Dr. Henriette Bugge (chairman), Dr. Peter B. Andersen (secretary), and Dr. Stig Toft Madsen (treasurer) functioned as a leading trinity and with their many efficient colleagues took good care of the delegates.

On first day, after the registration of the conference participants, the conference was inaugurated by Dr. Bugge and this was followed by the welcome messages of Dr. Thorkild Damsgaard Olsen (Deputy Vice-Chancellor of Copenhagen University) and Prof. Thommy Svensson (Director, NIAS and Chairman Asia Committee of European Science Foundation). The plenary lecture was delivered by Prof. Niels Steensgaard who emphasized the role of Scandinavian scholars in understanding the cultures of South Asia on one hand and bridging the gaps in the European unity on the other. Finally the Organizing, Secretary Dr. P.B. Andersen, thanked to all the members of the organizing working committee and explained a guideline for finding the proper panels to delegates.

The venue of the conference was the Humanities Campus of Copenhagen University (Amager). The conference was divided into 22 panels, which covered various facets of South Asian culture, including languages, literature, case studies of Bengal, Punjab and Tamil Nadu, rituals and religions, the priests and saints, new religious sects and move-

ments, new symbols of religious and political identities, modernity and traditionalism, environmental issues, economic liberalization, political, regional and ethnical conflicts, centre-state relations, the problem of human rights, village and urban structures, political construction of identities, performing arts and the South Asian diaspora.

After lunch an international book exhibition was opened at which Indian and European scholars were able to discover new publications. At the same time in various rooms of the University building the panels started their discussions and sessions continued until 23 August. Evenings were free but the organizing committee also arranged cultural outings and programmes. On Thursday there was a banquet at the Humanity Campus of the University. The ambassadors of India and Pakistan delivered their speeches and welcomed the initiative of the organizing committee in holding this conference and hoped that new scholarly findings will help the understanding of the cultures and promote the economic development of the South Asian countries.

#### New World Order

The 14th ECMSAS was a unique occasion because in the last 28 years this institution has moved from being merely a group of historians to being a group of Indianists interested in all the possible issues of South Asian culture and society. The five decades of South Asian freedom have generated tremendous change, a process in which tradition and modernity have become two sides of the same coin. They have become a highly desirable asset for the development of South Asia as a region in a new World Order. Europe cannot afford to ignore the identity of South Asian society. The institution of the European conference has become an ongoing platform which not only encourages South Asian research but also promotes new waves of young scholars. The South Asian diaspora in European countries and its integration into European way of life has enriched European culture tremendously by its contribution in various fields.

#### Report



After a period of almost three decades, the institution of the European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies organized its 14th Conference in Copenhagen, the very city where the first Conference was held in the 1970s. Since the organization of the gatherings is becoming a very expensive affair, the four-day conference was sponsored by a number of institutions, such as, the University of Copenhagen in collaboration with Nordic Institute of Asian Studies (NIAS) and Lund University (Sweden), and symbolically the European Science Foundation.

#### Panels and sessions

The panel on 'South Asian Languages: syntactic structures and meanings' discussed Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, and other languages with their morphological, lexical, pragmatic and syntactic components (Convenors: Nespital & Montaut). On that devoted to 'South Asian Literatures: text and Interpretation' not only were the works of Indian writers analysed and discussed but in certain cases the visualizing forms of 'films' were also compared (convenors: Damsteegt & Dalmia). The panel on the case study 'Bengal Sensibility' looked at the historical link between 19th and 20th century in an integrated approach in the fields of literature, language, history, religion art, music, film, and society and came to a conclusion that the new regional Bengali sensibility is neither Western nor traditionally Indian (Convenors: Radice & Bhattacharya).

Turning to religions in South Asia the panel on 'Rituals: tradition or invention?' compared the findings of

the existing popular and classical forms and looked at the new forms of rituals in various contexts (convenors: Assyag & Fuller). The panel on 'Muslim Concepts of Person, Sainthood and Power in South Asia' compared the findings of the Muslim community in India and Pakistan and looked at the Islamic notion of ideal persons as saints who have been legitimizing the localized social orders religiously and reinforcing a moral system (convenors: Basu & Werth). Since modernity is also connected with Christianity another panel discussed 'Indian Christianity: changing historical perspectives' and focused on cultural interactions with Hindu/Muslim environments on one hand and on the religious legacies of various Christian communities on the other hand (Convenors: Oddie & Frykenberg).

Facing the conundrum of new religious sects, the modernization and reinterpretation of South Asian religions was discussed in the panel on 'New Religious Movements in South Asia'. What were the motives which burst spontaneously into the new forms with new interpretations of the religion in 19th century. These movements continually developed new forms. At times certain movements became the synthesis between east and west and on other occasions certain sects differentiated their forms with new interpretations (Convenors: Copley & Rustau). The processes of globalization and regionalization were considered in the 'Bengali Renaissance' panel. The deviation from the tradition and the emergence of new forms as the new levels of 'modernization', 'Europeanization' or 'Westernization' have been used to indicate the process of renaissance (Serebriany & Smith).

There were also two panels on which 'Performing Arts' (Convenor: Carpen) and 'Crafty Debates: historical and contemporary issues relating to art and craft in South Asia' (Convenors: Tarlo & Bundegaard) were discussed.

South Asia was also examined as a unit of a growing modern region. The discussions on issues such as the 'Liberization of the South Asian Economy' (convenors: Cassen & Joshi), 'Rural development' (Convenors:



Webster & Lerche), 'Rice Productions and social structure in South Asia' (convenors: Hjele & Bugge), 'Environment and social Change in South Asia' (Convenor: Jeffery), 'The Role of Water in Structuring Perceptions in South Asia' (Convenors: Hansson & Skyhawk), and 'Urban Custom and Practices' (convenor: Smith) became a voice of the new economic order.

At the political level the political and structural analysis of the Conflicts were discussed.

The panel on 'Conflict Perceptions and Conflict Resolution in South Asia- Theory and Politics' (convenor Wiedemann) discussed the complexity of interrelations between domestic (regional and ethnic) conflicts and foreign policy in the framework of various layers of religion, political parties, and regional demands. In 'Legitimacy and Conflict in South Asia' session (Convenors: Mitra & Bueno de Mesquita) the factor of governance in relation to the legitimacy and the cause of conflicts were considered as three main objectives. The conflict between state and centre was talked about in the panel on 'Religious Symbolism and Political Identities in South Asia' (convenors: Hansen & Jaffrelot). For instance, the changing and competing constructions of 'Hindus', 'Muslims', and 'Sikhs' by the use of the religious symbols in political realm have emerged as political identities. In another panel on 'Partition of Punjab and Bengal' (Convenors: Singh & Talbot) the consequences of this tragedy were seen in the context of political, economic, socio-demographic, and cultural factors. When discussing global human welfare, the panel on 'Human Rights: European, Asian and Universal' (convenor: Madsen) compared the European yardstick of the human rights exploitation with that prevailing in South Asian countries. Attempts were made to develop a regional structure for the monitoring and implementation of human rights suited to the local circumstances as an alternative to the present system.

Once again village studies became a cynosure. A panel on 'The Construct of the South Asian Village' analysed the village structure from earlier sources such as inscriptions, epigraphy, and textual accounts (Convenors: Hatti & Heiman). A new interpretation of structural analysis was also added (Marriot). An analysis of historical network in relation to communities, castes, religions, and localities was pursued in the panel on 'South Asian Merchants, Past and Present' (Convenor Markovits). The

TO BE CONTINUED

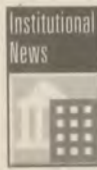






BOMBAY, INDIA

# Sociology at the University of Bombay



The first chair in sociology in the Asian continent was set up in Tokyo University in 1883. The University of Bombay has the honour to have the second oldest Department of Sociology in Asia and the oldest in India. In 1919, Professor Sir Patrick Geddes (1854-1932) was appointed the first Head of the Department.

By A.R. MOMIN

Patrick was an eminent British sociologist and town planner. He was a polymath and a visionary in the Renaissance tradition. Already far ahead of his time, he held the view that all living things, including man, should be seen in relation to their environment.

Professor Geddes was succeeded by Professor G.S. Ghurye (1893-1983). After an initial training in Sanskrit

and Indology in the Department of Sociology at Bombay University, Ghurye worked on his PhD with W.H.R. Rivers and A.C. Haddon in London and Cambridge respectively. On his return to Bombay in 1924, he was appointed Head of the Department of Sociology. After a long and distinguished career in the University, Ghurye retired in 1959.

Ghurye's attempt to synthesize the Indological and anthropological perspectives constitutes his most important contribution to the Department. He made a sustained effort to move away from the colonial legacy in order to focus on the general issues and problems of Indian society. Ghurye wrote over 30 books and manuscripts covering the whole spectrum of sociology. In 1952, he established the Indian Sociological Society and launched its journal *Sociological Bulletin*.

The eminent scholars who succeeded Ghurye as Head of the Department are, in chronological order:

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### Pioneering Work

The Department of Sociology in Bombay has broken new ground in the field of sociology and cultural/social anthropology in India. It has undertaken an ambitious project, independently and without any official support, in which the vast and varied ethnographic landscape of India is mapped through systematic field studies. It has trained a large number of talented South Asian students who, in turn, advanced to the frontiers of sociological and anthropological research. The Department also initiated a number of interdisciplinary studies relating to the various dimensions of Indian society long before interdisciplinary research became fashionable in academia.

During the last 75 years, more than 200 PhD, MPhil, and MA dissertations have been completed in the Department. These dissertations relate to a very wide variety of themes. They are based on field studies as well as on historical and literary sources.

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Since early times, the sociological and anthropological approaches are well integrated in the Department, which is reflected in the composition of the teaching faculty, research orientations and the teaching programme. A fruitful integration of sociology and cultural/social anthropology, an eclectic and inter-disciplinary orientation and a blend of the macro and micro perspectives comprise the strengths of the Department.

### 75th Anniversary

In celebration of its 75th anniversary, the Department organized a seminar which symbolized and reaffirmed the Department's commitment to the pursuit of socially relevant scholarship. This international seminar was entitled 'Cultural Pluralism, Ethnicity and Nation-Building in South Asia' and was held December 27-29, 1995. Nowadays, the world has become aware of the importance of culture and cultural pluralism in modern nation-states. In most multi-ethnic societies the issues of pluralism and multiculturalism are invariably linked with the issue of national identity. Plural and multi-ethnic societies (such as India) are increasingly faced with tensions and conflicts between the national identity and the regional and local identities. This complicates the process of nation-building within a democratic framework. The seminar sought to focus on these vexed issues in South Asia within the post-colonial context.

An array of distinguished scholars from India, the USA, the UK, the Netherlands, Australia and Nepal participated in the seminar. The papers presented at the seminar will be published in one volume entitled 'Pluralism, Ethnicity and Nationalism in South Asia'.

A.R. MOMIN

is Professor and Head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Bombay, Kalina, Bombay 400 098, India.

Short

NEWS



### THE JOURNAL OF NEPALESE STUDIES

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## Integration, cultural complexity and revivalism in Mauritius

Forum



Mauritius gained its independence from Britain in 1968. This marked the transfer of political power to the Indians, in particular the Hindus. The national economy, predominantly a plantation economy until the mid-1970s, has undergone a rapid transformation towards greater diversification, with the increasing importance of light manufacturing industries (i.e. textile factories) and tourism. Economic growth resulted in low unemployment (2.5 %) and a higher standard of living. Not only did Mauritius establish a stable and democratic political system, it represents a successful case of a cultural policy to accommodate multiple traditions while containing ethnic conflict.

By ODDVAR HOLLOP

My research among Indians in Mauritius has dealt with what factors can explain the transformation from caste identity to ethnic identity among the Hindus and the fragmentation of the Indians into discrete identities. This transformation in Indian ethnic identity and changing concepts of Indianness has to be understood in terms of the historical and socio-political developments in the island. The deconstruction and reconstruction of social identities has been shaped by external influences related to economic development and modernization (processes of Kreolization) and the interaction with

members of other ethnic categories. But it is also a result of internal discourses and religious reforms among the Hindus, articulated through their socio-religious associations.

The parcelling out of large sugar estates, the *grand morcellement* process (1880-1920), enabled many Indians to change their status from wage-earning labourers (coolies) living in estate camps, to independent smallholders living in villages. Land acquisition by Hindus and Muslims was an important means of social mobility and it created an Indian middle class who invested their wealth in their childrens' education.

The historical circumstances of the plantation economy, colonialism, slavery, and the indenture sys-

tem which brought successive waves of immigrants to the island, made Mauritius a multi-ethnic society that incorporated European, African, and Asian cultural traits. Its heterogeneous population consists of five ethnic categories which correspond to popular taxonomies: Indians (Hindu communities); Muslims; Creoles; Franco-Mauritians (whites); and Chinese. Although the Indians constitute the majority of the population they form a far from homogeneous category because they are subdivided into several socio-cultural groups which claim a separate identity. The most numerous ethnic category is the Bhojpuri-speaking Hindus (about 40%) who form the majority in the rural areas. They are identified by the Hindi dialect - Bhojpuri, share the same food habits, religious practices and rituals, and are the descendants of indentured labourers from north India. Hindu (*Indien* in Kreol) in the Mauritian context does not denote religious affiliation (i.e. Hinduism), it refers instead exclusively to an ethno-linguistic group, the Bhojpuri-speaking Hindus. Muslims (17%), who originate from the same districts of eastern Uttar Pradesh and

western Bihar in north India as the Hindus, were previously classified as Indo-Mauritians. But with increasing politicization of ethnicity in the early 1960s, Islamic revivalism, and political opposition among Muslims, they have claimed a separate identity based on Islam and Urdu. Muslims tried to redefine their history by de-emphasizing their Indian origin, indenture background, and Indian cultural heritage. It was a conscious effort to distinguish themselves from the politically dominant Hindus, whose power and control over state resources they feared. Most Muslims speak Kreol and Urdu has hardly any practical significance, other than as a symbol of Muslim identity. Although the Muslims may appear to be a homogeneous and united social group to non-Muslims, they are internally divided according to sectarian affiliation and socio-economic status (the Kutch Memons and Surtee merchants versus the Muslims of indenture background - Calcuttea). There is a distinction between the small Ahmadiyya sect and the majority of Sunni Muslims, and among the latter there are internal discourses over religious authority and interpretations of Koran between those following Sunna Jamaat and Tablighi Jamaat. However, sectarian and socio-economic differences among the Muslims are surpassed by their minority situation, political marginalization, and the Islamic orthodoxy which unites them. The Hindu minorities such as the Tamils (7%), Telugus (3%), and Marathis (2%) claim a distinct cultural identity of their own. Supported by political opposition or alliance and cultu-

ral revivalism they try to distinguish themselves from the numerous and politically dominant Hindus. Although entirely Kreol speaking, the ancestral languages (Tamil, Telugu, Marathi) of the Hindu minorities still have important symbolic meanings linked to cultural identity and a shared past. Therefore, religious affiliation, rituals, kinship bonds, and ancestral origin have become more important for the construction of ethnic identity than language among the minorities who no longer speak the language of their forefathers. All these minorities have formed separate socio-religious associations who act as important interest groups in politics, bargaining for benefits for members of their community.

### Greater Equality among the Hindus

The Hindu reformist movement (Arya Samaj) was important in transforming Hindu religiosity and ethnic identity among Indians. It also promoted education, economic, social and political awareness among Indians in Mauritius. By means of religious discourses, the Arya Samaj contested the hegemonic position and religious authority of the high castes (Brahmin/Babujee). Arya Samaj advocated greater equality, achieved status, and opposed caste divisions and rights to priesthood based on birth-ascribed status. It was successful in shaping egalitarian attitudes and creating greater homogeneity among the Hindus. But it was also a cultural revivalist movement which promoted a pride in the Hindi language and their cultural heritage.

The Bhojpuri-speaking Hindus are divided into four caste populations or categories:

**BRAHMIN/BABUJEE**

= high caste (*grand nasyon*)

**VAISH** (*Ahir, Kurmi, Koiri etc.*)

= middle castes

**RAJPUT** (*Dusadh*)

= low caste (*ti nasyon*)

**RAVIVED** (*Chamar*)

= low caste (*ti nasyon*)

These caste populations do not represent strict endogamous units in any sense as they are interconnected by marriage and kinship that often cut across caste lines. Moreover, caste differences are no longer accompanied by an ideology based on inequality, hierarchy, the purity and impurity opposition, and birth-ascribed status, and they do not regulate intercaste relationships. The Hindus have become more homogenized, modern, and universalistic, and there is hardly anything (e.g. occupation, rituals, or caste customs) that distinguishes members of the different caste populations from each other. But by organizing themselves into different socio-religious associations (e.g. Vaish Mukthi Sangh, Gahlot Rajput Maha Sabha, Arya Ravived Pracharini Sabha) these caste populations have emerged as important interest groups bargaining for their share of state resources (particularly government jobs) which are distributed through political patronage.

**Diversity in Unity**

Indians came to live in social environments surrounded by members of other ethnic communities, which made them participate in other traditions while retaining parts of their own cultural heritage. With the growth in secondary education, urbanization, industrialization, economic progress, mass media, and encounters with modernity, Indians were influenced by processes of acculturation, emulation, and socio-cultural change, the products of interaction and integration with the society at large and forces of globalization. The term creolization has been adopted to describe processes of change related to modernization and the creation of new cultural forms, a mixing of various elements from different cultural traditions (Hannerz 1992). However, the tendencies towards cultural revivalism that take place seem to counteract processes of creolization and this has certain consequences for the construction of identity and group boundaries. Cultural revivalism and reproduction among Indians in Mauritius not only created a sharper distinction between Hindus and Muslims, but also a north/south Indian opposition in which Marathis were associated with and considered culturally closer to the Hindus, compared to the Tamils and Telugus. But cultural revivalism (e.g. the revival of Oriental languages) also stressed the distinctiveness of each ethnic category, making it a strategy to minimize inter-group similarities and maxi-

mize cultural differences. These processes have to be understood in relation to the specific political context (the politicization of ethnicity), competition for power and access to state patronage, and the fear of the consequences of the political dominance of the Hindus.

The objectives of the Hindu-dominated governments in Mauritius have been to encourage and maintain a harmonious multi-cultural and multi-religious society in peaceful co-existence. They are realized by different compromises such as the promotion of Oriental languages, declaring major religious festivals public holidays, ensuring fair play in the broadcasting policy, state subsidies to religious associations etc., in order to satisfy the demands of different ethnic categories and respect the right to be different. At another level, one is concerned with how to create a common national identity (a Mauritianness that supersedes communal loyalties). English was chosen as the official language, another colonial symbol representing a viable compromise. In the census after 1982 only two categories of people are recognized, namely: Mauritians and non-Mauritians. Furthermore, a potent factor which creates integration is the use of Mauritian Kreol, participation in a shared (Westernized) educational system, the capitalist economy (labour market and consumerism), and a shared political culture acknowledging the same rules of the game.

Institutional politics, including voting pattern (bloc voting), the internal organization of parties and political organizations (e.g. trade unions) has been drawn up along ethnic lines. There is a relatively close correlation between political affiliation and ethnic belonging. Since no single ethnic category constitutes a majority, the political parties are forced to pursue strategies by creating compromises and tactical alliances. The ethnic composition (based on religious affiliation, ethnic and caste belonging) of the electorate is taken into consideration by all political parties when they decide which candidate that is going to contest the seat.

As a result, politicization of ethnicity seems to maximize cultural differences and oppose the attempts at nation-building incorporating all in a wider, embracing national identity, a common Mauritianness. However, both processes of cultural integration and separation are at work simultaneously, depending on different contexts, levels and situations. It is these apparently contradictory tendencies of homogenization in the spirit of Mauritian nationhood and cultural revivalism (communalism) that make multi-ethnic Mauritius so interesting and complex. Ethnic identity will still be important to most Mauritians in many contexts of social life, though the cultural content and group boundaries will undergo changes. ■

**DR. ODDVAR HOLLUP**

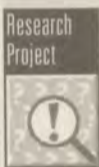
is a researcher at Nordland Research Institute, Bodø, Norway. He was a senior visiting fellow at the IIAS during March 1996. E-mail: oddvar.hollup@hibo.no



**RAMEDU BODUBEE**  
near a boat brought to land for repair.

Union Territory of Lakshadweep

## The Social Structure of Maliku (Minicoy)



Research Project

'All the islands in Lakshadweep are the same, only Minicoy is totally different', I very often read when I was working on my MA thesis on the *Matrilineal Muslim Societies in Southwest India and Lakshadweep*, and my curiosity about that island was roused. Through the scant literature available I learned that culturally Minicoy forms a part of the Maldives. Since the people themselves call their island Maliku, I will also use this term. The language spoken in Maliku, a dialect of Maldivian Dhivehi, is called 'Mahl' by outsiders, a fact which the islanders find quite amusing. 'Mahl' is based on a phonetic misunderstanding, as I was told by Furakad Musa Befanu: 'During his stay on Maliku, a British officer asked somebody for the name of the language. The islander answered: 'Mahaldibu bas (lit. language of the Maldives.)', and the officer noted down 'mahl'.'

■ By ELLEN KATTNER

Taking heed of its geographical isolation I had the impression that in Maliku one could find the Maldivian culture in a traditional form, above all not influenced by tourism. An idea - as I learned right from the beginning of my stay there - only a tyro, as I was, could conceive of. With the support of the Government of India and the German Academic Exchange Service - to both of whom I wish to express my gratitude - I was able to conduct anthropological field research in Maliku from November, 1990 to November, 1991. Basing my work on the data collected during this period, I am now writing a Ph.D. thesis on the social structure of Maliku.

The purpose of this article is to give a short introduction about Maliku and to clarify some of the confusion concerning the status groups,

the village organisation and the nomenclature which have been published so far. The publications available are mostly travel accounts, reports, and articles written by British officers and, after 1956, by Indian officials. Clarence Maloney also writes about Maliku in his monograph *People of the Maldivian Islands* (Bombay, 1980), but he has never been there and has therefore inadvertently taken over many of the errors. The basic work on Maliku so far has been the manual *A Short Account of the Laccadive Islands and Minicoy* written by the British officer R. H. Ellis (Madras, 1924). It has exercised an influence on both the islanders and the authors who wrote about Maliku. At the beginning of my stay almost all my questions were answered either with quotations from that book or with the advice to read it myself. This also appears to have been the fate which befell most of the other authors.

**History**

Little is known about the history of Maliku. In the *tarikh*, the chronicle of the Maldivian sultans, we are informed that as early as AD 1500 Maliku was detached from their rule, then falling under the Ali Rajas of Cannanore. Neither a reason nor an exact date are given for this change. Officially it remained under the Rajas' rule until, with the Laccadive islands, it became a dominion of the British Empire in 1905. In 1956, a referendum was held in Maliku and the people decided to join the Indian Union. Since then, Maliku has been a part of the Union Territory, first called 'Laccadive, Aminidivi and Minicoy', now 'U.T. of Lakshadweep'. It is a restricted area, meaning that without a special permission even Indian nationals cannot enter the island. The indigenous people are quite happy about this restriction, since they fear that their island would otherwise be overrun by outsiders. However, they are concerned about the fact that their relatives from the Maldives are not allowed to visit them. Although politically Maliku has been separate from the Maldives for a long time, until 1956 the people maintained intensive trade and marriage contacts with these islands. Since their decision to join the Indian Union, the frequent trade relations between Maldivian islands and Maliku were defined as smuggling by Indian author-

TO BE CONTINUED

ities and to moor or to embark on those ships was prohibited. This led to disturbances on the island, which the people still vividly remember. Many people were arrested and the seamen had difficulties in obtaining their passports, which they needed for working on foreign ships.

### Seafaring

Maliku, the southernmost island of the U.T. of Lakshadweep, is situated at 8° 7' North latitude and 73° 19' East longitude between the Eighth and Nine Degree Channel. The land area is 4.8 km<sup>2</sup>, the population was 8313 according to the Census of India 1991. Maliku has a very old seafaring tradition. Archaeological research there would surely lead to interesting results. Old men from Funhilol, for example, showed me the *rai hilai* (lit. red stone) in the compound of the Jumah Mosque. Muräduganduar Ali Befanu, a very learned and fascinating island scholar, identified it as a stone anchor looking very similar to one discovered near Mandapam, dating to the 4th century BC.

The ships, *odi*, used for the trading expeditions were constructed on Maliku itself. Boats that are still built on the island fascinate because of the precision, elaboration and the quality of their construction. Today, there is only one *odi* left, which is engaged in the trade with the Kerala coast, but people still remember that until the 1940s there was a whole fleet of sailing vessels. Maliku seamen then had small colonies in Burma, near Rangoon, and on the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Nowadays, the men prefer to work on cargo ships owned by national and international shipping companies. Their 'Mincoy Seamen's Association' shifted from Calcutta to Bombay, where they teach the young men and supply employment. Their contracts last between six months and two years and afterwards they return home for some time. Maliku seamen are familiar with the whole world and their reputation among seafarers is excellent. Whenever a seaman met me the first time and found out that I was from Germany, the usual question was: 'From Germany? Then you must know Hamburg, Brake, Kiel, Kielkanal, Bremerhafen, Rostock!'

### Status groups

'Kamborani and Kohoratukamana, two princesses from the Maldives, came to Maliku. When they arrived, the *tivaru*, who had been living there before, left the island for Sri Lanka. Kamborani had children and became the ancestress of the *bodui*; Kohoratukamana, who died without children, the ancestress of the *niami*. The offspring of the servants who accompanied the princesses are the *medukembi* and the *raveri*. This is the only oral tradition people narrate about their coming to Maliku and the origin of the four status groups. There is another tradition, the written songs called *tävaru*. *Tävaru* are the Maliku version of the Maldivian *rävaru*. They cover a large field of topics and are composed in a special lan-



Repairing groyne at KUDEHI ATIRI

guage, which, lack of time prevented me from learning.

*Bodui*, *niami*, *medukembi*, and *raveri* are the terms used by the *nilavanka*, the messenger of the *rahuweri* (lit. ruler of the country), to call the whole island to a *havaru*, a decision-making meeting. *Bodui* connotes the highest of the four status groups. They are the owners of the private land and the ships. The *niami* are the ships' captains, the *medukembi* their crew. The *raveri* are responsible for the work on the island, especially for the harvesting of the coconuts, jaggery, and the production of coconut sugar. *Raveri* are not toddy-tappers, as some authors write. Toddy is not produced on Maliku at all. The people are Muslims and any kind of alcohol is strictly prohibited on the island.

The respective status group of a person can be deduced from his or her name: names are composed of the housename, the personal name, and the title of the status group. Besides this, their title depends on the relative age of the speaker. A female *bodui* is addressed as *tadufanu* (eE) or *manika* (yE), a male *befanu* (eE) or *manikfan* (yE). A female *niami* is referred to as *datifanu* (eE) or *koifu* (yE), a male *takrifan* (eE) or *koifu* (yE), a female *medukembi* *bibi* (eE) or *koifu*, a male *takuru* (eE) or *koifu* (yE). *Raveri* do not have titles, they are called by their personal names.

In the literature extant on Maliku there is a lot of confusion concerning the terms for the status groups and the concomitant titles. Frequently, the titles are given as terms for the status groups.

### Village and Island Organization

The southern part of the island, called *tundi*, it is generally assumed, was given to all the Maliku people by the sultan of the Maldives. It remained communal property until it was divided among them in the 1970s. The northern part of Maliku, called *kodi*, is the private property of two *bodui* houses, a grant from the sultan of the Maldives for special services, according to the people. The inhabited area is on the lagoon side, approximately in the middle of the island. Until the disturbances after joining the Indian Union changed conditions, there were nine central houses for women, the *varhange* (lit.

building where coir is twisted), and nine for men, the *avazhoge*. These central houses had names and, usually, one *varhange* and one *avazhoge* together formed an *ava*, a village, according to the concept of the islanders. Contrary to the opinions of all the earlier authors, especially Ellis and Maloney, who insist that the people in Maliku use the term *atiri* for their village and not *ava*, the islanders definitely use the term *ava* and only this. By *atiri* they are simply denoting the lagoon side of the island. The names of the pairs were: Bada-men - Koluvarhange-women, Aumag-men - Diguvarhange-women, Boduathiri-men - Oikolu-women, Ramedu-men - Hanimagu-women, Sedivalu-men - Hikandivarhange-women, Aloodi-men - Ondu-women,

Funhilol-men - Ramavarhange-women, Kudahi-men - Bimbiawawomen, Palessery-men - Boduvarhange-women. Women of the four status groups are associated with a *varhange* and men with an *avazhoge*. *Medukembi* and *raveri* support the village-houses with their labour, *bodui* and *niami* with advice, money, and natural products. *Bodui* can support more houses, the other status groups are limited to only one. *Raveri* and *medukembi* have separate houses. Men and women of each respective village select their leaders. Men select the *bodukaka* (lit. big brother) and his two assistants, women the *bodudata* (lit. big sister) and her one assistant. Their main duties are the organization of the collective work and the village finances.

As a consequence of the disturbances of 1960, the people destroyed most of the *varhange*. Since that time the women have shared the *avazhoge* with the men. A tenth *avazhoge*, without a corresponding *varhange* was also founded: *Kendypatty*. Before these events, being excluded from an *ava* was the worst punishment for a house, apart from being exiled from the island. Nowadays, people can dissociate themselves without suffering negative consequences.

Until 1960, all the villages selected an additional authority, the *rahobodukaka* (lit. the country's big brother), who was in charge of the *rahuge* (lit. house of the country). He and the *rahuweri* (lit. ruler of the country), a *bodui* selected by the *bodui* and *niami*, were responsible for all the affairs concerning the whole island and the access to the southern part for collecting firewood and coconuts.

Nowadays, an increasing number of people tend to view land as private property, but the majority still follows the traditional village system of collective work.

### Houses

Most of the houses in Maliku are surrounded by either stone walls or coconut frond fences. Through a gate a visitor enters a yard in front of the house. The common traditional house in Maliku consists of two rooms and a separate building for the kitchen. Each room opens on to a veranda. One room is reserved for the family members, neighbours and friends. Strangers, male affines, or respected visitors are not allowed to enter that room. Only this room has a back-door.

Houses in Maliku are the property of the female line. Men, throughout their lives, have the right of a 'kot' in their mother's house. Members of the house are the siblings and the children of the sisters. All the members carry the same house name throughout their lives. Persons with the same house name are prohibited from marrying one another. At the outset, marriage is a visiting marriage. Ideally, husbands come after dinner and leave their wives' house before breakfast. During the daytime, they come for tea in the afternoon. They take the rest of their meals in their mother's house. As a couple grows older a husband spends more and more time in his wife's house until finally the daily rhythm is reversed: he takes his meals in his wife's house and visits his mother's for tea in the afternoon. But, at least once a day he has to visit his house, even if his mother is no longer alive. Discontinuing visits to a house is a definite sign of being *ruli* (lit. angry), that means breaking a relationship.

Throughout a person's lifetime an exchange of work, natural products, and visits goes on between affinally related houses. On the morning after the marriage the wife has to visit her husband's mother's house, which has become her *usgothi* (lit. high house). The mother-in-law is obliged to present her with a gold ornament and will tell her the names of more *usgothi*. The young wife has to visit all of them and they, too, will give her gold jewellery. From that visit onwards she has to go to these houses every day, sweep the floor and fill the respective vessels with drinking water until she has children old enough to do the work for her or until the women of the house grant her permission to stop. She has to go there whenever they call her for additional work, for instance at a marriage, a birth cele-

bration, or a circumcision. The husband's mother-in-law will tell him the names of houses, which will be his *fahaverigothi*. The term implies that, whenever a death occurs in such a house, he has to visit it and to join the funeral procession. From time to time he has to visit these houses, he must inform them when he is going abroad, and, when he returns he has to bring presents like cloth, fresh fruit, or toilet articles.

Nowadays, there is a new tendency, men have begun to go to court and, with the help of the Islamic law, to enforce the division of the matrilineal property, especially the houses.

### Age-groups

Parallel to the very strict village organization, there is an age-group system among the *medukembi* and *raveri* (again *niami* can take part if they want) called *vili*. The members of a *vili* meet in a private house, the *vili-avange*, and take their name from that house. So the female *vili* I joined had the name *Nuge boduvili*. A *vili* needs at least eight members. In small villages this can lead to quite big age differences between its members. The members select a leader, who is also called *bodudata* or *bodukaka*. Each female *vili* is associated with at least one male *vili*. The male *vili* presents gifts, bananas and betel, to the female *vili* and dances for them. In response the female *vili* organizes a *vili* party for the male, i.e. the women invite the men for a dinner in the female *vili*'s *vili-avange*. But these are the special occasions. In everyday life, *vili* meet in the evenings, sing, joke, and gossip. Before the disturbances in the 1960s, the male *vili* held dancing and singing competitions in the streets in the evenings, but that stopped, as did the *tävaru* composing contests. Work in the village has priority, but whenever there is none, the *vili* meet.

### Changes

As already indicated above, there have been considerable changes in the island. In the 1940s, Wahabism was introduced to Maliku through Hussein Didi, an exile from the Maldives. Didi gained some influence and as a consequence Bada, a village of which the bulk of the population are *raveri*, stopped taking part in the all-island activities. Didi had to leave Maliku, but Bada people remained Wahabi.

After joining the Indian Union, government officials came to Maliku and, for the first time, started to live there permanently. As the islanders preferred to remain seafarers, the administration was taken over by people from Kerala and the other islands of the Union Territory. The government supplied them with houses which were built on the communal property land in the southern part, the land belonging to the villages. As a consequence, the people successfully demanded the division of that communal land among the islanders. With the influx of the outsiders, party politics started to assume importance. Slowly, the outside influences have led to a splitting up of the island community into those who want to abandon the traditional system and those who want to go on as before. ■



Inauguration of the new BODUATIRI AWAZHOGE

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By RENS HERINGA

In the early nineteenth century, Javanese batik was one of the first Southeast Asian textiles to arouse both mercantile and scholarly interest among Europeans (see Raffles' History of Java, 1815). Java, as the administrative centre of the Netherlands East Indies, was easily accessible to travellers and was visited as a matter of course by all Dutch officials. Batik, the main Javanese textile, is thus most prominently represented in European textile collections. Batik is also well-documented in comparison to textiles from other areas. Nineteenth-century Dutch colonial reports contain scattered information on the production methods used in different areas. One particularly rich source are the sample books and correspondence of the European textile factories involved in the huge production of batik imitations for export to the Archipelago for more than a century. A drawback for anthropological and art historical research is the primarily economic slant of this wealth of data.

Studies which deliberately considered the cultural aspects of batik were practically non-existent until the early twentieth century, when two major publications appeared which set the tone for the greater part of our century (Rouffaer and Juynboll 1914; Jasper and Pirngadie 1916). Although still remaining important sources of reference, the emphasis in both these studies on batik made by and for the elite of the Central Javanese principalities has produced a misrepresentation of the different styles of batik made and worn by commoners, particularly on the north coast of Java. Although some of these commoner styles most probably preceded the court styles, they are presented as a derivative, inferior to the so-called 'batik art' (batikkunst) of the elite, or as a commercial product of 'native craft' (*inlandsche nijverheid*). The existence of textiles made by common people for their personal needs was ignored. This division not only determined the grouping of batik in early museum catalogues, but has also continued to separate the theoretical approach to the two styles in more recent studies (see Swallow 1987). A second misconception, Rouffaer's conclusion on the Indian origin of the technique, also appears hard to dispel, although hypotheses regarding the origin of the technique and motifs of batik in the Archipelago have been a subject of discussion among scholars of various backgrounds ever since.

#### Recent Developments 1970-1995

The predilection for batik studies in Indonesia and the Netherlands may to a certain extent be explained

by the textile's special position in both countries. Since the mid 1960s, batik from Java, for centuries part of traditional costume in many areas of the Archipelago - in its modernized central Javanese version - has occupied a particularly focal position as official 'national dress'. The first Indonesian textile publication after Independence also reflects this prominence (Tirtaamidjaja et al. 1966). In the Netherlands, apart from being a collector's item and museum object, north-coast style batik in particular remains part of the cultural heritage of the diverse groups of ex-residents of the Archipelago who came to settle in the Netherlands after Indonesian Independence.

by Veldhuisen-Djajasoebata (1973). Further art historical as well as structural-anthropological approaches linked a range of court patterns for ceremonial use to concepts of social and cosmic order (Solyom & Solyom and Veldhuisen-Djajasoebata in Gittinger 1980). One consideration of batik as part of costume throughout Java also touched upon colour symbolism and its classificatory aspects in Central Javanese textiles (Veldhuisen-Djajasoebata 1984). Examples from private collections belonging to the Mangkunegara court of Surakarta and the Yogyakarta sultanate have been published in two catalogues produced for exhibitions organized by the Society of Friends of the Jakarta

Textile Museum (Wastraprema 1980-1990). The manipulation of symbolic meanings of Central Javanese court batik as a status code was the subject of an Australian analysis (Boow 1988).

#### Regional batik styles

Regional styles not related to a court setting finally caught scholarly attention in the early 1980s, starting with the brightly coloured batiks from the north coast, which are often referred to as batik *Belanda*. The variety of fashions developing during the heyday of their production, and the socio-economic circumstances of its rise and fall between 1840 and 1940 were considered in detail. The life histories of its main proponents, primarily women of Dutch-Indonesian descent, are partially the fruit of data gathered in the Netherlands (Raadt-Apell 1980; H.C.Veldhuisen 1980; 1983/84; 1992). Important Indonesian contributions focused on the regional batik styles from Cirebon and Indramayu, their historical background and cultural setting (Abdurachman 1982; 1987). All of these studies were based mainly on cloths from private

only the most basic English text, adding little for a non-specialist public (Yoshimoto 1988-1989; Eiko A.Kusuma 1987-1988).

Recent research has considered batik to be part of a set of mutually connected cultural elements. The complementary function of two types of Javanese textiles, batik and the striped woven Javanese textile *lurik*, was the subject of an initial comparative study (Geirnaert 1981). An overview of batik styles worn by a specific gender, ethnic, or regional group made an attempt to show the common classificatory model underlying batik throughout Java. It also took the enquiry beyond Java by introducing styles exported to Sumatra (Geirnaert and Heringa 1988). Research on village batik from the area of Tuban (north-east coast of Java) dispelled the notion that cloth made for personal use by commoners is void of symbolic meaning; the analysis postulates a complex symbolic relationship between aspects of technique, form, and function, between the textile cycle and the agricultural cycle, and between batik and other textile types made in the region as markers of gender, age, social, residential, and historical position in village society (i.a. Heringa 1993; 1994).

Recent publications include more examples of Javanese batik exported to Sumatra and also those sent to Singaporean and Thai markets (Lee 1991), as well as information on batik production in Malaysia (Van Roojen 1993). In the most recent, luxuriously illustrated Indonesian batik study, Iwan Tirta, well-known batik expert and fashion designer, presents his personal choice from many private Indonesian collections - or should I say personal wardrobes? - as a wayang performance, a 'play of light and shades' (Tirta 1996). Batik from Jambi, on the east coast of Sumatra, is the subject of a current exhibition 'Scattered Flowers' organized at the Red House Museum in Christchurch, Dorset, by Fiona Kerlough, who is preparing a thesis on the same subject at the University of Hull. A catalogue to an exhibition: *The Enchanted Fabric, Batik from the North Coast of Java* at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art will appear in October. Its themes are those among the north coast mestizo population who produced the changing batik styles and those who expressed the symbolic and socio-political implications of their position by wearing the batiks (Heringa and Veldhuisen 1996).

#### The Soul of Java

This article was prompted by the exhibition *Batik, The Soul of Java*, on view during the summer months at the Dutch Textile Museum in Tilburg, and at the Textile Museum in Jakarta at the end of this year, showing batiks from the collections of the Dutch Textile Museum, Tilburg, and the Textile Museum, Jakarta, with loans from the private collections of Mrs. Eiko Adnan Kusuma and Mrs. Puspitasari Wibisono, both in Jakarta. The project, a cooperation with the Jakarta Textile Museum, includes a film and a catalogue in Indonesian, Dutch and English. Sadly, this ambitious

## Southeast Asian Textile Studies Batik Studies



The IAS newsletter is publishing a series of five articles by Rens Heringa dealing with Southeast Asian Textile Studies.

This article is the second contribution to the series.

It offers a selection of recent art historical and anthropological publications in the main loci of batik studies, the Netherlands and Indonesia, briefly referring to other important sources.

It was an American scholar's attempt at an analysis of the symbolic meaning of the classical court pattern *semen* that gave an early impulse to new insights (Adams 1970). In the Netherlands, aristocratic patterns from the courts of Central Java and Cirebon were related to basic Javanese cultural concepts (the mountain Meru; pleasure gardens) and artistic expressions (*gamelan*, *wayang*)

Detail of a silk **SELENDANG** from the Juwana area. Quality and style: Lok Can. Collection: Mrs. Eiko A. Kusuma, Jakarta. From the exhibition: 'Batik, the Soul of Java' at the Netherlands Textile Museum, Tilburg.

collections, as were the surveys of the regional variety in colour and motif on the north coast or *pasisir* (McCabe-Elliott 1984) and Madura (Wastraprema 1985), and overviews of the different styles encountered throughout Java and in some areas in Sumatra (Djoemena 1986; 1990). A number of batik catalogues of visually high quality published in Japan include rare examples, but contain

TO BE CONTINUED



FOUR GUARDS OF THE 'KRATON' in Yogyakarta.

PHOTO: FRANS VAN AMEIJDE

and potentially promising initiative has proved a disappointment, in spite of a generous budget - subsidies from several Dutch ministries, the city of Tilburg, the city of Jakarta, and a long list of corporate sponsors. The organizers of the exhibition, under the impression that 'the story of batik is as yet completely unknown' (Catalogue:5), have refrained from making use of the abundantly available expertise. At this point a recent (1992) and more successful cooperative effort may be recalled: twin exhibitions at the Dutch Cultural Centre (Erasmushuis) and the Jakarta Textile Museum curated by Harmen Veldhuisen, accompanied by a catalogue published in Jakarta as well (Veldhuisen 1992). Even if the present undertaking had no scholarly pretensions, much of

the erroneous information in exhibition, film, and catalogue might have been avoided by an informed use of some of the sources mentioned above. The cloths were exhibited in a static manner, and, apart from the pieces from the Eiko Kusuma collection, not up to museum standards. Surprisingly, the wealth of beautiful and interesting examples available in museums and other private collections in the Netherlands and Indonesia was overlooked. The catalogue is attractively designed and illustrated with original, full-page, colour illustrations of local scenes. The colour work on the natural colours of the batiks in the catalogue entries is quite successful. It is the text which can be laid open to many points of criticism. The Dutch and English translations of the

Indonesian contributions - by well-known batik artist Iwan Tirta and the director of the Jakarta Textile Museum, Puspitasari Wibisono - are plagued by a swarm of errors, arising from an inadequate understanding of Indonesian textile terms and techniques. The upshot is that the descriptive sections leave much to be desired; *plangi*, a tie-and-dye textile, is translated as 'dyed'; *prada*, a gold-painted layer, becomes 'applique' (:6). The cold dyeing process and the removal of the wax by steeping the cloth in boiling water are not clearly distinguished (:18-20); the distinctive formats of the traditional rectangular *kain panjang* and the tubular *sarong* are confused (:27). A description of weaving near Tuban, somewhat unclear in the original text, becomes utterly meaningless in the translation (:160-162). Although, apparently, some sources have been consulted, the information is often misrepresented and a bibliography is conspicuous by its absence. In short, the catalogue abounds in errors in typography and translation, and is blighted by garbled information. Considering the current scarcity of (government) funds, the generous subsidies for this undertaking appear to have been largely wasted. ■

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is an anthropologist and free-lance curator of textiles.



'USUM' from kampung Babuyutan at Ciwedey, dressed in batik, plaiting a bamboo wall.

PHOTO: FRANS VAN AMEIJDE

EXHIBITION

Batik. *The Soul of Java*. 1 June - 1 September 1996, Nederlandsch Textiel Museum (Dutch Textile Museum), Tilburg. To be shown at the Textile Museum in Jakarta at the end of this year.

CATALOGUE

Fred W. van Oss, *Batik, The Soul of Java*. Tilburg: Dutch Textile Museum and Jakarta: Museum Tekstil. Eindhoven: Lecturis 1996, ISBN 90-70962-26-8 CIP; Text in Dutch, Indonesian and English. Colour photography: Frans van Ameijde.

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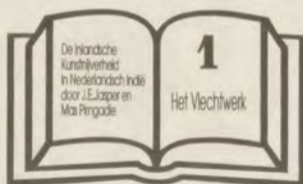
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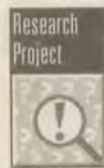
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The EDEN historical research project

# Environmental History of the Island of Sumbawa (Indonesia)



EDEN (1500-1850), a historical research project of the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology (KITLV) Leiden, is the acronym for Ecology, Demography and Economy in Nusantara. Being considered the most innovative aspect of this project, the centre of gravity has come to focus on the ecological component. Researchers in the project therefore are trying to write 'environmental histories' of various regions within Indonesia. In 1993, Bernice de Jong-Boers commenced research within the project on the region of Bali and Nusa Tenggara.

By BERNICE DE JONG-BOERS

One of the first problems I encountered was the diversity found within this range of islands. Of course, the islands do have similarities: they are all relatively small in size, and from an ecological point of view (except Bali) have less favourable means of subsistence to offer than many other Indonesian islands. The soils are relatively infertile and the climate is characterized by drought. Despite these similarities the number of differences between the islands is much higher. Each island has its own history in which specific events took place; they all had different foreign rulers, particular cash-crops, and their own specific forms of subsistence-agriculture. All these differences make the ecological history of Bali and Nusa Tenggara very complex. This is the reason why I decided to focus my attention on one island in particular: that of Sumbawa.

## Sumbawa

Sumbawa lies in the middle of the Nusa Tenggara chain. Nusa Tenggara is known as a transitional zone in Indonesia, especially with regard to its climate (the further east, the drier), and its flora and fauna (both Asian and Australian species are found, but the further east, the more the Australian species and the fewer the Asian). Sumbawa itself is therefore very much a transitional island. This not only holds true for its climate and flora and fauna, but is equally applicable to its culture. This makes the island very interesting in my eyes. Despite its intriguing character very little has yet been published about this island. This is borne out by the fact that ethnographic research has been conducted on the island only five times, astonishingly little compared to the amount of material produced on Java and Bali. Precisely because Sumbawa is a transitional island, doing research there a fairly complicated task and it is at this door that the responsibility for its neglect in research can be laid according to some authors.

From an ecological point of view the history of Sumbawa is very interesting. Traditionally its subsistence agriculture comprised both sawah and ladang cultivation. Besides agriculture, animal husbandry and horse breeding have also been important activities there for centuries. At an early date Sumbawa was already integrated into a trading network, in which its principal export products were horses, sappan wood, rice, wax, honey, and salt.

Sumbawa has a periodically dry savannah climate, which is characterized by a mean rainfall of less than 60 mm in the driest month. The average annual precipitation for Sumbawa is about 1250 mm. Under the influence of the east monsoon Sumbawa is seasonally very dry (lasting from April until November). In this period the island often looks desolated and barren.

Geomorphologically, Sumbawa is a volcanic island. Its physical landscape consists of mountains, terraces, plains, valleys, and rivers. The lower regions contain large grass plains which are punctuated by shrubs and trees; remnants of ancient forests are found here as well. The hilly uplands consist of savannah

## Volcanoes, horses and sappan wood

So far, I have investigated three themes relevant to the environmental history of Sumbawa. The first theme is the eruption of one of the Sumbawan volcanoes: Mount Tambora which erupted in April 1815. This eruption has been recorded in the World Guinness Book of Records as the biggest in modern times. The eruption had drastic consequences for the island. Two of the six realms that existed on the island before 1815 completely disappeared. Many inhabitants died, not only as a direct consequence of the eruption itself but also from the resulting famine. The surface of the land was covered with thick layers of ash, making the agricultural land unworkable. The situation was exacerbated as trade came to a complete standstill for a great number of years. Decades were to pass before the island had recovered from this blow and this dramatic event may justifiably be seen as a turning point in the (environmental) history of Sumbawa.

In the 16th century, Sumbawa was already famous for its trade in two products: horses and sappan wood, which brings us to the second and third themes.

The horses of Sumbawa were famed for their stamina and endurance. They were in demand in Java and South Sulawesi. The island of Sumbawa is suitable for horse breeding. The wide stretches of savannah plains and fallow lands make wonderful pastures and, it is an activity easily combined with ladang cultivation, which for a long time constituted the major source of livelihood of the inhabitants. The only hazard to which the animals were exposed was drought, a problem recurring all too frequently. Some people have considered drought to be a natural method of selection through which only the best and sturdiest horses survive, thus improving the quality of the breed.

Sappan trees are native to the forests of Sumbawa. Very early, the wood of this tree was a much sought-after commodity because of the valuable red dye which could be extracted from it. It is a multi-purpose plant as the wood is very hard and durable and used for constructing houses and ships. It used to be exported to neighbouring

regions, but the VOC was also interested in this wood (for their markets in Europe and Japan). As soon as they could (in 1669), the Dutch made contracts with the sultans of Sumbawa to ensure the delivery of this wood. The sultans dispatched a certain number of their male subjects to the forests in the mountains to cut the trees and carry the logs to the shore. There the ships would pick them up and transport them to Batavia. It was not long before the delivery of sappan wood showed signs of becoming very erratic. There were a number of reasons for this irregularity, of which the most important was a dearth of these trees, caused by the massive scale of the felling. Shortages of trees were to remain a recurrent problem but due to the natural vigour of the tree (it has a strong regenerative power), harvesting of sappan wood always revived again fairly quickly. This harvesting system survived for more than two centuries, and it appears that the environmen-



tal consequences of it were fairly restricted. It never led to any appreciable deforestation or erosion.

The trades in both horses and sappan wood collapsed as a consequence of the eruption of Mount Tambora. Around 1830 both trades had revived only to decline again at the turn of the century. Around that time Sumbawa's major trade products were affected by inventions taking place in far away continents. Artificial dyes were invented around 1870 and soon supplanted the natural ones. At the beginning of the 20th century motorized vehicles began to replace horsepower. Consequently, demand for sappan wood and horses declined drastically. Nowadays, both horses and sappan trees are still to be found on the island and remind the visitor of the days of economic glory of (the sultans of) Sumbawa.

## Archival research

During the spring of 1996 I did archival research in the National Archives (ANRI) of Indonesia in Jakarta, where the very important Residential Archives from the Dutch colonial period are kept. These documents contain important information at a regional level. Sumbawa was once part of the 'Residency of Celebes and Dependencies' and so the 'Arsip Makassar' was the archive I consulted the most. The material I found here dates back to the period 1750-1880. The aim of my historical research was to collect specific data referring to the (natural) environ-

ment, agriculture, and ecology of Sumbawa. Also, mindful of the fact that the general history of the island is still largely unknown, I collected more general information as well (such as political and cultural data).

My pursuit of the collection of data did not run as propitiously as I had hoped. Some of the documents relevant to Sumbawa had disappeared. Others had disintegrated almost completely and were therefore not available for consultation. From the documents I did see, it very soon became clear that most of the Dutch traders and officials did not take a real interest in Sumbawa, which was a great disappointment to me. In their reports they wrote extensively about the southern parts of Celebes and of the island of Selayar, but when turning to Sumbawa they confined themselves to a few lines. The material I found is therefore not as detailed as I had hoped. Compared to the other members of the EDEN project my 'harvest' is meagre.

Nevertheless, I did find relevant and valuable information, concerning 'ecological' data like the occurrence of epidemics (especially chicken-pox, dengue fever, and malaria), earthquakes, floods, droughts, crop failures, and the construction of irrigation systems.

The most important documents I found are five 'Memoriën van Overgave' (reports left by a retiring official for the enlightenment of his successor), which dealt exclusively with Sumbawa. These finds were made completely by accident for nothing in the Indexes indicated their existence. The oldest one dates back to the year 1769.

These 'Memoriën' contain descriptions of the six tiny realms that existed on the island before the eruption of Mount Tambora. Because two of these realms (Pekat and Tambora) were wiped off the face of the earth by this eruption and hardly anything is known about them, these 'Memoriën' are invaluable. They constitute the richest treasures of my archival research so far, and enable me to imagine what Sumbawa must have looked like around the year 1800. It is this sort of discovery which makes the sometimes rather disappointing and frustrating archival searches exciting and rewarding. ■

## The dramatic eruption of Mount Tambora in 1815 may be seen as a turning point in the environmental history of Sumbawa

and forests. Because the average annual rainfall is limited, most of the forest on Sumbawa is monsoon forest. Higher up on the mountains, where the annual average precipitation is higher than 1800 mm, rain forests can be found.

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SUMBA-EASTERN INDONESIA

# The 'Laboya Video Project'

Research Project



At the moment the Laboya Video Project is in operation on the island of Sumba, Eastern Indonesia. Its purpose is to document the annual rituals Padu and Nyale of the Laboya, producing a 90-minute ethnographic video film.

■ By **ERIK DE MAAKER**

The field anthropologist involved is Dr Daniëlle Geirnaert-Martin (Institut d'Ethnologie et Sociologie Comparative, Université de Paris-X, Nanterre), who did fieldwork in Laboya for 17 months between 1982 and 1986. The results have been published in several articles as well as in her PhD thesis *The Woven Land of Laboya. Socio-cosmic Ideas and Values in West-Sumba, Eastern Indonesia* (Leiden University, 1992). Other team members are Drs Erik de Maaker (anthropologist-filmmaker; CNWS; Leiden University), Drs Frans Rijoly (assistant researcher/sound; P. dan K., Museum 'Siwalima', Ambon) and Lianto Luseno (assistant researcher/sound/photographer; Institut Kesenian Jakarta). The project has been initialized and is being supervised by Dr Dirk Nijland (Dept. of Visual Ethnography, Institute of Cultural and Social Studies, Leiden University). It falls under the overall responsibility of Professor R. Schefold (Institute of Cultural and Social Studies, Leiden University).

The video film is being made as a co-production with the Institut Kesenian Jakarta (Jakarta Academy of the Arts) and is also being supported by the Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Tropical Research (NWO-WOTRO), the Cultural Agreement Netherlands-Indonesia, Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (LIPI), the Institut d'Ethnologie et Sociologie Comparative, Université de Paris-X (Nanterre), the Research

School CNWS (Leiden University), and the Institute of Cultural and Social Studies (Leiden University).

## Liquid of Life

The community of Laboya is situated on the south-west coast of Sumba and has approximately 12,000 inhabitants. This society, in contrast to many other Indonesian societies, has not been influenced by either Hinduism or Islam. Although during the past few years the influence of Christianity has been gaining strength, it seems that the majority of the population still lives according to the rules which were established by their ancestors. In this ancestral system the two annual agricultural rituals, Padu and Nyale, are of prime importance.

Both rituals represent religious, as well as economically and agriculturally important turning points of the annual cycle. The Padu rituals, which are held in October and November, mark the end of the dry season. The Nyale ritual, which is performed in February, marks the height of the rainy season and the opening of the wet-rice planting activities.

The rituals refer to ecological reality and to man's dependence upon the return of the rains. The people of Laboya, all of them peasants living at subsistence level, conceive of the rains as 'the liquid of life'. If these 'life fluids' arrive too late, famine threatens men and cattle.

On the other hand, the rituals also reflect a 'Weltanschauung', a specific cosmological system. Padu and Nyale structure Laboyan society and place it in a greater cosmic context. In the Padu rituals the primordial disorder, which existed when the ancestors arrived in this region, is first recreated. Then as the ritual progresses, the social organization, and especially the relations between the living and the dead, are restored. Before the new agricultural cycle may be permitted to begin, the old rice and the old year

On the first day of **NYALE** the holy sawahs are ploughed. On this day torrential rains should pour down. **RATO BAWÈ**, an important priest, supervises the ploughing. (Laboya, February 1996)

have to be buried in a ritualized way. The new creation of society is synchronized with the transition from the dry to the wet season. In the Nyale ritual, the process of the renewal of society and agriculture is fulfilled. Not only are relations created through marriage emphasized, relations in general with all living beings and things which are not part of Laboyan society are also underlined. From a socio-cosmological point of view the Laboya see themselves as the ritual centre of the world. By performing the Nyale ritual, the Laboya are giving the blessing of fertility to the whole world. ■

Anthropologist **DR GEIRNAERT** shows video recordings of the Nyale rituals during an interview with **RATO BAWÈ** and **RATO NYALE**, the priests who performed these rituals earlier. (Laboya, March 1996)

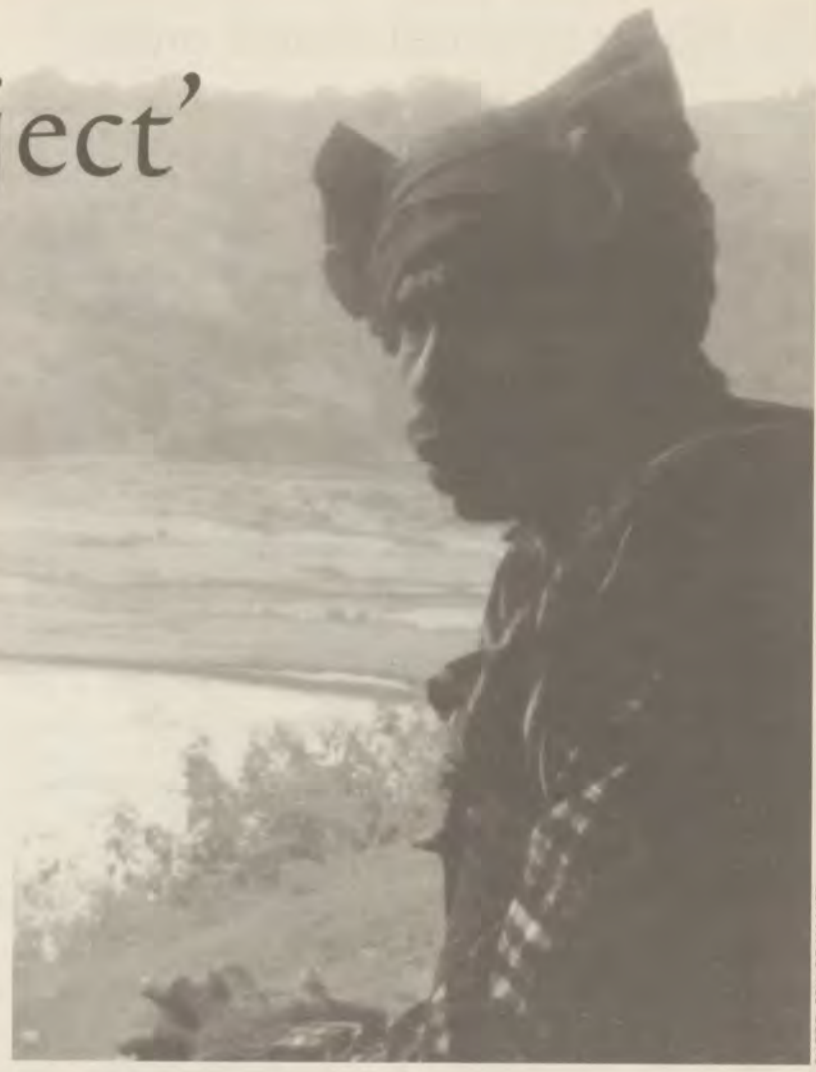


PHOTO: ERIK DE MAAKER

9 > 13 JULY, 1996  
AMBON, INDONESIA

## 4<sup>th</sup> International Maluku Research Conference

Report



From July 9 to 13 1996 Pattimura University (Indonesia) and James Cook University (Australia) hosted the 4<sup>th</sup> International Maluku

Research Conference in Ambon, Indonesia. There were about 45 participants from Australia, Canada, Denmark, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Netherlands, the UK, and the USA.

■ By **AONE VAN ENGELENHOVEN**

The conference was divided in six main sessions: Languages (chair Professor James T. Collins, Dr Margaret Florey and myself); Coastal Management (chair: Dr Niette Huliselan and Dr Margaret Gill); Natural Resource and Tenure (Professor Roy Ellen and Dr Keebet von Benda-Beckmann); The Politics of Resettlement (Dr Sandra Pannell); Gender & Health (Dr Kay Ringenberg); and Archaeology and Anthropology (Dr Nils Bubant, Dr David Mearns, and Dr Jennifer Leith).

Ever since it was first held in 1990 at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa, Honolulu, the International Maluku Research Conference has been an essential meeting place where Malukanists from various disciplines all over the world can share and discuss their ideas and hypotheses. The interdisciplinary approach of the conference, which was still felt

to be somewhat artificial in 1992, has now turned out to be very successful. Participants from disciplines as diverse as linguistics, history, and marine biology gathered around the table to discuss divergent topics like coastal management, poetry, and religion. In contrast to the last conference, many scholars working for Pattimura University presented results from their ongoing research.

As the International Maluku Research Conference intends to present data from ongoing and planned research to keep up with the state-of-the-art, it usually does not feature one overall theme. This time, however, sasi - local harvesting and hunting prohibitions - emerged as a major topic of interest. Not only was it a recurring element in most talks on coastal and natural resource management, it was also the talking point in the general discussion moderated by Professor Franz von Benda-Beckmann. During the evening three videos were shown exemplifying the form and function of sasi in two different cultural areas of Maluku (Haruku and Kei).

The next conference is planned for 1998 in Ambon and will then be hosted exclusively by Pattimura University. ■

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PHOTO: ERIK DE MAAKER



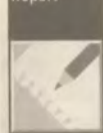
5 JUNE 1996

LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS

IRIAN JAYA STUDIES (ISIR/NWO) SEMINAR

# Shells and Mothers-in-Law

Report



Under the title *Shells and Mothers-in-Law: Explorations in the border area between anthropology and linguistics of New Guinea*, ISIR organized a one-day seminar on June 5 1996 at Leiden University. The aim of the seminar was to discuss and exchange data and ideas about three subjects in the border area between anthropology and linguistics: semantic tendencies; kinship and exchange; counting systems.

By **CECILIA ODÉ**

After an introduction by chairperson Ger Reesink, the following papers and video's were presented, followed by a lively, informal discussion with the enthusiastic audience:

Ger Reesink (ISIR, linguistics): *Semantic tendencies in New Guinea*; Jelle Miedema (ISIR, anthropology): *Kinship and exchange in New Guinea*; Cecilia Odé (ISIR, linguistics): *Ceremonial exchange of cloths and their use in dances in the Bird's Head Area*, a video demonstration; Lourens de Vries (ISIR, linguistics) with an additional demonstration by Philomena Dol (ISIR, linguistics): *Counting systems in New Guinea*; Dea Sudarman: *Korowai*, a video documentary film.

Reesink highlighted some similarities between New Guinea languages in lexical elements (eye=egg=testicles=seed) and in emotional expressions, e.g. in Tok Pisin *bel i hevi* 'belly is heavy' (to feel depressed), in Usan *oau boru* 'insides bad' (to be angry,

jealous), and in Hatam *ngon kinei* 'heart bad' (to be sad).

Miedema focused on the still-maintained traditions in inter-tribal marriage relations, trade and exchange with linguistic examples from the Bird's Head Area. For instance, the expression the blood is still too hot' is used when a marriage is suggested between two members of a closely related family.

In a video Odé showed how exchange ceremonies of cloths and dance rituals are still strictly preserved in a quickly developing society (Bird's Head).

De Vries demonstrated, sometimes with slight embarrassment, parts of the body used in some counting systems, for instance in Yupna: hands and feet are used to count up to 20, then continue via (left-right): ears (21-22), eyes (23-24), nose (25), nostrils (26-27), breasts (28-29), navel (30), testicles (31-32) and finally penis (33). De Vries was silent about how women



PHOTO: CECILIA ODÉ

count. Dol showed the hand and foot counting system (1-20) used in Maybrat (Bird's Head).

An exhibition of books published on the many disciplines of research in New Guinea, and an exhibition of portraits (photographs by Cecilia Odé), handicrafts and other items of the peoples of the Bird's Head (collected by ISIR fellows) provided an illustrative scientific and anthropological contribution to the programme.

Follow-ups of this seminar will be announced in future IIAS and ISIR newsletters. ■



**JELLE MIEDEMA**  
(ISIR-Coordinator, left) and  
**GER REESINK**  
(ISIR-fellow linguistics)  
at the seminar.

## AYFAT

Use of cloths at a performance of a welcome dance, traditionally on the occasion of an initiation in Mosun, Bird's Head area, Irian Jaya.

## KEBAR VALLEY

Villagers of Anjai returning home from their garden with firewood, sugarcane, cassave, vegetables, and fruit. Bird's Head Area, Irian Jaya.



PHOTO: CECILIA ODÉ

26 > 30 AUGUST 1996  
PHNOM PENH, CAMBODIA

## International Conference on Khmer Studies



An international conference on Khmer Studies is impossible without a strong awareness in all participants of the unimaginable horrors the Cambodian people have lived through in recent times. Right from the start this was emphasized by Dr Sam Sam-Ang of the Research Council of Khmer Culture and Arts (Washington DC, USA). In his emotive address he discussed the role of Khmer culture for the future of Cambodia in which, between 1975 and 1979, the genocidal Khmer Rouge 'systematically attempted to wipe out Khmer Culture completely and have destroyed the people's and country's infrastructure, economy, education, health, family, morality, and civilization. Devastatingly ruined by the senseless war and deeply scarred by the Khmer Rouge atrocity, the society needs recovery badly and urgently.' The manner in which this recovery is taking shape with the help of the international community was discussed critically by Dr Chou Meng-Tarr of the Phnom Penh University of Fine Arts. She believes that the efforts that are being made to impose upon all Cambodia the 'principles of modernity' as well as an 'open-ended commitment to construct a modern capitalist state' have hardly taken the Cambodians themselves into account.

■ By WIL DERKS

Both these lectures were delivered during the plenary session on the first day of the conference. They constituted a telling overture to a gathering of scholars that, as a whole, can only be understood as an endeavour to repair at least some of the seemingly irreparable damage done to this country. Close to a hundred international participants from Cambodia, other parts of Asia, Australia, Europe, and the United States exchanged their ideas in three simultaneous panels: History and Archaeology; Epigraphy, Literature and Linguistics; and Culture and Society. For the prospect of the future, fortunately, the students of the Phnom Penh University were given the opportunity to attend as well and they were present in large numbers.

Quite a few speakers in the first panel naturally focused on Cambodia's remote past, of which the illustriousness may function as a beacon for a people wrestling with their self-image. Much attention was also given to the contemporary history of Cambodia or the relationship between past, present, and future. In this respect a topic such as *The Democratic Tradition in the History of Khmer Institutions*, discussed by Mr. Kong Phirun of the École Royale d'Administration in Phnom Penh, may be emblematic. The political role Cambodia has played in the region in the past as well as the prospects for future co-existence with its immediate neighbours, notably within the framework of ASEAN, were matters that were raised by several participants in this panel. Other presentations, such as the one under the title *Digging in the Killing Fields* by Dr Craig Etcheson (Yale University), that dealt with the centralized execution system of the Khmer Rouge and other appalling

facts from Cambodia's most recent history, regularly evoked an acute awareness of the shadow still cast over this country.

The two other panels were characterized by an equally wide range of topics. Under the heading 'Epigraphy, Literature and Linguistics' specialized discussions of, say, *The Nasalized Intervocalic Consonant in K'Ho Language* (Mr. Nguyen Van Hue, University of Ho Chi Minh City), alternated with papers in which the speakers focused on problems that seem more directly relevant, though not necessarily more important, to present-day Cambodia and its people. Dr Teri Yamada (California State University, Long Beach, USA) discussed the Diaspora communities of Cambodians in the United States in the context of the way in which they and their country of origin are represented in English language texts, particularly of and about Khmer literature. *Language Problems and Language Planning for Cambodia* was the title of Mr. Thel Thong's lecture (Monash University, Australia). Amongst other problems, he focused on 'adapting the Khmer language writing system to the latest computer technology', so as to make creating, retrieving, and sorting of data in Khmer easier. In his paper *What Can Information Technology Offer Khmer Studies*, Mr. Doug Cooper (Southeast Asian Software Research Center, Bangkok, Thailand) addressed similar problems. He described some of the ways in which computing could help Khmer research, from applications in linguistics and lexicography to approximate phonetic lookup tools for names gathered by the Genocide Project. Pertinently, he described the collaborative nature of much modern computing research, and made a plea for all interested scholars to share data resources.

### Tolerance

In the third panel the range of topics was no less diverse than in the other two although it seemed that they were even more often closely related to Cambodia's painful recovery, now and in the future. Dr Chhay Yiheang of the Royal University of Phnom Penh, for instance, philosophized about 'tolerance' and Cambodia's need for this concept. Dr Im Koch of the same institution spoke about *The Civil War and its effect on the Mind and Behaviour of the Cambodian People*. Many entered into a debate about the influence of the media on present-day Cambodian youth, an issue that was raised by Mr. Kosal of the Khmer Writers' Association. The younger generation was also the focus of joint papers by Dr Chou Meng Tarr this time joined by Professor Peter Aggleton (University of Fine Arts, Phnom Penh) in their *Sexualizing the Culture(s) of Young Cambodians: Dominant Discourses and Social Reality*. There were also papers on the effects of tourism on Cambodia (Professor Matilde Callari Galli, University of Bologna, Italy), on Khmer Dance as a means of coming to terms with the dislocation/displacement caused by the recent past (Dr Toni Shapiro, East-West Center, Honolulu, USA), and on the history and ethnography of some minorities in Cambodia such as the Chams and the Malays (Dr Po Dharma, École Française d'Extrême Orient, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia; Dr William Collins, Center for Advanced Study, Phnom Penh).

Of course, there were many more papers, but the variety of those mentioned so far may suffice to suggest how rich in content and how instructive this well-organized conference was and, perhaps, how much there is still to be done. Therefore it comes not as a surprise that the Cambodian government showed its appreciation through the presence of Prince Norodom Ranariddh, who opened the conference on the first day and closed it on the last. Moreover, all the participants had the honour of being received in audience by the King and the Queen on the second day. The organizers, notably Dr Sorn Samnang, of the University of Phnom Penh, can take this as a personal compliment for they did a great job indeed. ■

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2 > 6 SEPTEMBER 1996  
LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS

## The 6th EurASEAA Conference



The European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists (EurASEAA) has held conferences every second year since its establishment in 1986. The main aim of the association is to bring together European scholars who are working in the field of Southeast Asian archaeology, including proto and early history, epigraphy, and art-history, and to offer facilities to present and discuss new data.

■ By MARIJKE KLOKKE

There is no fixed membership. Scholars and students from all countries are welcome to participate in the international conferences. They join the association for the duration of the conference upon enrolment. Quite a number of non-European colleagues are on the present mailing-list, which includes about 300 names. The association strives to raise funds for inviting Southeast Asian colleagues to participate in its conferences.

The sixth conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists was held at Leiden University from 2 to 6 September 1996. It was coordinated by Marijke Klokke and hosted by the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS). Sponsorships were obtained from the International Institute for Asian Studies in Leiden, the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW) in Amsterdam, the Research School CNWS in Leiden, and the Leids Universiteits Fonds (LUF).

The conference included 76 papers in English which were held in two parallel panels spread over five days. European contributors included members from France, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, and Germany. Because of the generous support provided by the IIAS, KNAW, Research School CNWS, and LUF, non-Europeans attending the conference included not only contributors from Singapore, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand, but also substantial numbers of contributors from Indonesia, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Malaysia, and the Philippines, as well as India and China. Papers delivered ranged in subject matters from prehistory to protohistory, to historic period archaeology, epigraphy, architecture and art history.

### Sessions

After an opening session with a welcome speech by Professor W.A.L. Stokhof, director of the IIAS, the first day of the conference was devoted to the prehistory of Indonesia (eastern Indonesia and the site of Song Gentong II in East Java) and recent excavations in Wat Phu in Laos (panel I) and to the archaeology of Vietnam including a session on Cham culture (panel II). The second day focused on recent excavations in Thailand, pa-

laolithic tools discovered in Thailand, and the ethnoarchaeology of Thailand (panel I), and on Khmer art and culture (panel II). The following day, Wednesday, included papers on the early history of Thailand and on recent excavations in the Malay Peninsula (panel I), and on narrative themes in Indonesian art and Indonesian gold objects among which those of the recently found hoard of Wonoboyo (panel II). In the afternoon the members of the conference were received in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, where Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, head of the Department of Asiatic Art, introduced them to the new display of the collection of Asiatic Art in the South Wing of the Rijksmuseum and a reception was offered by the Rijksmuseum. On Thursday, the fourth day of the conference, papers were delivered on the archaeology of the Philippines, including a session on the ethnoarchaeology of the Philippines, and on miscellaneous subjects relating to Indonesian archaeology and cultural relationships between Southeast Asia and China (panel I). In panel II papers were delivered on Indonesian epigraphy and iconography. The last session included three papers on Borobudur. The last day of the conference was devoted to recent excavations in Sumatra, to relationships between Southeast Asia and India, and to the Bayon in Angkor, Cambodia (panel I). Panel II included sessions on Indonesian iconography and Burmese archaeology, including iconography and epigraphy.

Further possibilities to meet colleagues and discuss with each other were created in the form of a reception on Monday evening, and a dinner on Thursday evening. On Tuesday afternoon the board of the EurASEAA (Ian Glover, Marijke Klokke, Wibke Lobo, Pierre-Yves Manguin, Marielle Santoni, Per Sørensen, and Patrizia Zolse) met to discuss the publication of the proceedings of the conferences and the venue of the next conference in 1998. Both the proceedings of the 1992 conference in Rome and the 1994 conference in Paris will be published in 1996. The former are edited by Roberto Ciarla, and the latter by Pierre-Yves Manguin. Marijke Klokke will edit the proceedings of the 1996 conference. Wibke Lobo of the Museum of Ethnology in Berlin has offered to organize the next conference in Berlin. ■

CHANGED DEADLINES  
13 > 17 OCTOBER 1997  
LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS

## Perspectives on the Bird's Head of Irian Jaya



This conference is organized by the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) in cooperation with the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) and the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) Priority Programme Irian Jaya Studies, a programme for Interdisciplinary Research (ISIR). The deadline for abstracts has been changed from 1 January 1997 to 1 March 1997. The date of acceptance is 15 April 1997, the deadline for articles is 13 October. Articles (to be submitted in a camera-ready version of max. 20 pages (excl. bibliography) submitted in the

correct version according to the conference style sheet will be reviewed by the Conference Editorial Board; all articles accepted will be published in the proceedings. ■

For more information:  
IIAS Newsletter 9, p.46 and  
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## Tonality in the languages of New Guinea: Studies in Prosody



This publication will explore phonetic/phonological issues in the description and analysis of tone, register, voice quality, consonant effects, stress, intonation, and temporal organization (duration and rhythm) in languages of New Guinea and its surrounding islands. This work is intended to include an inventory of data and work in progress as well as work at an advanced level of analysis with the hope of arriving at the 'state-of-the-art' in research about the prosodic aspects of languages of New Guinea.

- The length of contributions should not exceed 25 pages without permission.
- The format should be electronic copy (in DOS or Macintosh format, preferably in MS-Word with IPA in SIL Doulos IPA font preferred) and hard copy.
- Abstract of about 1000 words describing your proposed contribution should be received by Jan. 1, 1997; response will be given by April 1, 1997.
- Deadline for submission is July 1, 1998.
- Proposed publication appearance is December 31, 1998.

Contacts, abstracts, and submissions via electronic mail are highly encouraged. ■

Please send abstracts via email to all four editors:

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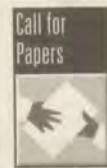
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24 > 27 MARCH 1997  
SINGAPORE  
TRIBAL COMMUNITIES IN THE MALAY WORLD:

## Historical, cultural & social perspectives



The Malay World (Alam Melayu), spanning the Malay Peninsula, much of Sumatra and parts of Borneo, has long contained within it a variety of populations. Most of the Malays have been organized into the different kingdoms (kerajaan Melayu) from which they have derived their identity. But the territories of those kingdoms have also included tribal peoples—both Malay and non-Malay—who have kept themselves apart from those kingdoms in varying degrees. In the last three decades, research on these tribal societies has aroused increasing interest.

The main aim of this conference will be to explore the ways in which the character of these societies relates to the Malay kingdoms that have held power in the region for many centuries past, as well as to the modern nation-states of the region. The conference will bring together researchers committed to comparative analysis of the tribal groups living on either side of the Melaka Straits—in Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore or Brunei. New theoretical and descriptive approaches will be sought for the study of the social and cultural continuities and discontinuities manifested by tribal life in the region.

We seek to explore several questions. To what extent do tribal societies of the Malay world display dis-

tinctive features in comparison to those living in other parts of Southeast Asia or beyond? What can be learnt about the historical Malay states themselves and the modern nation-states of the region through studying the tribal populations that fall under their influence? In what ways does our analytical concept of 'tribal society' correspond to the imagery employed by the tribespeople themselves, by their non-tribal neighbours and by power-holders in the state? What are the different ways of being 'tribal' in the Malay world? What follows from the fact that some of these populations are Malay-speaking and others are not? What are the material, environmental and spatial bases of the relations between the tribespeople and the

Malay state? What larger questions can be raised by the historical study of these peoples? What contribution can scholarly study make to the tribespeople's own future in face of the rapid socio-economic change that is occurring all around them?

These and other such questions will benefit from the input of pre-historians, historians, anthropologists, linguists, economists, geographers, political scientists, and others. We therefore expect that papers presented at the conference will be wide-ranging, in both their empirical focus and the wider issues they raise. We invite interested scholars to submit papers on, among other topics, the following issues.

- Ethnology and history
- Environment and material culture
- Economics and development
- Tribespeople in the state

Deadline for submission is: 1 February 1997. This International conference is being organized under the auspices of the International Institute for Asian Studies (Leiden); the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (Singapore); the Centre for Environment, Gender and Development (Singapore); and the Institut für Ethnologie of Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität (Münster). Convenors are Cynthia Chou (IIAS) and Geoffrey Benjamin (Singapore). ■

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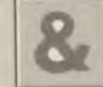
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Short

NEWS



### SOUTHEAST ASIAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

The Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science, published at the department of Sociology, National University of Singapore, is planning the following special issues.

Contributions are invited for each issue:

- Science and technology in the Asia-Pacific (deadline: 31 January);
- The Chinese of Thailand (deadline 1 March); and
- Transformations of Ethnic Identity in Malaysia and Singapore (deadline 31 May).

For more information, contact:

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# The Thai the Recursiveness



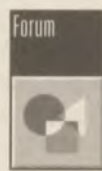
PLATE 1.  
The Cremation Tower  
or Funeral Pyre.



PLATE 2.  
The Silver Inner Urn  
inside the Palace Grounds.



PLATE 3.  
The Golden Outer Urn,  
the Crown Prince and Crown Princess.



I heard first about the cremation towers of Thailand when I consulted Dr David Stuart-Fox of the Leiden Museum of Anthropology about cremation rites in Bali. He showed me nineteenth-century pictures from Burma and mentioned that such towers had been constructed in Thailand even later but were restricted to royalty.

I had actually seen a plate of the 1926 'funeral pyre' of King Vajiravudh in H.G. Quaritch Wales' classic *Siamese State Ceremonies of 1931* (reprinted in 1992), but paid no attention to the tiny human figures on that photograph, not realizing what a huge construction that pyre had been. Imagine my delighted surprise when I was invited, less than half a year later, to attend the cremation of the Princess Mother of Thailand in March, 1996. I was permitted to move around freely and take photographs. The 1996 cremation tower, depicted here as Plate 1, lacks human figures altogether so we have sketched them in to give an idea not only of its beauty and elegance but also of its size.

■ By FRITS STAAL

Her Royal Highness Somdej Phra Sri Nakharintharabar-omarachani, the Princess Mother, or Somdej Yaa, 'Royal Grandmother,' as she was affectionately called, was born on October 21, 1900. She became the wife of Prince Mahidol and the mother of two kings: King Ananda Mahidol, who died young in 1946, and his younger brother, His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej, the present King of Thailand. The Princess Mother was almost as popular as His Majesty and H.R.H. Crown Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn: for while the King has remained an ultimate resort in time of crisis, sensitive to public opinion and accessible to individual petitioners, all three have devoted much of their lives to social and economic reform. The 'Royal Grandmother' dedicated herself to the improvement of medical care throughout the kingdom and to the protection of environmental resources, particularly forests. It is not surprising that her passing away

on July 18, 1995, plunged the nation into mourning and induced the government to honour her with a traditional, royal cremation.

Royal persons are not cremated until many months after their death. Many details are given by Quaritch Wales and Dutch readers should be familiar with some of them from Cees Nooteboom's 1986 novel *De Boeddha achter de schutting*. The corpse is first placed in a sitting position inside an inner urn, made of silver, the palms joined in front of the face in a gesture of homage. The inner urn is placed in an octagonal golden outer urn, which is taken by the family to the large Dusit or 'Celestial' Hall in the Grand Palace in the course of a small procession 'with an absence of that display of modern militarism,' writes Quaritch Wales, 'which, however great its sociological value, always seems to strike a jarring note in every State Ceremony where it is present'. We should remember, however, that Asian funerals are, at least in part, joyous occasions: Thai cremations used to be a kind of carnivals

redolent with entertainment, shadow plays, masked dances, fireworks and lots to eat and drink. Much of this has disappeared, possibly because Europeans frowned on these displays since they look upon death as an entirely solemn and mournful occasion.

About the outer urn that had already been prepared for King Phra Phutthayotfa (generally referred to as Rama I) during his lifetime (1734 - 1809), the story goes that he so much liked its beauty and craftsmanship; that he ordered it to be placed in his bedroom. His consorts, considering it a bad omen and started to cry but the King declared that, if he could not admire its beauty from the outside while he was still alive, then how would it be possible for him to do so when he was inside?

## The Funeral Rituals

The body of the Princess Mother was kept lying-in-state inside the urn in the Dusit Hall for a full seven months before the urn was taken outside in the early morning of March 10, 1996, the day of cremation. Plate 2 shows the inner urn placed outside on a platform still within the Palace Grounds. High palace officials stand in respectful attendance while a seven-tiered parasol is kept ready for the urn and two parasols for the Crown Prince and Crown Princess. On Plate 3, the outer urn has been rebuilt around the inner urn, the Crown Prince and Princess arrive and their parasols are unfolded. Plate 4 shows the urn being carried by palace bearers through the western gate of the Palace Grounds. Outside, it will turn left and circumambulate the Palace Grounds in anticlockwise direction, the direction reserved for everything concerned with death. I shall refer to this first small procession, in which only the family and a few palace officials participate, as 'A'. The procession moves very slowly, step by step, and the private palace ceremony is now turned into a larger public display by embedding it in the much larger second or Grand Procession that may be analysed from front to back as:

C1 - B1 - A - B2 - C2

because it contains not only the first procession 'A' but also a third procession:

B1 - A - B2

that will be detached from it later. In the second and third processions, the urn is preceded in 'B1' by the Supreme Patriarch of Thai Buddhism, reading Buddhist scriptures in a chariot pulled by traditional bearers (Plate 5). This is followed by 'A' sur-



PLATE 4.  
The Urn Carried Outside the Palace  
Grounds (Procession 'A').

# Royal Cremation of Ritual

rounding the Great Funeral Chariot of the urn (Plate 6), originally built like the Patriarch's chariot, around 1795 and completely restored in 1987 (the fantastic shapes of these chariots resemble the royal barges that are still on view elsewhere). The urn is followed in 'B2' by Court Brahmins who have loosened their hair knots (Plate 7). All sections are surrounded by traditional bearers of screens and banners, pullers, master pipers and drummers along with royal guards of infantry regiments, air force and naval academies, some of them playing modern military music.

Proceeding in anticlockwise direction, the second procession circles the Palace Ground and moves slowly in the direction of the Cremation Ground. When entering it from the north, the original procession, 'A', detaches itself first and is subsequently joined by the Supreme Patriarch (in 'B1') and the Brahmins (in 'B2') together with other small suites of people. Within the Cremation Ground, this third procession circles the funeral pyre (Plate 1) inside which a sandalwood urn has been prepared with sticks of firewood piled up underneath it (Plate 8) anticlockwise. Inside the funeral pyre or cremation tower, the outer and inner urns are removed and the royal remains are placed in the sandalwood urn.

Flowers made of sandalwood are piled around the urn by senior officials and others who have been allowed inside to pay their last respects. When evening falls, the crowd disperses and the cremation is about to begin after the fire has been lit by Their Majesties the King and Queen. That is not the end of the ritual for it continues on the next day when the King separates the bones from the ashes which are placed each in a separate urn, deposited afterwards in separate places - but I shall leave that part of the ceremony (which has a Sanskrit name and Vedic overtones) for another occasion.

## Scientific study of ritual

Not only funeral rites themselves but also their scientific study has turned out to be, as Gregory Schopen noted, a lively issue. There are, at least, three features. The first is historical and I will mention only one thing about it: the ceremonies show that the Thai royal cremation is neither Chinese (Buddho-)Taoist (still surprisingly unexplored), nor Buddhist, nor 'Hindu' (a term I place between quotation marks because it is often used to refer to the Thai 'Brahmin' contribution to the royal ceremonies). It combines features of varying provenance, but the cremation

ritual is basically Southeast Asian. The second feature is anthropological and here it suffice to say, that two-stage burials are not confined to Thailand or Bali: they were or are not uncommon in other parts of Southeast Asia. This was known to Robert Hertz, a little-known, because short-lived, pupil of Durkheim and precursor of Lévi-Straussian structuralism, who published his findings in 1907 in the *Année Sociologique* with special reference to the Dayaks of Kalimantan.

Leaving aside religion at the moment, the Thai cremation shows that its ceremonial deferral cannot be explained in economic terms: the widespread belief that Balinese cremations are 'postponed' because it is cheaper is an error (first exposed by K.C. Cruq in his *Bijdrage tot de kennis van het Balisch doodenritueel* of 1928: 'de kosten der verbranding kunnen natuurlijk niet de reden zijn,' and further discussed in my *Mantras between Fire and Water* of 1995).

The third feature of the scientific study of ritual is analytical. But how can we analyse these ceremonies? I have suggested in *Rules without Meaning* (1990, paper 1993) and elsewhere that ritual is governed by syntactic rules and that the power of some of these rules lies in their recursiveness. A recursive rule is a rule that applies to itself. For example, a rule of the form: 'A → A B,' which states that 'A' has to be replaced by 'A B,' is recursive because the 'A' on the left recurs on the right and so the rule may be applied to that second 'A': the result is '(A B) B' or, with parentheses omitted: 'A B B'. That process may be repeated indefinitely. A particularly productive recursive rule is:

A → A B,

which generates: 'B B A B B', 'B B B A B B B', etc., or in the form of a tree:

```

A
|
B A B
|
B B A B B
|
B B B A B B B
.....
    
```

The following scheme should enable the reader to deduce how the Thai funerary ritual more than simply symbolize that (wo)man dies alone, it also exhibits the recursiveness of ritual:

```

Inner Urn
↓
Outer Urn
↓
1st procession:
A
↓
2nd procession:
C1 - B1 - A - B2 - C2
↓
3rd procession:
B1 - A - B2
↓
Sandalwood Urn
↓
Cremation
    
```

**PROFESSOR J.F. STAAL**  
is professor emeritus of philosophy and of South Asian languages, University of California at Berkeley.



**PLATE 8.**  
The Sandalwood Urn with Firewood Sticks Piled Underneath



**PLATE 7.**  
Court Brahmins, their hair loose, Joining the Grand Procession.



**PLATE 5.**  
The Supreme Patriarch Joining the Grand Procession ('C').



**PLATE 6.**  
The Great Funeral Chariot at the Centre of the Grand Procession.

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Chinese Music and Buddhist Rituals

# Time, Sound, and the Sense of Beauty

Research Project



Be it the nature of music, of ritual, or even of religion, time is certainly a central concept. Writing about time, we have to speak of sound. Because, whatever the culture, sound, as opposed to space, thinking, feeling, is inseparable from its evolution in time. That is probably why it is considered to be so powerful to build time as a structured element. But Chinese culture builds a difference between 'music' and ritual. Søren Kierkegaard, although he was not versed in things Chinese, can probably help us, since he established a new hierarchy going from morality to religion through aesthetics: the good, the beautiful, and the saint.

Master musician Chen Zhong, together with his old friend, Dharma Master Citing, abbot of a small temple located in Shangqiu, Henan Province, had been trying for nine years to record a ceremony of Buddhist hymns sung to the accompaniment of instruments so that these could be produced on cassettes to be sold in the temples. At their request, I went to Henan as Tonmeister in April-May, 1996. It gave me the opportunity to find answers to many previously unresolved questions.

■ By FRANÇOIS PICARD

Chinese Buddhist rituals can perhaps best be divided into regular, frequent, and extraordinary ceremonies. First we come across the daily lessons performed in the morning and evening and the six daily 'incense sticks', then other regular rituals performed on the first and fifteenth of each lunar month, monthly recitations, and annual rituals like the twenty-three anniversaries of Buddha, Bodhisattvas, or other patriarchs and saints, culminating in the great annual Chinese feasts: New Year, Qingming, Yulanpen hui. We find also rituals that are often, but irregularly, performed, including the Yankou and the various penitences. Lastly, we find the extraordinary rituals like the seven-day 'Meeting for Water and Land' or the different ordinations and vows.

## The Place of Hymns in the Ritual

As the publication of the daily Lessons has shown, the vocal element in the Buddhist liturgy can be classified under the categories of recitation, psalmody or chanting, and singing; canonical texts are read on a single note and to a regular, if progressively precipitate, beat; incantations and praise formulas are chanted; hymns are sung in a regular metric form using melodies composed of precise pitches. It is also possible to point to the distinction, although

less systematized than in Japan, between the texts according to the language used: esoteric and technical Chinese for texts derived from the Canon; Sanskrit or pseudo-Sanskrit for incantations; colloquial language for hymns. The meticulous work of identifying the sources for the various texts used in the rituals, begun in our publications of the Lessons and carefully completed by researchers like Marcus Günzel, runs up against a barrier posed by the question of the provenance of the hymns. It is then necessary to go back to the origins of Buddhist preaching in China: the propagation through the vulgarization of a religion which was intended to be universal. The importance and diversity of hymns to incense seems to be very significant in explicating the fundamental identity of function between these two sensorial offerings, perfumes and music.

## The Southern Tradition

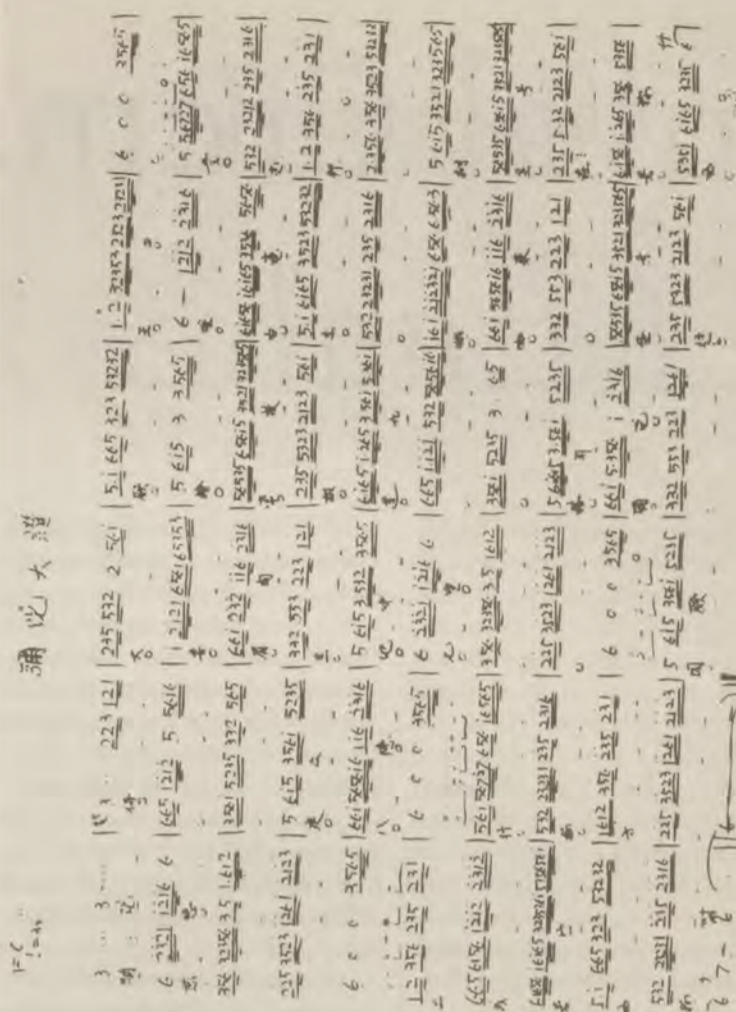
If instruments (shawms, mouth organs, and percussion) still accompany various rituals in the north (Peking, Wutai shan), this is not the case in the south. Although it is impossible at the moment to determine if this has always been the case, fortunately, since 1985, the revival of Buddhist ceremonies has proceeded in tandem with the willingness to reduce the gap between monks and laymen and to reintroduce the participation of devotees through beauty and praise.

Being at the origin of the development of printing, Buddhism distinguishes itself from Taoism through the attention it devotes to mass diffusion, formerly written, nowadays recorded. The conditions for an autonomous production, free of any political or economic control, and a concern for professional quality, led Master Chen Zhong to ask for Western collaboration in the recording, the post-production, and the edition. To me, this renowned poly-instrumentalist, and great specialist of Shanghai flutes, represents the unique model descending from the amateur traditions of the south to the virtuosity of national professionals of today. I had the great fortune, after years of abortive attempts, to be able to invite him to France for a series of concerts and a recording session which took place in December 1995, in which I acted as his accompanist, in both senses of the term, since I played vertical flute and mouth organ. During the relaxed conversations for which the tour gave the opportunity, I told him of my interest in Buddhist music, and he confided his trust in Buddha. Just in passing, he told me of his long-standing project, and I informed him of my previous experience of field recording. Contacts made since my return to France with Ocora Radio France allowed us to hope that we would be able to produce a master tape which could be used for both a compact disc edition in the West and for a cassette edition inside mainland China, the cassettes to be distributed through the temples network.

If such a project belongs in some way to the conscious will to use modernity, if not to form a counterpoise to the growing influence of pop music and Karaoke, it also proclaims its links with the Holy Scriptures and their legitimacy which finds its source in the Buddhist Canon. Master Citing and Master Chen Zhong both quote a passage from the 'Methods' chapter from the 'Lotus Sutra of the Good Law'. This is not a reconstitution, but the desire to express devotion.

An act of devotion accomplished as a ritual, or to be more exact as a ceremony, the recording session

彌陀大讚



Score of the Buddhist hymn  
'MITUO'  
(hymn to Amithaba)

took place at Runan, Henan province, under the - rather ponderous - name of 'First Buddhist Fanbai Musical Ritual'. The two empassioned friends mobilized their respective natural communities: his closest monks, the laymen of his own parish for Master Citing; a small amateur ensemble from his own hometown, with the help of a few professionals who are also his own pupils, for Master Chen. The interweaving lines of lutes, tympanum, flutes, and mouth organ married to male and female voices and punctuated by ritual percussion instruments (drum, bells, gong, cymbals), are in imitation of a celestial concert given by apsaras.

The recorded programme, eight pieces with a total length of one hour, is composed of five hymns taken from ordinary rituals, an old instrumental adaptation of an incantation, and two religious songs, including a vocal solo sung in the Henan style, the last two both written by a young intellectual at the beginning of this century, Li Shutong (religious name Hong'yi), a future Patriarch of the Vinaya School.

## The Style

Henan certainly belongs to Northern China. However, the stylistic divisions differ from what can be established by pure geography, since they follow the influence lines between the main centres, principally the great monasteries such as Wutai shan or the Zhihua si in Peking for the north, the Tianning si at Changzhou for the south. The Fanbai style which characterizes Master Citing, abbot of Shangqiu, but also a monk highly placed in the hierarchy (qianyuan) at Tianning si, is relevant to the latter, one of the main Chan monasteries, and, according to my information, the best in all China with respect to the regulations and traditions.

Although the texts in use in the monasteries throughout the whole of China, both north and south, and

to whatever school they belong, are unified, which apparently happened around the year 1600, it is a different story with psalmody and, especially, with singing. Important differences exist in pronunciation, dialect, not to speak of language, to which should be added the particular transmission links, as well as the greater or lesser interest for Fanbai shown by abbots. Almost thirty years of interruption in the performing of rituals on the mainland have created gigantic breaks in the transmission, so a large number of tunes, purely orally transmitted, disappeared, the few which are left are now used on all and every occasion. A huge feat of memory, from collecting, recording, transcribing, elaboration of models, to publication, has been undertaken under the auspices of the Chinese Buddhist Association and under the direction of the Buddhist and musicologist Tian Qing, with the goal of releasing standardized versions.

As opposed to the ritual recorded in situ at the Kaiyuan si in Quanzhou, the tunes here come mainly from written scores, and are reproduced precisely according to the Tianning si school. The use of scores really does belong to the Chinese and Buddhist tradition: it is not a professional choir trained to sing notes which is singing, but the assembly of monks and laymen drawn from a real community, having rehearsed long and seriously under the direction of Master Citing, himself until recently a respected cantor, and of Master Chen Zhong, a born teacher. It is actually a collectively assumed singing, with palpable aesthetic criteria, allowed by the slow process of reabsorption and of memorization which orality reclaims. Revival of a tradition, yes, perhaps, but nonetheless authentic.

In the use of non-ritual instruments, it assumes the southern, fluid, style, in contrast to the rougher northern one.

### The Search for Beauty

For all this investment of time and energy, this is a benevolent work. It is not difficult to deduce the motives of the various people involved: faith and veneration, a wish to praise and propagate the teachings of Buddha; to perform a virtuous act on the part of the singers; a wish to participate in a unique musical experience; to obey the call of a respected master on the part of the instrumentalists; without excluding any judicious mixture of motivations among the two groups. In the same way, a common desire to praise, to perform a virtuous act, and the hope of bringing more beauty to the world suffused both masters. If the truth be told, my own interest did not differ very much.

For me, as a researcher, the common quest for beauty constitutes a major aspect of this adventure, since it had always escaped my earlier investigations. As for the excess of energy which is required from the opera singer as compared to the plain reciting of a text, Buddhist chant, as every religious chant, requires an effort which is not justified either by the holy texts or by the efficacy of a praise or prayer addressed to supernatural beings. The question was then asked if real aesthetic criteria, musical ones in this case, could be, as I intuitively felt, applied, also be intended for human ears and sensibilities.

I found my answer in an incident which I was not supposed to witness, were it not the necessity of my presence as Tonmeister: as Master Citing wanted the recording session to be held as a ceremonial. It was obvious that this small temple at Shangqiu could not host the hundreds of pilgrims who were expected to attend. At his request, the big Southern Seas monastery at Runan, which has considerable facilities for the reception of guests, agreed to host the event. This, and it is for me highly significant of the virtual heterodoxy of our project, without promising to involve itself to any great degree and then, at the last moment, even refusing us access to the temple itself. Nonetheless, some local monks, having heard that a meeting for chanting Fanbai was being held, joined the choir spontaneously and without having been invited by any of us, playing the ritual instruments, of which some (a fact that they surely disliked) had previously been played by women. The predictable result was soon apparent: even in the strict repertoire of ordinary liturgy, their usual lack of precision contrasted with the accuracy in intonations, in phrasing, and in beating of the ordinary laymen from Shangqiu who had not only been selected for it, but had also been trained for many months under the direction of Master Chen. Without taking into account the fact that it would have been the height of discourtesy for us to refuse the participation of monks, by nature more legitimate in this repertoire than laymen, the monks were also our hosts. Yet, the need for cohesion, homogeneity, in short the search for beauty, imposed on every one of us the neces-

sity for an intervention which meant their exclusion. And of this, Master Chen, the monks and laymen from Shangqiu, the musicians from Shanghai, not to mention myself, were all conscious. I must add that the role of the barbarian who refused such a gracious contribution as that offered by our hosts was naturally assigned to the stranger among us (I mean me) who happily happened to be present, his unpolished behaviour appropriate to the foreigner's well-known ignorance of elementary rules of politeness.

### A Blessed Beauty

All I can do now is hope that our common work, from the establishing of the scores to the writing of the orchestration, from the casting to the rehearsals, from the recording to the editing, will do the work justice, before prepared or unprepared audiences proving the value of this beauty that we, all of us, wanted to reintroduce in the Praise to the Three-Treasures.

Turning to the attitude of the Buddhist hierarchy towards our work, it so happened that an absolutely unexpected resurgence, unexpected at least on the side of my Chinese friends, if not on mine, of bureaucratic control mixed, *modernité oblige*, with attempts to make some material profit from our achievement led to the fact that we (both masters and myself) afterwards had to justify our work, which had previously benefited from no official support. Apart from that already described, a grant given in extremis by a Buddhist master from abroad paid for the costs of the food and lodging of our team and of the pilgrims during their stay at Runan. This summons assumed in my eyes the usual aspect of interrogation by a successive degree of hierarchy up to the provincial level, where the blessing provided by Great Dharma Master Nengxian abolished the last obstacles. ■

#### FRANÇOIS PICARD

was a senior visiting fellow at the IIAS on a grant by the École Française d'Extrême-Orient.

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# China and Orientalism

#### Forum



Max Weber, that encyclopaedic product of 19th century European scholarship, once remarked that China's fate was to serve as an opposite for the Western observer, a radically different form of human life in a positive or negative sense. An image of horror, threat, worthiness, even an ideal, but still always an opposite. He was not alone in this view. Weber's contemporary James Dyer Ball, in his widely-read *Things Chinese*, even included an article on the 'Topsy-turvy-dom' of Chinese life. Little is actually said in these remarks, of course. The issue of the position of China versus the West merges with the extensive Orientalism debate which has raged since the publication of Edward Said's magnum opus eighteen years ago, and in this brief article I will deal with the relevance of this debate in the Chinese context.

■ By HANS HÄGERDAL

Hundreds of texts have reviewed and discussed the Said thesis on 'Orientalism' as a style of thought founded on Western imperialism and a feeling of positional superiority. There is not much point in recycling the arguments pro and contra Said here. A few points should be made, though. It transpires that Said's 'Orientalism' consists of some three different aspects (what Orientalists do; a style of thought based on the 'ontologic and epistemologic' difference between the Orient and the Occident; and an institution or mechanism to deal with the Orient), which are not quite consistent. A discursive formation, at least in the sense developed by Foucault et al., can in no way be seen as a monolithic tradition which Said seems to be portraying; as shown by some recent contributors, a representation of, for example, genus might have determinations which are completely different from the conditions which produced discourses on cultural and racial differences. To the extent that one could speak of 'Orientalism' as a style of thought, it would then be as a matrix laid over various cultural and historical sites.

That is not to say that Said's work is not useful as it stands, of course. In their better moments, his books mercilessly highlight the undercurrent of superiority that scores of Western writers have shown in an often subtle way in their relations to their Oriental objects. Said should, as far as I can make out, not be read as a provider of a ready-made theoretical model, but as a point of departure and inspiration for questions that were not unknown before his Orientalism book, but which had not till then been put to the test. In this he might be compared to Harry Braverman with his much-criticized thesis on the degradation of blue-collar work in the modern era, which though debatable in itself has greatly stimulated research on working-class history. Or why not turn to Marx himself.

The Said thesis has been debated in connection with the Arab East, India, Southeast Asia and in more general terms, but China has largely been 'spared' from the debate. In China itself the last few years have seen a certain reaction against Western linguistic hegemony among the intellectuals, and the Said debate has constituted a source of inspiration since 1993 or so. Two types of 'anti-Orientalists' may be distinguished here. There are those who are disappointed with the West but still positive towards notions developed in a Western context, like democracy and human rights. And there are those who are even disappointed in these values and notions. It should be added here that the opposite point of view flourishes as well: the acceptance of a globalized culture, a global village. All this is closely intertwined with political strategies, of course, a favouring of the adaptation to Western notions can be seen as symbolic, as an act of opposition to the current regime, and also as an attempt to win support from the West.

### No Orientalism in Chinese studies

The main question to be asked in connection with Orientalism and China must concern the treatment of China, old and new, meted out by Western image formulators, by sinologists and China experts, journalists and policy makers, Sinophiles and Sinophobes. But is there a widely embracing sinological style, akin to or rather part of an Orientalist discourse? The answer provided by modern sinologists themselves largely seems to be negative. 'There is no Orientalism in Chinese studies', a prominent representative in the field once assured me. China (East Asia?) is seen as a world in itself and no sinologist in his right mind would deem himself a general 'Orientalist'. China can be seen and studied in holistic terms to some advantage. And why should China's 'otherness' be seen as something that puts obstacles in the way of 'our' understanding of it: the different character of China could equally

spur on Western efforts to understand it. These arguments for the integrity of Chinese Studies are in part purely emotional. Much more effective and to the point is the assertion of a fundamental affinity between Western sinology and indigenous Chinese traditions of scholarship and self images. Compared to the Near and Middle East cultures which were Said's point of departure in formulating his thesis, China has provided a huge corpus of scholarly (and not just proto-scholarly) contributions to its own civilization, with a high level of empirical historical and philological research (*kaozheng xue*) in the Qing dynasty. This should be compared with the fairly late development of fully professionalized Western sinology, in which hardly anyone before the famous French Sinologist Paul Pelliot (1878-1945) enjoyed a bibliographic knowledge reaching the highest Chinese standards. Something which would naturally favour a higher Western dependence of Chinese images on China than, perhaps, Arab images of the Arab world (I am aware that this is a controversial issue).

The story does not end here. Firstly, the task of gaining mastery in Chinese (ancient, classical, modern, literary, poetical) is a considerable one, and though the field of sinology has produced excellent historians, sociologists and the like, there have often been problems in covering subjects other than the philological field (and sometimes not even that - older Western Sinologists were not ashamed to hire Chinese scholars to do the tough job of translating). This narrow scope has bred a strong intellectual 'genealogy' perpetuating certain notions on China, not quite unlike the strong Orientalist tradition described by Said. It is important to note here, however, that these notions are or have been largely cultivated by Chinese scholars themselves: ideas of a relative changeless society and the positing of certain all-encompassing essences of Chinese civilization.

Secondly, sinology in the classical sense and modern Chinese Studies both show some apparent differences in outlook, and a search for 'Orientalist' sentiments is likely to yield results with regard to the latter rather than the former. Much of the 19th and early 20th century work on modern Chinese history was based largely on European sources, with foreseeable results (partly, it must be confessed, due to a lack of linguistic capabilities). Later in the present

TO BE CONTINUED

century, when the ability to handle modern Chinese materials improved significantly, a Eurocentric discourse has nevertheless persisted, as the concepts 'modern', 'Western', and 'important' have largely been identified with each other. It has been argued that the impact of the West on modern China, though important, has often been misconstrued, and that this could even have severe research ethical consequences – if for example revolutions are seen as the result of Western impact, an apologetic undercurrent might sneak in to the scholarly treatment of them.

What then is, in sum, the relevance of an 'Orientalism' discourse for China? 'Not much', one might argue. The general Western image of China has had its violent ups-and-downs in the last century: ranging from general contempt (19th century) to renewed respect (1905-1937) to admiration (Japanese invasion) to disappointment (late 1940s) to fear and distrust (early Mao era) to renewed interest (around 1970) to innocent fascination (1970s) to mixed feelings (1980s) to marked disappointment (from June 4, 1989), and it is remarkable how well professionalized sinology (and to a more limited extent modern Chinese Studies) has withstood these contradictory trends. Said and some of his epigones have done a great job in formulating new kinds of questions that may from time to time lead to valuable self-reflections and criticisms on the part of China scholars. Still, I think we should remember what Carsun Chang, himself a Chinese, wrote in an obituary for the famous missionary-turned-Sinologist Richard Wilhelm 66 years ago: 'Is it a peculiar thing for the human soul, that you are never content with what you have, but search for what you don't have? But with this spiritual exchange, I think, a new world culture is created'. ■

#### DR HANS HÄGERDAL

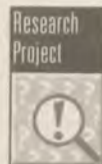
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## An Alternative Tradition Translation Theory in Japan



Over the past decade Translation Studies has developed very rapidly in the West, where it has now gained status as an intellectual discipline in its own right. Previously based largely on translation between Indo-European languages, research in Translation Studies is now somewhat belatedly widening its focus to encompass translation from and into languages that lie outside the Indo-European sphere. According to Judy Wakabayashi, translational practices and ideas in Japan constitute one tradition that might represent an alternative to and challenge the eurocentric nature of Translation Studies.

■ By JUDY WAKABAYASHI

My current research on the history of translation theory in Japan, which is funded by a three-year Australian Research Council Large Grant, has two interrelated aims: to examine how the history of translation in Japan has shaped Japanese views on translations and to investigate the potential contribution of these views to the field of translation theory from the perspective of a non-European language and culture.

Western scholars are almost totally unfamiliar with Japanese ideas on translation, while in Japan, despite the plethora of books and articles on the subject, academic discussion of translation has been largely restricted to the field of comparative literature, with little systematic evaluation of the different conceptual approaches to translation. The discussion has tended instead to focus on the language and style of translations, on lexicographic aspects, and on translation criticism. Japanese scholars and translators are generally unacquainted with contemporary translation theories of the West and have been slow to formalize their own ideas on translation in any analytical way. Yet, lack of explicit theoretical exposition should not be equated with a lack of theoretical principles or insight (Beer 1989), and there is much to be gained by examining the translational norms – defined here as 'culturally determined notions of translation' (Toury 1995, 74) – at work at different times in Japanese history.

#### 'Translationese'

One of the early translational norms in Japan was represented by a practice which is not in fact translation in the conventional sense – i.e. the text annotation method of *kambun kundoku*, which enabled educated Japanese readers to read Chinese texts directly in a process of 'mental translation'. This practice, used

widely from about the ninth century through to the 19th century, laid the foundations for the subsequent translation of European languages and for the widespread acceptance in Japan of awkward syntax and wording when reading foreign works in translation – i.e. an acceptance of 'translationese' as a distinct

## Japan has already acted as a testing ground for translation theories proposed in the West

variety of Japanese. Although there is a tendency in Japan to regard translation proper as having started with the arrival of European languages in the 16th century, a consideration of the somewhat problematic status of *kambun kundoku vis-à-vis* prototypical translation will help clarify the definition in Japan and, ultimately, in the broader context.

Translation in the more widely accepted sense of the term commenced in the 16th century with translation from Portuguese, mostly of religious materials, although this had less impact than the ensuing translation from Dutch in the 17th to 19th centuries. During this period translation was in the hands of a small hereditary group of interpreters called *Oranda tsūji*. It was one of these *tsūji*, Motoki Yoshinaga, who in 1792 wrote what was probably the first coherent essay on translation methods in Japan, and it is on the theoretical approaches adopted by Japanese translators from Dutch that I concentrated during my five-month stay at the IAS as a visiting exchange fellow.

The texts translated during this period of national isolation were ones which could help Japan learn from the outside world, and this trend continued after Japan's opening to the West in 1854.

Gradually, however, there also emerged an interest in foreign literature, and the Meiji period witnessed a variety of experimental approaches to translation as translators attempted to express new literary forms and new ways of thought in Japanese. Some translators tried to reproduce faithfully the word order, parts of speech, tenses, idiom and even the punctuation and exact number of words in the original works, and made no attempt to achieve naturalness of expression. Yet their efforts helped shape later translations and Japanese style as a whole, while entailing a move away from traditional language usage and literary conventions. Other translators took extreme liberties with the original work, focusing on the content at the expense of the literary flavour and omitting passages considered of little interest to Japanese readers. Such experiments in translation opened new vistas for Japanese literature, which at the time of the Meiji Restoration lacked vitality. In modern times translators have continued to play an important role in Japan's economy and international relations and in the formation of its literary canon, with translations currently accounting for over 10 per cent of all books published each year in Japan.

A comprehensive survey of Japanese views on translation, either in the Japanese context alone or in relation to Western theories of translation, has yet to be made from the standpoint of translation theory. Some studies have examined the role of the *tsūji* as linguists and scholars of Dutch learning, while other works have investigated the impact of translations from Western literature on Japanese writers, but the emphasis has been on either the historical or literary aspects, not on issues of translation theory. There has been little attempt to determine how the history of translation in Japan has moulded current attitudes to translation or how translation theory in Japan might be at variance with trends in the West.

#### The neo-literal approach

Yet there have been some innovative ideas produced by Japanese translators as a result of the clash of foreign styles of writing with indigenous styles, and Japan has already acted as a testing ground for some of the translation theories proposed in the abstract in the West. To give one example, earlier this century some translators in Japan foreshadowed views on translation similar to those of deconstructionist writers on translation since the eighties, and they actually implemented this foreignising approach in their translation work, with far-reaching effects on Japanese style. Advocated of this 'neo-literal' approach believe it is the translator's task to intro-

duce alien elements into the target language so as to enrich it, despite the inevitable initial resistance. By conveying the specificity of the original's language, they hope that readers might gain an insight into the otherness of the source text. Being in a marginal position with respect to the Chinese and European source cultures, translators in Japan have often been willing to use these cultures as a source of enrichment, and they have shaped the language by expanding the lexicon, introducing new grammatical constructions and metaphors, and helping to create a standard written vernacular. Hence, Japanese represents an instance of a language that has been radically transformed by literal translation, both from Chinese and from European languages, making it possible to evaluate the results of the foreignising approach that is recently being advocated in the West by such writers as Venuti (1995). The Japanese experience may also be instructive in discussions of cultural models of translation such as the ethnographical-semantic model, which sees translating as a process of describing and explaining the worldview of one people to another.

Bringing to bear on questions of translation theory the perspective of a non-Indo-European language used in a non-Western culture and translation paradigms that have evolved independently of Western theories of translation might provide new insights into some of the issues long discussed by translation scholars in the West (e.g. equivalence, the impossibility of translation, literal vs free translation) and test the universality of some commonly held but perhaps eurocentric ideas, thereby determining the extent of overlap between universal norms of translation and Japan-specific norms. It is hoped that this study of the evolution of Japanese translation norms – and there are several distinct norms apparent – will contribute to and have implications for Translation Studies in both Japan and the West. Defining the historical dimension will demonstrate how Japanese translation traditions remain significant in contemporary translation practice in Japan and also have potential relevance to broader questions of cross-cultural interaction. ■

#### DR JUDY WAKABAYASHI

(University of Queensland) was a visiting exchange fellow at the IAS from 20 February – 8 July 1996.



30 APRIL > 5 MAY 1996  
SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA, SPAIN

# The First Week of Japan in Galicia



From 30 April to 5 May 1996, the Institute of Japanology (Madrid) convened and organized the 'First Week of Japan in Galicia' at Santiago de Compostela, a beautiful, historic city, and the capital of Galicia situated on the northwestern Atlantic shores of Spain. Among the events in this 'Week' were the '5th International Symposium on Japan', which has been convened by the Institute of Japanology every year since 1991 and the '9th Conference of the Japan Anthropology Workshop (JAWS)'.

■ By MARIA R. DEL ALISAL

Among the many Institutions and people who dedicated their time and efforts to the success of this meeting, we acknowledge the cooperation we received from the University of Santiago de Compostela, from the city council, the Japan Foundation, and Iberia Airlines. The meeting was sponsored by the government of Galicia (Xunta de Galicia) of which the president, the R.H. Manuel Fraga, offered a welcome reception to all participants and courteously guided us through the new Museum of Contemporary Art.

The main theme of the meeting was 'Pilgrimage and International Encounters' and we could not have found a better location than Santiago de Compostela. For centuries, the 'Road to Santiago' has been the undisputed place for international encounters of people and cultures.

The participants submitted papers which analysed pilgrimage from a comparative point of view. Looking back in retrospect at the quantity and quality of the works submitted, removes any shadow of doubt we may have entertained that it would prove fertile ground for academic research and creative discussions among all participants.

People came to present papers from Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Holland, Hong Kong, India, Japan, Russia, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

The '5th Symposium on Japan' was officially inaugurated by the Minister of Culture of the Galicia Government. The keynote speaker was Mrs. Sachiko Usui, from the International Research Center for Japanese Studies in Kyoto, who spoke about international influences on Japanese pilgrimages depicted throughout Buddhist art. Her address was illustrated with beautiful colour slides. Sylvie Guichard-Anguis from the CNRS (Paris) broached previously untrodden ground by establishing a comparative parallel between Ise and Santiago, taking the theme of space to provide both historical and present-day data. Eiki Hoshino (Taisho University) produced a very original comparison of the Road to Santiago

and the pilgrimages to the 88 Sacred Places of Shikoku, and the changes brought by the expansion of modern tourism.

## JAWS

The 9th Conference of the JAWS was opened by the dean of the University of Santiago Prof. Dario Villanueva. The opening speaker was Prof. Teigo Yoshida, honorary president of JAWS who spoke about the pilgrim as a stranger and about the special meaning of pilgrimage in Japanese society. Prof. Gonzalez Valles, a renowned specialist on Japanese religion and philosophy, presented a historico-anthropological analysis of the 'Road to Santiago' and of the pilgrimage to Shikoku. Professor Jan van Bremen gave an analysis of the development of Japanese anthropology through travel and pilgrimage and the encounters of Japanese pilgrims and travellers with their own society.

In this brief summary it is impossible to acknowledge each and every single paper submitted to the conference, but it is important to draw particular attention to the high academic standard and ethnographic richness of all the works, the wealth of the variety of subjects and points of view, producing in their turn fruitful discussions about the need of whether to consider pilgrimage a kind of religious experience or to accept it as a broader social phenomenon in an age of widespread tourism. The piano recital by Mari Kumamoto, on the opening day, with Spanish and Japanese Lieder, and the Galician and Japanese songs by Mihoko Izumi and pianist Miguel A. Herrero on the closing day, contributed to the cultural and relaxed atmosphere of the week.

The proceedings of all the meetings will be compiled and edited by Ted Bestor, Peter Ackerman, and Maria R. del Alisal. We are sure that the contents of this volume will become a landmark and an essential reference in research on pilgrimage in our modern era. ■

MARIA R. DEL ALISAL

is the Director of the Instituto de Japonologia in Madrid.

13 > 15 MAY 1996  
EHESS, PARIS, FRANCE

# Seoul: Past, Present and Future



Situated within a larger project on Seoul, the CNRS Korean Studies' group, in cooperation with the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) organized an international workshop on Seoul in May 1996. This marked the culmination of a year-long seminar at the EHESS and will eventually lead to the publication of the workshop papers. This scholarly interest in Seoul is in step with developments in Korea, where the 600th anniversary of the capital, Seoul, has just been duly celebrated. Firmly situated within the field of urban studies, this project can be seen as the international branch of what is known in Korea as 'Seoul Studies'.

■ By KOEN DE CEUSTER

Conceived of as a first international encounter, this workshop brought together a wide range of scholars, both in terms of nationality as in terms of discipline. The common ground between such diverse disciplines as anthropology, architecture, economy, demography, geography, history, literature, musicology, political science, and even town planning was obviously the subject: the city of Seoul. In a wide-ranging introductory presentation Bertrand Chung (EHESS) made a plea that the citizens of Seoul may be allowed a say in the decision-making process of the city authorities.

The first session focused on a major issue in contemporary Korean historiography: the making of the nation-state. Boudewijn Walraven (Leiden University) discussed urban religious life in the 19th century and concluded that the Seoulites of the time identified in certain ways with the state and as such expressed a proto-national identity prior to the opening of Korea to the West. Beginning his investigation in the late 19th century, Koen De Ceuster (Leiden University) described how public perceptions of a number of monuments and buildings have changed over the course of time. Some were transmogrified from dynastic to national icons, others were designed as national icons, but vanished from public veneration. Analysing three 1930s novels, JaHyun Kim Haboush (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) treated the alienation of colonial subjects in a city in which the topography reflected the reduced social role accorded Koreans in a rapidly Japanising city. Alain Delissen (EHESS, CNRS) broached the Japanese colonial sanitary discourse and how this discourse absolved the authorities from investing in modern facilities for Koreans. Yannick Bruneton (Yongnam University) submitted a paper on the establishment of Seoul as the Southern capital during the Koryo period. He elucidated the fact that the designation of

Seoul cannot be understood as being based only upon geomantic principles, but account should also be taken of the presence of an influential and powerful group of aristocrats in the area.

## Urban Planning

The second session discussed the forces and actors instrumental in the formation of the giant city Seoul. Chung Sae-wook (Seoul Study Institute) drew a picture of urban planning in Seoul as an endless series of abandoned master plans. Marie-Hélène Fabre analysed the land policy in Seoul and concluded that contradictory policies and inadequate implementation of rules and decisions left the high ground open to the depredations of private interests. In a highly statistical paper Li Jin-mieung (Lyon University) explained the demographic changes in the population of Seoul. He pointed out that since 1993 the population of Seoul City has been decreasing, but the Greater Seoul Area has been undergoing increases in population. Jung In-ha gave a case study of the urban planning of Youido, identifying the processes that underlie the development of new urban areas. In her fieldwork, Marie-Orange Rivé (EHESS) has taken a closer look at the images and writings in the social space of a subway coach. She concludes that the mes-

## The dead as well as the living cause problems in Seoul

sages posted in the carriages constantly serve to legitimate the political, economic, or social elite which is allowed to make use of this social space. The thorny issue of 'metropolitan diseconomy' was raised by Ahn Doo-soon (Seoul City University). For far too long city planners have overlooked the congestion that would be the logical outcome of the overconcentration of economical activities in the capital region.

The third session brought together three papers under the heading Seoul as Centre and Model. Keith Howard (SOAS, University of London) explained the success of Samul-nori, both at home and abroad. Founded on village-style drum music, it became the essence of Koreaness on Seoul's stages. Not only did it succeed in taking root in the capital, it continues to integrate new styles and genres and expand its audiences far beyond the borders of Korea. James P. Thomas (Harvard University) exposed the hegemony of a Seoul-centred, urban aesthetic of uniform high-rises which have become the standard of good housing all over Korea. Pyongyang is the other capital on the Korean peninsula, and as Eckart Dege (Kiel University) explained, the North Korean authorities are claiming historical precedence in order to legitimate their call for Pyongyang to be declared the capital of Korea.

The fourth session looked at the Seoulites and their urban lifestyle. Roger Jannelli (Indiana University) and Dawphee Yim (Dongguk University) examined the role of women in managing the household budget in Seoul's new middle-class families and at how men try to find a way around this. Laurel Kendall (American Museum of National History) drew on her fieldwork in Seoul to maintain that shamans have succeeded in adapting to the new urban conditions by providing new answers to the queries besetting new urban social layers. Nathalie Luca (EHESS) discussed new religious movements, and especially the Providence Church, an offshoot of Moon's Unification Church. Highly sophisticated and well-adapted to the new urban lifestyles this 'sect' seeks to lure university students to its flock through soccer games and communal bathing rituals. The dead as well as the living cause problems in Seoul, which clearly emerged from Hong Suk-ki's paper. Burial customs in Korea still favour single burials in burial mounds. Cremation is not commonly accepted, nor are family tombs. So the city authorities are confronted with the problem of having to deal with where to bury the nearly 3 million dead of the next thirty years.

Wide-ranging though this workshop may have been, more needs to be done in the field of Seoul Studies. One cannot look at a city without looking at its inhabitants. The workshop discussed at length the rapid changes Seoul has undergone in the last thirty years, but what still needs to be looked at in more depth are the Seoulites themselves. Seoul's population has grown rapidly through successive waves of migration. What caused

these migrations, when and how did they take place? How did people adjust to life in the city, and how was their rural culture integrated into the new reality with which they were faced? These are all relevant questions which can be taken up in future research. ■

29 AUGUST > 1 SEPTEMBER 1996  
LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS

## Korean Studies

# Identity Through History



We float, as F. Scott Fitzgerald put it in *The Great Gatsby*, as 'boats against the current', searching in the past for clues with which to anchor our identity. Today, Korea, and those who study it, must contend with and explain a multitude of historical icons for that identity. The icons have largely been established in the 20th century, and serve less to encourage nostalgia – the pain that arises from separation from ancestry – than to structure the past beyond Japanese colonial interference and more recent, post-1945 Westernization. The icons are now deeply embedded within contemporary society; they are part of the nationalist complex. But to those outside the culture who care to study Korean history, they are constructions which can cloud and ignore the reality. In this case, the insider/outsider dimension reflects training, background, and intent: the icons mean different things dependent on where you stand.

■ By KEITH HOWARD

The workshop was timely, given wider debates in literature and anthropology about the construction of narratives, and the narrower reassessment of Korean history that has exploded as democracy has taken root in South Korea. Beginning with the premise that it is desirable to distinguish history from ideology, historiography from fiction, the organizers brought together historians, literature specialists, intellectual historians, and anthropologists. Working from different disciplinary perspectives the workshop sought solutions to basic questions such as how should history be written? Who should write it and for whom?

It was primarily during the 1910-1945 Japanese colonial period that nationalist ideology developed, hence the workshop was essentially framed around the debates and activities of that period. For this reason, five participants had a disciplinary background in modern history: Koen De Ceuster (Leiden University), Michael Robinson (Indiana University), Jacqueline Pak (SOAS, University of London), Kenneth Wells (Australian National University), and Kwon Hee-Young (Academy of Korean Studies). In their papers, Robinson, Wells, and De Ceuster moved beyond the explanation and telling of history. Robinson explored the concept of a master narrative, in which nationalism is itself a 20th century construction built as a reaction to colonialism, and taken up and enshrined as a state code. Similarly, Wells began by questioning the belief in nation as a core for Korean historiography, and went on to explore alternative views. He asked what other paradigms contemporary Korean historians use to construct Korean identity, but found

none capable of being sustained. Looking at the historiography of collaboration, De Ceuster distinguished contending discourses which, however, do not challenge the predominant nationalist paradigm.

Pak and Kwon used different nationalist perspectives to reassess the

## Historians and others must give the past a form, a form on which to base our current identity

historiography of the colonial period. Pak sought to respond to the violent logic of the 'angry history' of the *minjung* populist movement. The core of her paper challenged the *minjung* critique of one early 20th century ideologue, An Ch'angho, as a gradualist. Elaborating on An's master plan premised on ideology, education, and labour, Pak showed that military actions were at the pinnacle of his ideology. Kwon tried to project a more standard post-war historiography backwards. He compared two historians who would normally not be considered in the same breath: Shin Ch'aeho and Paek Namun.

The former was a historical materialist writing before the Japanese subsumed Korea in 1910, and the latter a socialist historian active two decades later. Kwon's argument hinged on common features in their discussions of identity but, since Shin interpreted independence in terms of national sovereignty, and Paek talked more of class struggle, the comparison remained a curious choice.

Accepting that the elements associated with Korean identity – as Koreans consider it today – have largely

been laid down in the last century, two papers explored the construction of lineage identity. Clan, family, and lineage structure is a common theme in the Korean Studies tradition. At the workshop, Sung-jong Paik and Dieter Eikemeier questioned the historical authenticity of lineage charts. Paik looked at clan genealogies of common names as Kim, Yi, Pak and asked how lineages were expanded in the 19th century by assimilating what were claimed to be branch lineages. Eikemeier, a folklorist, focused on origin myths and shrine religion to show how the Kwangsan Kims on Cheju-do had manipulated their position.

### The 'New Woman' ideal

In a completely different vein, two contrasting papers discussed contemporary historical literature. One, by JaHyun Kim Haboush (University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign), explored the changing attitudes to the 18th century King Chongjo and philosopher Tasan in two 1990 best-selling novels by Hwang In'gyong and Yi Inhwa and a more restrained 1986 novel by Hahn Moo-Sook, *Man-nam* (Encounter). The second paper, by Kyeong-Hee Choi (Indiana University), looked at Pak Wanso *Mother's Stake*, and discussed the 1930s 'New Woman' ideal as described in this autobiographical novel in terms of a contemporary feminist literary critique.

Two papers were ahistorical. Nancy Abelmann (University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign) took a single informant's narrative as the basis for a discussion of social mobility in recent times. Abelmann was less concerned with validating history than with elucidating class identification and gender roles. Alain Delisson (EHESS, Paris) focused on one person and one organisation, Kim Sugun and Konggan (Space) (1960-1993). Kim was an architect who, through a theatre, exhibition hall, and magazine, promoted what Delisson saw as a static notion of Korean identity that highlighted aspects of tradition coupled with modern elements to make them relevant for contemporary life.

Bringing the discussions together was no easy task. While all participants accepted how widespread the nationalist identity narrative was in Korean scholarship and writing, there was less agreement as to how to validate or reject it. Boudewijn Walraven (Leiden University) provided a suitable concluding paper, starting with L. P. Hartley's 'the past is another country' and progressing to the observation that the past is not there: historians and others must give the past a form, a form on which to base our current identity. Thus, it is up to scholars to position themselves in the narrative, and to make clear in their writings which narrative and which historiography they believe to be appropriate.

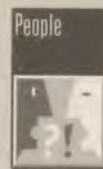
This international workshop, held at the Centre for Korean Studies, Leiden University, was sponsored by the Korea Research Foundation and the IIAS. ■

## Cornelis Ouwehand 1920-1996



Not only books and libraries, also scholars go up in flames. His flame was light and warm and shall long be with us. Cornelis Ouwehand was born in Leiden on 10 November 1920. He passed away in Heiloo (a village near the town of Alkmaar) on 5 September 1996. He was a scholar and a man of letters and a friend of the arts. His work, as fine in literature as in anthropology and folklore studies, remains.

■ By FRITS VOS and JAN VAN BREMEN



Ouwehand studied at the University of Leiden, where he completed the training course for the Indonesian Civil Service, besides which he studied Japanese, Chinese, and Cultural Anthropology. He began his studies in Leiden in 1938. He was in the Indonesian Civil Service from 1945 to 1950, then came back to Holland. From 1951 to 1959 he was Assistant Curator, and from 1959 to 1968 Curator of the Japanese Department in the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden. He organized the first exhibition of *mingei* in the Netherlands in 1958 and a major exhibition of Japanese woodblock prints in 1964.

That same year Ouwehand earned the degree of Doctor of Letters in Leiden with a thesis entitled: *Namazu-e and their themes. An interpretative approach to some aspects of Japanese folk religion* (Leiden: E.J. Brill). The book was translated in Japan in the 1970s by Komatsu Kazuhiko, Nakazawa Shinichi, Iijima Yoshiharu, and Furui Shinpei. The translations were the subject of a series of discussions under the leadership of Takeda Chōshū in the Folklore Society in Dōshisha University in Kyoto. Part One first appeared in *Denshō to Rekishī*, the organ of the Society. The translation was published in 1979, in a well-illustrated edition, as *Namazu-e. Minzokuteki Sōzōryoku No Sekai* by Serika Shobō in Tōkyō. It also includes Ouwehand's first major study, 'Some Notes on the God Susano-o' from 1958-1959. The article and dissertation carry on the tradition of

studies on the trickster figure espoused by Leiden anthropologists. At the same time, the study was a reaction to previous works which he considered to be one-sided in their interpretation of the god.

Ouwehand left Holland in 1968 to take up the Japanese chair in the newly created *Ostasiatisches Seminar* in the University of Zürich, a position which he held until his retirement in 1986. In fact, he stayed two years longer until the post was filled anew. He is considered the founder of Japanese Studies in Switzerland. Two months before his death a volume of his *opera minora* was published by the *Schweizerische Asien Gesellschaft* entitled, *Über westöstliche Wege der Japonologie und andere Reden und Aufsätze. Eine Auswahl*.

*Hateruma: socio-religious aspects of a South-Ryukyuan island culture* was published in 1985 in Leiden but actually appeared in 1986. It is a rich account of the ritual life in Hateruma, an island in the Yaeyama group. It is based on two lengthy periods of fieldwork, the first from April to December in 1965, and the second from October 1975 to February in 1976, and a number of shorter stays.

Ouwehand also devoted himself to literary work, translating six novels by Kawabata Yasunari, and one by Mishima Yukio (*The Golden Pavilion*), for which he received the prestigious *Martinus Nijhoff Award* in the Netherlands in 1985.

In 1992 Ouwehand returned to the Netherlands. He took up residence in the village of Heiloo just behind the dunes and close to the North Sea, where, with his eyesight beginning to fail him, he liked to go and listen to the sound of the waves. ■

4 > 7 SEPTEMBER 1996  
BARCELONA, SPAIN

## The 11<sup>th</sup> EACS Conference China and the Outer World

Report



The 11th bi-annual conference of the European Association of Chinese Studies, this time entitled 'China and the Outer World', was hosted by the Universitat Pompeu Fabra in Barcelona. Not only did the title of the conference imply internationality, but many of the participating scholars also agree that more supranational cooperation in the field of Chinese Studies will be required in the future. The great number of participants from a large number of countries in Europe – including some universities in Eastern Europe – considered in addition to the variety of subjects presented as papers, at the very least expressed an increasing interest in and the importance of the organization.

By ANGELA  
SCHOTTENHAMMER  
and MICHEL HOCKX

For many European sinologists, this was their first opportunity to become acquainted with colleagues from Catalunya and Spain, where the study of China has only recently begun to flourish. Organizer Dolores Folch i Fornesa and her assistants turned out to be extremely well-prepared for the arrival of hundreds of scholars from various countries inside and outside Europe. As a result, the conference proceeded smoothly and it was a great joy to attend.

In terms of intellectual content, the conference also turned out extremely rewarding and provided ample evidence of the vitality of European sinology. It was clear from many of the papers that European sinologists not only cherish their tradition of rigorous, independent research based on a thorough knowledge of sources, but that they are also constantly applying these skills to a critical re-evaluation of their work or that of their predecessors. During the various sessions, of which the subjects ranged from ancient history to contemporary economics, scholars displayed a strong tendency to use new materials (rather than new theories) in efforts to reconsider what has been thought standard knowledge. In this way, a surprising number of what some termed 'sinological myths' were deprived of their factual basis.

The panels included the following topics: 1. The Future of China's Unity; 2. Coastal and South China up to the Qing Times; 3. China and the Outer World in Premodern Times; 4. The Impact of Economic Changes on China; 5. Thought and Religion; 6. Modern and Contemporary Literature; 7. Chinese Studies and New Information Technology; 8. Chinese Language; 9. Chinese Society; 10. Chinese Art; 11. Chinese Classical Literature and 12. Modern Political History.

### Twenty-eight Bolsheviks

Professor Folch i Fornesa herself, for example, during the session 'Coastal and South China up to the Qing Times', offered an interesting contribution on the relationship between Gonzales de Mendoza's book on China and previous, mostly still unpublished, Spanish sources and explained how Mendoza made use of them. Professor Piero Corradini in his presentation during the panels on 'Thought and Religion' shed significant doubt on the alleged existence of an ancient Chinese edifice known as the Ming Tang. In the same panel Lothar Wagner from Heidelberg, in a well-informed paper on the political usages of the seal script during the Tang dynasty, almost casually denied the authenticity of the famous 'Imperial Seal', which was supposedly handed down from one dynasty to the other.

The most astoundingly iconoclastic paper of the conference was given by Thomas Kampen (Berlin) in a session on modern political history. Dealing with the subject of the so-called 'twenty-eight bolsheviks', well-known to modern historians as a group within the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party during the early 1930s, Kampen proved, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the whole group never existed, let alone that it would have been responsible for any of the changes in the Party leadership taking place at the time.

The papers on modern and contemporary literature were divided equally over critical and socio-historical approaches. Literature scholars were especially happy with the presence and active participation of the well-known Chinese critic Chen Xiaoming, whose work was referred to and quoted in every paper on contemporary literature and who ended the contemporary literature session with an authoritative lecture on Chinese fiction from the 1980s and 1990s.

### Information Technology

The section 'Technical and methodological aspects of developing, accessing and administering electronic databases' (Panel no.7 with Prof. Rudolf Wagner from Heidelberg University as referee) introduced the latest developments in using more effective and faster methods of research and information technology in the field of Chinese Studies. The session simultaneously introduced domains with which many scholars are not yet quite familiar. Anybody, for example, who would claim that he or she belonged to that particular group of persons could seize the opportunity to participate in a workshop organized by Thomas Hahn, Heidelberg University. The workshop was aimed at presenting an overview of the different types of accessible on-line resources, from data-banks to library catalogues. A separate room was provided and furnished with several computers and following his instructions 'lay people' could try to get into certain sections of the Internet, draft specific information like book titles and to get access to certain libraries e.g. in Taiwan or the United States. Most interesting of all appeared to be a search through the database of the 24 dynastic histories. If you want to know how often in the Chinese Han Dynasty emperors issued decrees to cut down state expenditure or increased taxes, you can feed the computer with a relevant Chinese term or expression, e.g. 'zengshui' (to increase taxes), and it will show you all the references within a textual context of eighteen characters in front of and after the term you were looking for; of course you have also the possibility to load longer text passages. What necessary set-up do you need for this kind of research? Firstly, two Chinese systems and a windows programme; furthermore a FTP (file transfer programme), telnet application, a net-scape navigator and, of course, an official login and password. The costs connected with the use of database and internet for sinological research may deter many from using it. But in the long run any bigger institution for Chinese Studies should think about establishing an access to such electronic database. For many kinds of research the saving of time will be enormous.

Other events worth mentioning were the showing of the documentary *The Gate of Heavenly Peace* and the ensuing critical discussion, and a very lively session with scholars from Heidelberg who presented their collective research project on the 'public sphere' of late-Qing Shanghai.

All in all, the Barcelona conference was a stimulating event and provided those present with much confidence in the future of Chinese Studies in Europe. ■

DR ANGELA SCHOTTENHAMMER  
is a research fellow at the IAS.

DR MICHEL HOCKX  
is lecturer in Modern Chinese Literature  
and Language at SOAS, London.

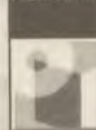
### BOOK REVIEW

## Real China From Cannibalism to Karaoke



JOHN GITTINGS, *Real China. From Cannibalism to Karaoke.*  
London: Simon & Schuster 1996. xi + 311 pp., with chronology, maps and index.  
ISBN: 0-684-81674-1 (hc), £15.99

Publications



Real China is a very readable book, for those with a general interest in China and for the 'China-watchers'. Besides being an old China-hand, Gittings is an experienced journalist, which shows in his writing style. The book, made on the basis of a series of some 10 visits, describes 'Middle China', more precisely the provinces of Henan, Hubei, Hunan, Guangxi, Hainan and Guangdong, chosen for its being 'physically, politically and culturally China's heartland' (p. 3).

By KITTY YANG

Sometimes Gittings goes a little too far, for example, when he quotes conversations verbatim (p.26), giving the probably unwanted impression that fiction has overtaken fact. And although there is no present without the past, less focus on details of China's long history would enhance the book's appeal. Having said this, it has to be admitted that in many cases the details are interesting in themselves.

The author explains in chapter 1 why the themes reflected by the in total 11 chapters have been chosen. Of course, one can argue whether a book on modern China should confine itself to five provinces and some 9 main themes, but again Gittings has done a good job with his meticulous search for data and clear presentation. In chapter 2 Gittings covers the peasant revolts and the social unrest still stirring in the hinterland of China, economically still lagging far behind the coastal areas. In 'The Religion Fever', then, Gittings is quick to point out the relation between steady (though mainly rural) increase in religious beliefs on the one hand, and the disillusionment with the Party on the other (p.82). The history of floods as described in chapter 4 entitled 'Daming the Gorges' seems almost literary in its elaborate descriptions of nature and the power of water. When going into the heavily disputed Sanxia project [Three Gorges Dam] however, the author ends with the rather dry conclusion that '... [it] will certainly lead to much bigger problems' (p.115). Chapter 5, describing Wuhan as a city struggling for revival, shows the difficulties that many inland industrial cities face, such as massive unemployment, pollution, and a lack of infrastructure, while trying to attract new investors. Chapter 6, 'The Legacy of Mao', covers some 35 years, quickly going from the Cultural Revolution to Mao's death in 1976, and linking the 1989 Beijing Massacre (as Gittings calls it) and the Mao Fever in the early 90s directly to Mao's enormous influence. One of the big issues regularly discussed, namely the question whether Mao realized that The Great Leap For-

ward had failed, is answered positively by the author. He concludes with subtlety that Mao perhaps fled into poetry to forget about the reality that could not have escaped his attention (p.149).

### Eye for Detail

The choice of Shen Congwen (China's 'most brilliant 'nativist' writer', p.175) as the main topic for chapter 7 is questionable. Though Shen is a good writer, the main reason seems to be his being Hunanese, providing a link – though tenuous – to the rest of the book. In chapter 8 the writer describes what is even made part of the subtitle: cannibalism [in the Cultural Revolution]. Zheng Yi's book *Red Monument* is far more revealing, but it is amazing to see how open the people who answered Gittings' questions seem to have been about their gruesome past. Chapters 9 and 10 deal with Hainan and Guangdong respectively, showing what economic impulses have done to the regions, with again a lot of attention for its history.

Gittings' eye for detail shows again when, tongue in cheek, he describes how Deng Xiaoping on his southern tour of 1992 was photographed by foreign tourists as 'a subtle way of leaking the news of his initiative to conservative critics in Beijing, mistrustful of the new economic reforms. (In theory Deng was in retirement so his utterances could not be reported in the official press until the Beijing leaders had approved.)' (p.251).

Lastly, Gittings bravely concludes with a chapter asking THE question where China is heading. One must admire the author for making a genuine attempt to address several issues that are the subjects of long and deep discussions, such as the possibility of China going through more 'Tian'anmen Squares', further provincial autonomy without separation, Party survival, and a (new) way forward. The answers given may be cautious, but they are based on thorough research and deserve credit for the clear logic with which they are expressed, and the writer's grit in venturing some personal insights. I look forward to more of Gittings' work. ■

## The World Power China

## The Hungry Giant



The basis for this discussion was an article published in the German boulevard magazine Stern, no. 28/96, supplemented by numerous contributions to the topic by other Western media, and conversations with laypersons and specialists. An analysis shows that the Stern's standpoint is not a single, 'misleading' exception.

■ By ANGELA SCHOTTENHAMMER

It is always striking to observe to what extent Western reflections on China's political and economic development can change within a very short period of time. After the Tiananmen massacre it was Deng Xiaoping who was vilified as a cannibal consuming his own population – yet not long before that, in 1985, he had still been designated as 'Man of the Year' by the American Time magazine. Apparently, the 'Chinese

menace' nowadays appears to be much more threatening. It is the Chinese himself with an inscrutable expression on his face – what is he concealing under his mask? – who is on the point of swallowing the entire globe shovelled in with his chopsticks. Compared to the voracious hunger of this Chinese, who wants to gulp down the whole world, the voracity of Deng was nothing less innocent. In this way an old spectre,

which is well-known to every Westerner, is solemnly revived namely, the 'Yellow Menace'.

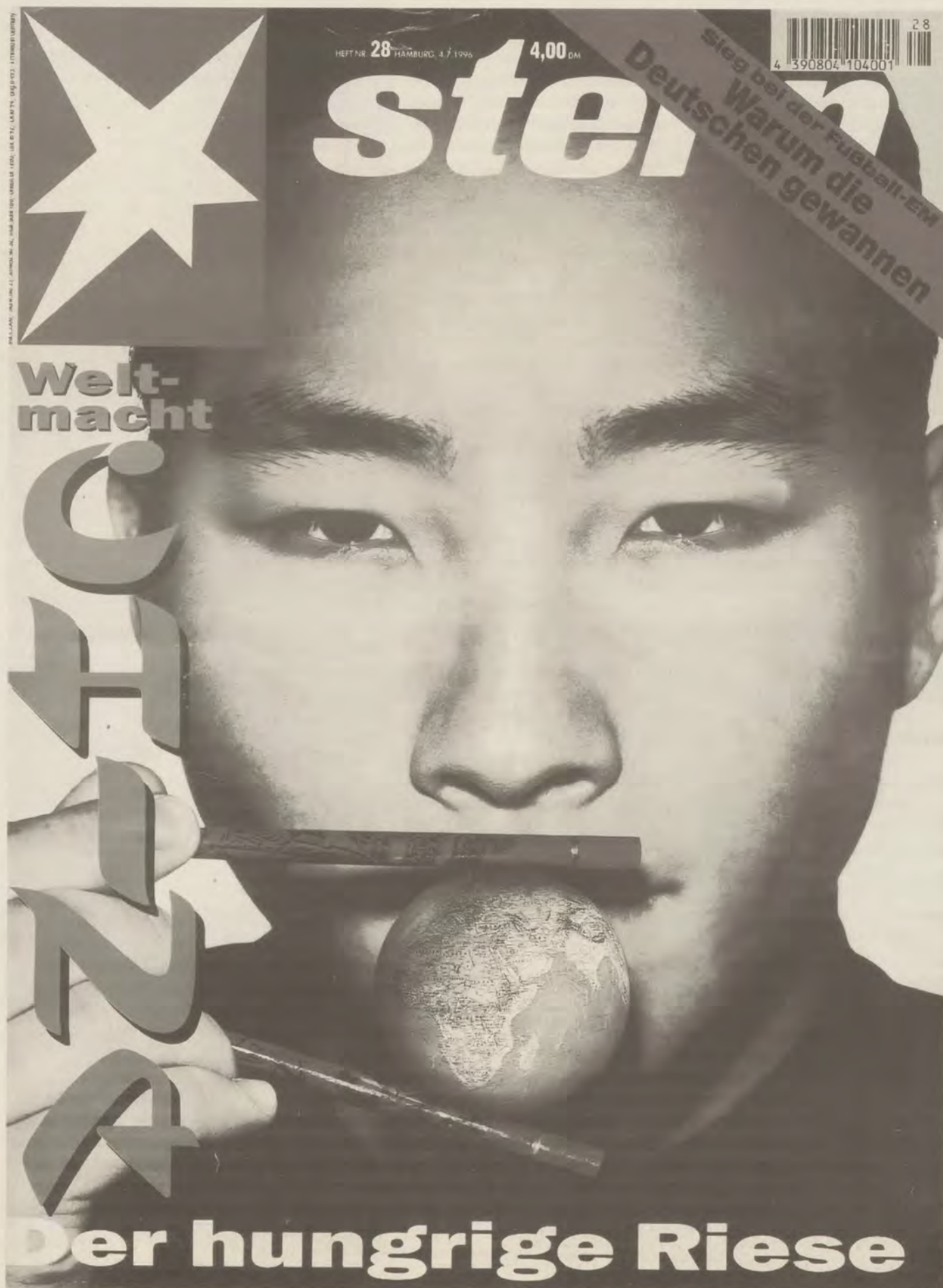
Some twenty or thirty years ago this menace was still couched in a mathematical exercise: What would happen if 800,000,000 Chinese with an average weight of 50 kg all simultaneously jumped on to the ground from a height of one metre...? The answer is unequivocal, many things would then be thrown off balance! The essential characteristics of the Chinese inevitably seem to hinge on two points: firstly, that there are more than a billion of them, and secondly they are all afflicted with a hungry stomach – no wonder that they do

not even shrink from eating dogs and sparrows.

Strictly speaking, this ideology can be traced back to the idea that there is such a huge mass of individuals who all submit to one supreme central power. Or, why is nobody afraid of what would happen if all the black or all the white people on earth were to do something at the same time...? Nowadays this old ideology of the 'Yellow Menace' has obviously been reevaluated, but the story has undergone some modifications. 'Within the country (China) a new middle class is in the process of formation which is not content with its three daily dishes of rice... Within the last 6 years the consumption of pork has been doubled... The breeding cattle are fed with grain, a fact which led to an explosion in Chinese imports: in 1994 China was still exporting 9 million tons of grain, in the following year it had to buy 16 million tons from abroad... No wonder in a country in which one-fifth of mankind makes its home, but which possesses no more than 7% of the arable land worldwide.' What fails to arouse the astonishment of the author should, all the more, arouse the reader's amazement: how did the Chinese manage not only to provide themselves with grain, but still export some 9 million tons in 1994? By adducing his example of wealthy parvenus the author himself, without realizing it, offers the explanation: a lot of farmers abandoned the growing of corn and turned to the cultivation of products which would yield more profit on the markets. In such simple calculations based on the workings of the market economy, which will also have its effect on grain production, and on import and export terms, the author, however, sees quite different dangers lurking. First of all, we must admit, it is in fact a sort of impertinence to allow 1.2 billion people only 7% of the arable land available and, simultaneously, for them also to want to eat pork, isn't it? There could be worse things in store. What would happen if the Chinese consumed 'as much fish as the Japanese', 'as much beer as the Germans' or 'as much chocolate as the sweet-eaters of all countries'...? If this were so, what would happen? Who possesses the appropriate grain silos, fishing fleets, breweries, or chocolate factories and could press for payment on delivery? Should it be a problem that China has a high demand for one commodity or the other, a demand which had only to be satisfied and that with the help of which the profits of the exporters could be increased? Or should the Chinese not have enough money to pay, then the logic 'what would happen, if...' would be obsolete anyhow! But, as he does not appear to heed such facts, 'it dawns on' the author, although he assumes that he represents the rest of the world, that 'nobody can ignore what one-fifth of mankind is doing. The sheer appetite of China for a better life has consequences that reach their tentacles out as far as to the remotest corners in the earth.'

#### China must be fed

After the author has conjured up a vision of the way the swarm of yellow ants eat everything away from the rest of the world, he finally realizes what is the most important fact



about competition in the international trade: namely, China must be fed - of course in terms of profit calculation, and that goes without saying! And not just by anybody, but by the economy of the nation itself, which should attract the greatest share of the international market at the expense of other nations. Thus, the author notes, not without a hint of complaint: 'Even today Germany

political demand ... it is indeed new to Western politicians to be suddenly confronted with a nation which repudiates such efforts to exert political influence. In this context a German foreign minister has even had to succumb to the experience that German politics have overstretched the mark. (After that incident a corresponding internal discussion took place about the 'smashing of porcelain' in diplomatic relations with China).



DER SPIEGEL NR. 14 17 JUNI 1989

is only the sixth biggest trade partner of China, but from 1990 to 1995 the volume of trade has already doubled.' So, everybody can be pleased with the information that e.g. the Volkswagen company by now holds 56% of the Chinese car industry market. This example serves to show the reader that it is indeed possible to make good money from China's appetite, which the West is very eager to satisfy generously. Even then, the Chinese do not make matters any easier for the dogged West: '... the economic and political cooperation with China is no bed of roses, as the conflict on the Tibet resolution in the [German] Bundestag has once again drastically shown. The governors in Peking are hypersensitive, especially when terms cut across human rights.'

Buoyed up by their own economic success and therefore generally used to setting their own terms of trade when doing business with the poorer countries of the globe; tying economic assistance to one or the other

would not have to be afraid of the 'severe crisis' the author anticipates: 'Millions of Chinese would seek refuge in the neighbouring countries, or in America and Europe.' So be it, they had better keep on eating their sparrows. The Chinese simply cannot do anything right in the eyes of the West.

**The unity of China**

The author is well aware of the fact that the former ideology of the Communist Party (CP) has lost its effect on the new Chinese society; but he imputes a new stratagem to the CP: 'As a substitute, for some time past, the government has been trying to propagate nationalism. The unity of the country, which consists of 30 provinces, is being menaced claims [the CP]: Only the Communist Party, in alliance with the Peoples' Liberation Army, can guarantee [unity].' From one angle, this statement is very interesting, as from the Western point of view, generally speaking, it is a somewhat

... it is indeed new to Western politicians to be suddenly confronted with a nation which repudiates such efforts to exert political influence. In this context a German foreign minister has even had to succumb to the experience that German politics have overstretched the mark. (After that incident a corresponding internal discussion took place about the 'smashing of porcelain' in diplomatic relations with China). However, instead of listening to the sincere advices offered by the West, 'the Chinese do not give a fig about critics from abroad. They insist on the separation of politics and economics. They are very clever in taking advantage of the competition between American and European companies... It is the size of their market which allows the Chinese to set such hard terms.' It is really unbelievable! The Chinese, when it's all said and done, do insist on the principle that business remains business, while simultaneously even doing their best to use international competition to win their own terms! This may be enough to drive a Western observer to sheer despair, as, tantalized by the huge dimensions of this market, he constantly has to pull himself up sharply and realize that exploiting it is not the same as gaining political control; he has to come to terms with the fact that in this case a foreign nation is indeed trying to call the tune and use a reciprocal relationship on its own terms, in order to develop its own country.

The contradictions within Chinese society, which were generated by the CP's reform programme, are then listed by the author as simple phenomena. In this context he again refers to China's 'hunger', and his description is not without a certain irony. When 'in China's fourth biggest city Shenyang' workers were marching in the streets shouting 'we are hungry', the author knows very well that this very real, actual hunger - in contrast to the Chinese hunger for the whole world as pictured at the beginning of his article - is nothing which Western companies could turn to their financial advantage, and he then expands and translates the problem into one of the capability of the present leadership to survive. The best thing that could happen would be if the present leadership could manage to make themselves superfluous as a political leadership with its corresponding power and influence, while managing to solve all the contradictions in the society. Should this be realized, 'the rest of the world'

would not have to be afraid of the 'severe crisis' the author anticipates: 'Millions of Chinese would seek refuge in the neighbouring countries, or in America and Europe.' So be it, they had better keep on eating their sparrows. The Chinese simply cannot do anything right in the eyes of the West.

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new idea that nationalism should be something like a 'substitute ideology', after all, it is valued as an expression of natural self-confidence. Despite this, is it perhaps not true that a cloud does hang over the unity of the Chinese nation and that the CP has some glimmerings that its own reforms have created the myriad contradiction also mentioned by the author, and that the CP as the central power, will have to do something about this if it wants to maintain the unity of China? Consequently the CP considers a means, one which every executive power comes upon in the case of an imminent national emergency situation: the national military apparatus. As the CP claims Taiwan as one of its provinces, this is also reflected in the corresponding naval and air force build up. After all, the reform programme was supposed to strengthen the Chinese state, and a strong power naturally has to have the corresponding military apparatus to defend itself, is this not the case?

The inscrutable Chinese poised on the brink of swallowing the world - Stern seems to have recognized this by instinct - does indeed express some kind of uneasiness towards the present development in China: China is simply not willing to have itself ranged into the hitherto prevailing hierarchy of nations which encompasses world-wide international trade. In a nutshell this is precisely the reason that China appears to be a menace in principle. As a China expert one is of course at liberty to draw this factual situation in somewhat different terms: 'Great powers are like divas... They enter the stage with a lot of brouhaha.' Fareed Zakaria (according to Stern), is also representative of Caesar, Napoleon, Bismarck, Peter the Great...; Oh yes, I see, if that's the way it is...! ■

DR ANGELA SCHOTTENHAMMER  
(Sinologist) is a research fellow at the IIAS.

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17 > 19 APRIL 1996  
LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS

# Hierarchization: Processes of social differentiation in the Austronesian world



Report



All Austronesian societies to a greater or lesser degree find themselves engaged in processes of hierarchization, whether they have conventionally been described as 'hierarchical', such as the societies of Bali or Java, or as 'egalitarian', such as those of Borneo. Hierarchization is a common Austronesian concern and, therefore, the topic lent itself to a comparative treatment.

■ By MICHAEL VISCHER

This conference viewed itself as part of a larger comparative Austronesian agenda and as a follow up to the Canberra conference on hierarchy of 1989 organized by the Comparative Austronesian Project of the Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies at the Australian National University. The Leiden conference brought together 21 social anthropologists from Europe as well as from overseas, all of them have conducted long-term field research among Austronesian societies. For comparative purposes the choice fell mainly on Central Malayo-Polynesian speaking societies, which did not deter a number of contributors from also drawing on material from the wider Austronesian world (in-

cluding Austronesian speakers located in a non-Austronesian field).

One of the principal aims of the conference was to discuss a comparative Austronesian agenda in order to align and synergize present research efforts. Various analytical approaches to the topic of hierarchization were represented; namely those associated with the work of the French sociologist Louis Dumont and those associated with the work of the anthropologist James J. Fox of the Australian National University. The conference provided a forum for the exchange of ideas connected with these approaches. A volume containing the conference papers will be published in 1997. ■

This IIAS conference was organized by DR MICHAEL VISCHER, research fellow.

29 > 30 AUGUST 1996  
LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS

IIAS Master Class by Jan Fontein

## Narrative Sculpture and Literary Traditions

Report



In the week preceding the Sixth International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists, the opportunity was taken to hold a master class at Leiden University on the topic Narrative Sculpture and Literary Traditions in South and Southeast Asia. Professor Jan Fontein had invited six scholars from Asia, America, and Europe to present papers on topics dealing with various aspects of this overall theme.

■ By JAN FONTEIN

In spite of the vast area covered by the speakers, ranging from India to Cambodia and east Java, the common denominator of the presentations, i.e. the similar relationships between text and image and the narrative techniques shared by the different cultures, provided the cohesion needed for a focused yet diverse treatment of the theme. The outcome was a lively discussion of the often closely related problems that scholars involved in different areas of South and

Southeast Asia face when trying to identify and analyse narrative sculpture.

The master class was opened by the chairman, who in his introductory presentation entitled *Sculpture, text and tradition at Borobudur: a reconsideration* listed the many different types of discrepancies that can occur between transmitted text and preserved images, illustrating them with examples taken from the reliefs of Borobudur. C.S. Patil (Mysore), who spoke on *Panchatantra sculptures and literary traditions in India* later expanded his talk to include sculptures

from Indonesia, illustrating the same stories, when he addressed the EURASEAA conference. Natalia Rodriguez (Paris: *Variations on an iconographic theme: Arjuna and Kirata*) likewise drew intercultural comparisons between Cambodian and East Javanese sculpture. The other participants dealt with various aspects of Central and East Javanese reliefs: Lydia Kieven (Cologne) spoke on *Arjuna, Bima and Panji - three heroes and their stories presented in reliefs at Candi Kendalisada, Mt. Penanggungan*; Marijke Klokke (Leiden) gave new identifications in *The Krishna reliefs at Panataran*; Cecilia Levin (New York) presented *The Ramayana reliefs of Loro Jonggrang* and Julie Gifford (Chicago) spoke on *Visualisation, meditation and the reliefs of Borobudur*. Rodriguez, Levin, and Gifford later also presented modified and abbreviated versions of their presentations at the EURASEAA conference.



From left to right:  
PROFESSOR JAN FONTEIN, DR JULIE GIFFORD, DR NATALIA RODRIGUEZ,  
and DR CECILIA LEVIN.

In conclusion it should be mentioned that the concept of the 'master class', reputedly first proposed for musicians by Franz Liszt, would also seem to present a viable forum for the exchange of scholarly views on clearly defined topics by young scholars. An unexpectedly beneficial by-product of the master class manifested itself at the EURASEAA conference, at which two of the participants, Marijke Klokke and Julie Gifford, presented well-coordinated and compelling evidence for a new vision on Borobudur. By discarding the prevailing interpretations of Borobudur as a mandala and a monument of tantric Buddhism, they

reaffirmed its importance as an edifice of a shape and function inspired by mainstream Mahayana Buddhism. A publication containing most of the papers presented in the master class is in the planning stage. ■

PROFESSOR JAN FONTEIN

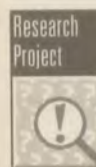
is director emeritus of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. He recently curated two large travelling exhibitions entitled 'China's Distant Past' and 'The Buddhas of Siam'. The latter exhibition is currently on view in the Cinquantenaire Museum in Brussels (until 16 February).



15 APRIL 1997

VRIJE UNIVERSITEIT AMSTERDAM, THE NETHERLANDS  
INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP

# Developments in the Coordination of Asian Collections



Dutch research libraries hold vast and important collections relating to Asia, both of older materials and of new literature. These collections grew out of a long tradition in which individual library policy was decisive for the maintenance of a particular collection. Because of this, library resources were not always built and maintained in a transparent way and there has been little coordination among the different libraries.

With the growing amount of publications and the steadily rising prices on the one hand and the decrease of library funds on the other, isolated library policies have become less desirable. The feeling has grown among librarians that increased coordination in the acquisition of new materials in the field of Asian studies is necessary for a more balanced overall coverage of publications.

In 1995 the IIAS initiated a Platform for Dutch research libraries with collections in the field of Asian Studies.

The first aim of the platform is to increase knowledge of the various libraries and librarians. The platform should also lead to an agreement about coordination of future collection formations.

## Collection Coordination

In April 1997 the IIAS will organize a workshop in Amsterdam exploring the possibilities for increased coordination of Asian collections among Dutch libraries. The problems of collection formation and coordination are not confined to the Netherlands, but can be seen in a global context. In the workshop, librarians will discuss international experiences with coordination of Asian collections. The workshop consists of a morning and an afternoon session:

In the morning session librarians of the major Asian collections in the Netherlands will discuss issues of collection coordination and policy making with specialists from abroad. Four speakers from abroad have been invited: Distributed National Collections Office (Australia); Son-

dersammelgebiete (Germany); Library of Congress (USA); and the British Library (UK). Apart from these, librarians from Malaysia, China, India and Japan have also been invited to participate.

The afternoon session is directed more towards the issues of collection coordination that are specifically connected with the Dutch situation. An invitation has been sent to the national project of coordination of collection formation, carried out by the Royal Dutch Library in The Hague. Each speech will be followed by a discussion; at the end of the day there will be ample room for informal contacts among the participants. ■

For more information:

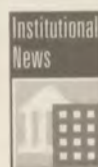
**RIK HOEKSTRA**

IIAS

Tel: +31-71-527 4126

E-mail: Hoekstra@rulcri.leidenuniv.nl

# Netherlands Association for Asian and Pacific Studies



On 20 August 1996, the Netherlands Association for Asian and Pacific Studies (NVAPS) was officially established. In addition to aiming at the encouragement of studies in the Humanities and Social Sciences of Asia and the Pacific, the association actively promotes the interests of those engaged in such studies in the Netherlands and Belgium.

The NVAPS serves both as a platform and an umbrella organization for social and human scientists who are interested in the Pacific and Asian regions, spanning from the Middle East to the Pacific.

The timely establishment of the NVAPS is confirmed by the fact that specialists in Central or East Asian studies were still lacking an organizational framework and by the fact that WOTRO's working committees (werkgemeenschappen) for South Asia, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific had become ineffective due to a policy change by NWO/WOTRO. In January 1996, a special meeting of the working committees of Southeast Asia and the Pacific decided to form a steering committee to investigate whether there was enough support in academic circles for an association for Asian and Pacific studies. The steering committee received ample positive response; thus, the NVAPS was launched. By the end of 1996, WOTRO's working committees for South Asia, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific will, in all probability, cease to exist as their respective boards have advised their members to join NVAPS.

The board of the NVAPS currently consists of nine members representing the various regions of Asia, as well as a representative of Belgium and a student representative. So far more than a hundred persons have joined the NVAPS, a number of which are freelance researchers and non-academics, which is in keeping with one of the many aims of the NVAPS: to provide a network for members of these special categories.

## Conference of Dutch Asianists

One of the first major activities of NVAPS is the organization of a meeting of Dutch and Belgian Asianists. This meeting will be held in September 1997 and focuses on the following theme: *Mobiliteit in Azië en de Pacific, Mensen, Goederen en Ideeën in Beweging* (Mobility in Asia and Pacific, Movement of People, Commodities and Ideas). In order to offer maximal accessibility not only to well-established academics, but also to students, young researchers and non-academics, most presentations and discussions will be in Dutch. English presentations, however, are not excluded. The theme of mobility was chosen for its broad scope and suitability for interdisciplinary approaches and interregional comparisons. Regional specialists will be encouraged to transgress the borders of their region during presentations and discussions. Plenary lectures and small-scale sessions will run simultaneously having scientific or semi-scientific sub-themes related to mobility. These sessions may be workshops with papers, round table discussions without formal papers, or poster sessions. One of the semi-scientific sessions will open a dialogue between business people and researchers. Participants of the meeting will be able to alternate (semi-)scientific sessions with film, video or music sessions, or simply visit the various kiosks, where publishers and booksellers present their materials. ■

An information packet on this meeting and the NVAPS will be expedited in November.

Vacancies



THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR ASIAN STUDIES (IIAS) SEEKS:

## 2 Research Fellows<sup>(M/F)</sup>

specialized in the field of the Humanities or the Social Sciences

### REQUIREMENTS/QUALIFICATIONS

Applicants should:

- have a doctorate (PhD) based on research in the Humanities or the Social Sciences (regions: South Asia, Central Asia, East Asia, Southeast Asia);
- have obtained the doctorate less than 5 years ago;
- not be older than 40

### APPOINTMENT

- as soon as possible
- for 3 years with an evaluation at the end of each year

Application forms can be obtained from the IIAS secretariat. Please use the official application forms only. The closing date for applications is 1 March 1997.

For more information please contact:

IIAS, P.O. Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden, the Netherlands.

Tel: +31 (0)71 527 22 27, Fax: +31 (0)71 527 41 62.

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By Appointment

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR ASIAN STUDIES

# AGENDA

## 1996/1997

DECEMBER 1996 > DECEMBER 1997

12-15 DECEMBER 1996  
Asian Minority Cultures in Transition:  
Diversity, Identities and Encounters  
Münster. IIAS/Prof. J. Platenkamp/ESF.

19-20 DECEMBER 1996  
The Works of An Shigao  
IIAS, Leiden. Dr Paul Harrison,  
Prof. Vetter

1997

EARLY 1997  
ABIA - South and Southeast Asian  
Art Index Workshop,  
in Colombo, Sri Lanka.  
IIAS/PGIAR (Colombo).

20-22 MARCH 1997  
Crime and Punishment:  
Criminality in Southeast Asia,  
CASA, Amsterdam. Workshop jointly  
organized by IIAS/Joint Committee for  
Southeast Asia/Social Science Research  
Council (SSRC)/American Council of  
Learned Societies.

24-25 MARCH 1997  
Islam and Mass Media  
Snouck Hurgronje Huis, Leiden.  
IIAS, Dr J. Peeters.

24-27 MARCH 1997  
Tribal Communities in the Malay World:  
Historical, cultural and social perspectives  
in Singapore. IIAS/ISEAS/Institut für  
Etnologie/Centre for Environment,  
Gender and Development. Dr Cynthia  
Chou (IIAS)/ Dr Geoffrey Benjamin  
(National University of Singapore).  
ISEAS/ENGENDER.

15 APRIL 1997  
International Workshop on Developments  
in the Coordination of Asian Collections  
in Amsterdam. IIAS Platform Asian  
Collections/Vrije Universiteit  
Amsterdam (VUA). Dr Rik Hoekstra.

21-24 MAY 1997  
Komintern and its Southern Neighbours  
IIAS/IISG, Dr Zürcher.

29 MAY-1 JUNE 1997  
Changing Labour Relations  
in Southeast Asia  
IIAS Conference in cooperation with  
the IISG in Amsterdam, probably  
to be held in Asia.  
Sequel to Preparatory Meeting of  
11 October 1996 for a long-term  
international research programme.  
IIAS/NIAS/ANU/IISG/Academia  
Sinica (Taiwan)

18-20 JUNE 1997  
Transformation of Houses and Settlements  
in Western Indonesia:  
Changing Values and Meanings of  
Built Forms in History and in the Process  
of Modernization  
in Leiden. ESF seminar, Dr R. Schefold,  
RUL/Dr P. Nas, RUL/G. Domenig, RUL.

19-21 JUNE 1997  
6th International Conference on  
Chinese Linguistics (ICCL-6)  
Leiden. IIAS/ Dr Rint Sybesma/  
Dr Jeroen Wiedenhof.

2-5 JULY 1997  
Third Euroviet Conference: Vietnamese  
Society in Transition, continuity or change?  
Amsterdam. Dr J. Kleinen, IIAS/CASA.

4-5 SEPTEMBER 1997  
Government Liability in East  
and Southeast Asia  
Leiden. Dr Yong Zhang, IIAS.

26-27 SEPTEMBER 1997  
The Overseas Trade of Quanzhou in  
the Song and Yuan Dynasties  
Leiden. Dr A. Schottenhammer, IIAS.

1-4 OCTOBER 1997  
Trade and Navigation in Southeast Asia  
Tokyo, Japan  
Convenor: Prof. Nguyễn Thê Anh  
(École pratique des hautes Études,  
Paris). Sponsored by URA 1075  
'Péninsule Indochinoise' (CNRS/EPHE-  
IVE section); Institute of Asian Cultures  
(Sophia University, Tokyo) and the IIAS.

13-17 OCTOBER 1997  
Perspective of the Bird's head  
Irian Jaya, Indonesia  
ISIR Lipi, IIAS, NWO, Leiden

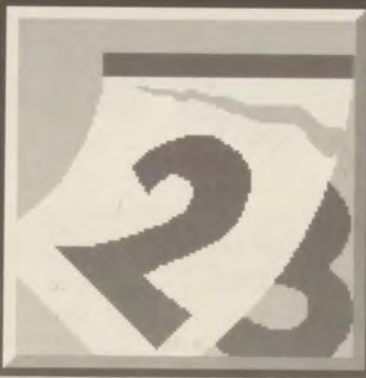
23-25 OCTOBER 1997  
Soviet Legacy:  
Islam and Civic Society in Central Asia  
in Utrecht, the Netherlands.  
Dr Dick Douwes/Dr T. Atabaki  
(European Society for Central Asia  
Studies, Utrecht University)/IIAS and  
the Institute for Oriental Studies,  
Moskou.

END 1997  
Labour Migration in Asia  
in Beijing. Joint IIAS/CASS/ISS seminar,  
Dr Zhang Yunling, Ben White and  
Prof. Opschoor.

DECEMBER 1997  
Encompassing Knowledge:  
Indigenous Encyclopedias in Indonesia  
in the 17th-20th Centuries  
Leiden. ESF Seminar, Prof. Ben Arps

18-20 DECEMBER 1997  
History of North Indian Music:  
14th-20th Centuries.  
Dr Françoise Delvoye, Dr Joep Bor  
(R'dam Conservatory) and Dr Emmie te  
Nijenhuis. Organized by IIAS.

### Agenda



SCHEDULED FOR 1998/1999

The Pace of Life in  
Southeast Asia and Pacific Asia.  
Dr Cribb, Dr J. Houben. IIAS/NIAS  
(1997-1998)

Identity, Locality and Globalization.  
IIAS/Dr E.B. Locher-Scholten,  
Prof. A.K. Bagchi (ICSSR) en Dr J. van  
Goor (University of Utrecht)  
i.s.m. Dr R. Barman Chandra (ICSSR)  
in New Delhi. (March '98)

Philosophical and Religious Tradition  
in Civic Life in the Countries of South  
and East Asia.  
Dr Josef Kolmas, Oriental Institute,  
Prague. (Summer '98)

First International Convention  
of Asia Scholars (FICAS)  
Leiden. Organized by IIAS/AAS.  
(June '98)

The Papers of Asian Manuscripts  
Dr Russel Jones. IIAS  
(end of 1998)

Ethnic Minorities in  
South and Southeast Asia  
Sri Lanka. Prof. Kloos. IIAS/ICES,  
Colombo, Sri Lanka  
(end of 1998)

Conference of European Association  
of South Asian Archaeologists.  
IIAS/KERN/Prof. K. van Kooij (June '99)

7th International Conference on Thai Studies  
IIAS/UVA (CASA) te Amsterdam.  
Dr H. ten Brummelhuis, Dr L. Visser.  
(Autumn '99)

Dutch Asia Collections,  
an Asian Reinterpretation  
Singapore. Exhibition Project.  
IIAS/National Heritage Board of  
Singapore/LUF, Leiden/Asian  
Civilizations Museum, Singapore.  
(1999)

### SINGAPORE PRIME MINISTER VISITS THE IIAS



Goh Chok Tong, Prime Minister of the Republic of Singapore paid a visit to the IIAS on 10 October 1996.  
He was welcomed by Prof. W.A.L. Stokhof, director of the IIAS.

After the welcome speech by Prof. O.D. van den Muijzenberg (Member of the IIAS Board),  
His Excellency Mr Goh met informally with IIAS staff and research fellows.

(From left to right):

PROF. O.D. VAN DEN MUIJZENBERG, PROF. W.A.L. STOKHOF,  
His Excellency RADM (NS) TEO CHEE HEAN (Minister for Environment and Second Minister for Defence),  
and His Excellency MR GOH CHOK TONG (Prime Minister of the Republic of Singapore).







The European Science Foundation  
(Strasbourg, France)  
invites applications for  
**post-doctoral fellowships**  
in Asian Studies

Between 2 to 5 post-doc fellowships will be available in 1997. These posts are funded by contributions from national governments, research councils of the European countries, and The International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) in Leiden. Applications will be considered by the ESF Asia Committee.

The fellowships are tenable for one to three years: two fellowships are tied to the International Institute for Asian Studies (Leiden).

The fellowships are intended for outstanding young scholars holding a PhD or comparable qualification in any field of Asian Studies, who are at the beginning of their academic career, and wish to continue, broaden or deepen their research in a country other than the applicant's own.

Interdisciplinary research and mobility is particularly encouraged. The fellowships are open to applicants from all European countries and to others who have a

well-established relationship with a European research institution.

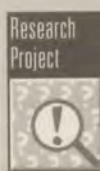
The disciplinary and geographical scope of the ESF Asia Committee covers the study (ancient and modern, humanities and social sciences) of the languages, cultures, societies and economies of South, Central, Southeast and East Asia.

Remuneration will follow the system of the host institution. A contribution towards cost of travel will be provided.

Application forms, returnable by **1 March 1997** at the latest, and more detailed conditions for eligibility may be obtained from the ESF Office:

**Dr Max Sparreboon /**  
**Chantal Durant**  
European Science Foundation  
1 quai Lezay-marnésia  
67080 Strasbourg Cedex, France  
Tel: +33-388-767127  
Fax: +33-388-370532  
Email: CDurant@esf.org

# Bakhshû: 16th Century Poet-Composer and Court-Musician



This article is in the nature of a brief report about the progress of my research work for the one-year project supported by the European Science Foundation Asia Committee, Social and Literary History of Court-Musicians in Western India, 14th-18th Centuries: The case of Nâyak Bakhshû, court-musician of Sultan Bahâdur Shâh Gujarâtî (r. 1526-1537), in the form of a Post-doctoral Fellowship in Asian Studies, 1995-1996.\*

By **FRANÇOISE DELVOYE**

Initially, the collection of historical data about the life of the outstanding 16th century court-musician Nâyak Bakhshû and his various patrons was my prime preoccupation. I have so far collected enough biographical elements to trace his career, as an itinerant court-musician hailing from Gwalior in Central India - like Tansen, as foremost court-musician of the Mughal Emperor Akbar (r. 1556-1605) a few decades later -, and as a man who finally held a prominent position during the reign of Sultan Bahâdur Shâh of Gujarat (r. 1526-1537). The sources used for this aspect of my research work have been Indo-Persian

texts (chronicles and musicological treatises) and vernacular literature, including song texts.

## Compositions attributed to Nâyak Bakhshû

Later on, I felt the need to concentrate on the lyrics attributed to Nâyak Bakhshû, also known as an eminent poet-composer in the Dhru-pad genre of North Indian art music. His compositions continued to be widely sung by court musicians after his death, so appealing were they in fact that the Mughal Emperor Shâh Jahân (r. 1628-1658) ordered the compilation of all Dhru-pad songs attributed to him and transmitted by oral tradition. That poetic anthology is known as Sahasras, 'The Thousand Aesthetic Delights' or Hazâr Dhru-pad, 'The Thousand Dhru-pad Songs'.

During a field trip to Britain, I examined and obtained the microfilms of two important unpublished manuscripts (kept at the India Office Library in London and in the Bodleian Library in Oxford) of this collection of Dhru-pad songs attributed to Nâyak Bakhshû composed in the Braj language, but written in the Arabo-Persian script.

I had initially been planning to collate the one thousand and four compositions of this anthology with Dhru-pad songs bearing the name of the poet-composer or of his various patrons, scattered throughout a number of manuscript collections, such as two musicological works in Sanskrit, with hundreds of lyrics in the Braj language, the Anûpa Sangîta Ratnâkara and the Anûpa Sangîta Vilâsa of Bhâvabhata, a court-musicologist of the Bikaner king, Anûp Singh (r. 1669-1698). The unpublished manuscripts are located in the Anup Sankrit Library, Bikaner, and the Library of the Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur, where I have been working for many years. Unfortunately, during two field-trips to India in February-March and July-August 1996, I was not able to see any manuscript in the Bikaner library, which is closed due to some litigation in the Bikaner royal family. It was only at the end of my second field-trip to Jaipur that I was granted permission to see two manuscripts. But, in spite of unstinting efforts for one week, I could not get the official photographer to make a microfilm of the manuscripts. I decided to go through the 203 folios

(recto-verso) of one text, select and copy around thirty lyrics bearing the names of Shâh Jahân and of two sultans of Gujarat famous for their musical patronage. The collection of these lyrics has been too recent to collate them with the Sahasras anthology, but my initial understanding of their contents encourages me to continue my efforts to find a similar inspiration focusing mostly on the ideal aristocratic patron who knows about all arts, such as love and music.

## New orientation

My initial literary approach to song texts in vernacular Indian languages later developed into a growing curiosity about the socio-historical context in which they were created, and for the aristocratic patrons who sponsored their poet-composers and interpreters. Hence the present ESF project has given me a fresh opportunity to study another example of a multi-cultural artistic phenomenon, highlighting the relationship between a musician, his patrons and his later admirers. The material gathered so far will shed new light on the transmission of musical repertoires through a musician who went from court to court, and whose lyrics were memorized by court artistes for cen-

## The ideal aristocratic patron who knows about all arts, such as love and music

tures. The literary quality of the corpus of song-texts attributed to Nâyak Bakhshû, preserved in rare manuscripts contemporary to their collection, adds an important dimension to my study. In spite of the difficulties which I had to face with the most important manuscript sources located in India, a preliminary assessment of the data which I have collected over the past year has given a new orientation to my work, while confirming my original approach to the subject, which I wish to present in various publications in preparation. ■

\* Cf. The present author's note on 'Studies in Artistic Patronage: Music in the Indo-Persian Courts of India (14th-18th centuries)' in the IIAS Newsletter, No 7, Winter 1996, p. 26.

**DR FRANÇOISE DELVOYE**  
was an ESF fellow posted to the IIAS from November 1995 to November 1996.

## The Asia Committee of the European Science Foundation invites proposals for workshops to take place in 1998.

Workshop proposals (of no more than five pages) are to be sent to the secretariat before 1 March 1997. Between eight and fifteen workshops will be selected for realisation in 1998. In July 1997, initiators will be informed of the Committee's decision.

### Workshop format

A two or three days meeting bringing together some 20 senior as well as junior researchers from at least 7 European and non-European countries. Participants are all expected to contribute to the workshop programme by papers and/or discussion. The financial support consists of a contribution to the cost of travel and accommodation to a maximum of FF 100,000 per workshop. The support is meant exclusively for participants who contribute a paper.

### Disciplinary and geographical scope

The study - ancient and modern, humanities and social sciences - of the languages, cultures, societies and economies of South Asia, Central Asia, Southeast and East Asia

### Criteria

The Asia Committee will strictly apply the following criteria, which form part of its policy to support only those activities which are convincingly shown as bringing added-value by being organised at European level.

- A multidisciplinary approach, maximising collaboration between humanities and social sciences
- The discourse Asia-Europe should be central. Where possible projects should be joint-ventured with scholars and institutions in Asia
- Central issue in all topics should be the 'longue durée'
- The appeal certain topics may have to policy-making is a plus

### The proposal

The workshop proposal must contain the following information

- Names of initiators and organising institution(s)
- Title of workshop and introduction to the topic(s) to be addressed
- Scientific objectives
- Proposed date and venue
- Publication(s) envisaged
- Indication of the expected participation including a number of names and addresses
- An indication of the costs (the ESF calculates the average cost of a 2-3 day workshop including travel and accommodation as FF 5000 per person)

Please note that your proposal, if selected, may be published on the ESF pages of the IIAS newsletter. The report after conclusion of the workshop may also be published in this Newsletter.

### Address and deadline

The workshop proposals should be received at the ESF Asia Committee secretariat in Leiden before 1 March 1997.

Further information about the policy of the Asia Committee with regard to workshop proposals can be obtained from the Committee's Secretariat.

**Mrs drs S.A.M. Kuypers or**  
**Mw drs C.B.W. Veenkamp**  
International Institute for Asian Studies  
P.O. Box 9515  
2300 RA Leiden  
The Netherlands  
Tel: +31-71-5272227  
Fax: +31-71-5274162  
Email: iias@rullet.leidenuniv.nl

30 JUNE > 5 JULY 1996  
LYON, FRANCE

# Seafaring Communities in the Indian Ocean

Report



The conference focused on the period between the 4th century BC and the 15th century AD and included papers covering an extensive region from the Red Sea and east Africa to Indonesia and China. The participants were from a variety of disciplines such as archaeology, philology, anthropology, history, and linguistics which helped generate an active discussion incorporating several different perspectives.

■ By HIMANSHU PRABHA RAY

The sources discussed included papyri and graffiti relating to the organizations of trade from Egypt, Greek and Roman works on India; the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*; and early medieval Jaina literature from western India, as also texts in Bengali from eastern India. One conclusion that emerged was the inherent biases pervading the literary sources and the need to analyse these carefully for a study of the

ern India. The text is written in Ionia – an ancient dialect of Attic and the language of Greek traders in the eastern Mediterranean. The problem is one of translation and comprehension of this text which continues to engage the attention of philologists.

In certain regions of the Indian Ocean, literary sources can often be compared and contrasted with inscriptions, graffiti and as in the case of Egypt, with papyri. Of inestimable value for a study of the organization of trade is the *Muziris papyrus* and the archives of Nicanor. The Nicanor archives provide detailed information on the taxes levied on a variety of items transported along the desert roads from Myos Hormos and Berenice to Egypt. The papyrus

ing scholars formed an important segment of traffic in the Indian ocean. These groups were a potent force for the dispersion of ideas, belief systems and above all, literacy. This topic was touched upon very briefly at the conference and is one of the themes that needs to be developed further in future research on the region.

Several papers at the conference were devoted to a discussion of archaeological artefacts, coins, and ceramics from excavations conducted at coastal sites and inland centres. These centred around two broad themes: long-distance networks; and local and regional systems. The latter could be further subdivided into sectors, such as the sector linking Socotra,

studies continue to be based on iconographic representations of boats and ships, as well as the ethnographic data focused on present traditions of boat-building and navigation. The dominant indigenous tradition at present, as indeed it was in antiquity, is the sewn or stitched-plank tradition. Germane to the issue was the discussion of the excavations at Marseilles which unearthed Greek boats built by the stitched tradition with gradual change to the mortise and tenon system of plank fastening. Technological changes in boat-building in the Indian Ocean in the historical context is a theme that has been little researched, though there has been a continuous tradition of recording and cataloguing boat-types in the region. Attempts by Admiral Paris in this direction with a view to understanding technological changes and evolution were discussed. There have been more recent efforts at documenting the building of indigenous boats along the Orissa coast, such as the reverse-clinker built *patia*. One question that remained unanswered was the usefulness of the ethnographic evidence for a historical study of seafaring in the region. This oft-quoted caution limits the usefulness of the ethnographic data to providing analogies in the event of actual boat-finds. Nevertheless, the limitations of actual boat-finds in terms of adding to the knowledge of hull-types navigation, or the types of sails used needs to be underlined. This was evident from the discussions on the navigational capabilities of the Chinese and the development of the lateen sail presented at the conference, both these being based on iconographic representations and literary sources.

In conclusion, a major agenda for future research in the Indian Ocean remains that of evaluating the biases and limitations of the varied sources such as literary, archaeological, ethnographic and linguistic for a comprehensive study of social change, belief systems and economic transactions. This second conference in a series of research-oriented seminars on the Indian Ocean provided a modest contribution in that direction. The first conference was held in New Delhi in March 1994 and the proceedings have since been published under the title: *Tradition and Archaeology: Early maritime Contacts in the Indian Ocean*, New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 1996. ■



Participants of  
THE 'SEAFARING' CONFERENCE

historical context of maritime contacts in the Indian ocean in antiquity. For example, a major preoccupation of Greek texts written between the 5th century BC and the 2nd century AD was 'continental' India, i.e. the region between the two rivers: the Ganges and the Indus. These rivers were very different from those of Greece but had similarities with the Nile. The campaign of Alexander to the East, made information based on first-hand knowledge of the region available to Greek authors for the first time. Unfortunately, these writings survive only in fragments in quotations in later authors. It is significant that in the post-Alexander period, a majority of the Greek and Roman authors revert to an archaic vision of India based on the obsolete perception of Herodotus. In this context, the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* is unique, as it did not form part of the literary tradition of the time, but addressed itself instead to traders and merchants who travelled on the sea route between the Red Sea and west-

confirms the distinction between those engaged in travel to the orient and local merchants. This distinction between mariners involved in transportation by sea and merchants and traders concentrating mainly on island distribution and trade networks should be stressed as it figures repeatedly in the inscriptions and texts from several regions of the Indian Ocean, such as western India, Sri Lanka and Indonesia.

Another distinction that should be mentioned is that between fishing and sailing communities as opposed to trading groups and guilds. Historical records seldom provide information on fishing and sailing communities involved in the transportation of commodities across the Ocean. In contrast, trading groups and guilds, such as the *banigrama* in Indonesia or the *Manigramman* in south India, who represented elite groups in society – often with close links with the political elite – are prominently represented. In addition, pilgrims, ascetics, and wander-

tra, Cana and the South Arabian coast; the Persian Gulf and the west coast of India; Sri Lanka and the west and southeast coast of India; and Bali and Java with the Tamil coast. Feeding into these sectors were the inland trading systems, such as, for example in East Africa, the Deccan, Bengal, or Bali. More problematic in terms of identifying production centres and trade networks was the data from textiles mainly Indian textiles that were traded from Gujarat to Islamic Egypt mostly during mamluk times, i.e. from the 13th to the 15th centuries AD. The evidence presented underlined the need for further research and close cooperation to identify and define these local and regional networks.

Another topic crucial to the discussion of seafaring communities was the nature of the vessels used in the Indian Ocean in antiquity. Except perhaps for some regions in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia, there has been little input from underwater archaeology and the majority of the

HIMANSHU PRABHA RAY

is affiliated to the Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi, India.

# Bengal Studies in Europe



The 14th European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies was held at Copenhagen from 21 to 24 August 1996. As far as Bengal is concerned, this conference marked the beginning of a new approach. For the first time in the history of these conferences there were panels devoted exclusively to Bengali culture and history.

By VICTOR A. VAN BIJLERT

Initially two panels had been proposed: 'Bengali Sensibility' (conveners Dr. William Radice, London, and Dr. France Bhattacharya, Paris) and 'Bengal Renaissance' (conveners Dr. Sergei Serebriany, Moscow). Since the latter panel attracted too few speakers the conveners decided to merge the two into a single panel. This proved to be a great success, as all participants with an interest in Bengal Studies could attend every paper and did not have to miss much in their field. There were some papers, but only a few, with relevant topics which were read in panels other than the Bengal panel (for example papers on Sri Aurobindo, Sharada Devi, Sri Ramakrishna and on the partition of Bengal).

## Bengali Sensibility Panel

The major goal of the panel was exploring 'Bengali sensibility' in a wide-ranging sense, and this was often done through analyses of the Bengali literary production of the nineteenth century, the age of high colonialism. This shows how much in the perception, even of present-day scholars, 'Bengali-ness' in its ultimate manifestation and the culture of the colonial Calcutta Hindu

elite (the *bhadralok*) are almost synonymous. If or why these two should be so is a matter of further social and cultural-historical analysis. In quite a number of papers the canonical authors most favoured by *bhadralok* sensibilities like Michael Madhusudan Datta (1824-1873), Bankimchandra Chatterjee (1838-1894), and Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) were discussed and often referred to. William Radice's (SOAS, London) paper discussed the concepts of xenophilia and xenophobia in Michael Madhusudan's great Bengali epic *Meghnadbadh kabya*. Soumyendra Nath Mukherjee (Univ. of Sydney) explored the construction of good taste and high morality in the novels of Bankimchandra. His presentation introduced the English translations he and Marian Maddern had made of three Bengali novels by Bankim (published by Penguin Books India in 1996). Bankim's critical utilization of Western indology in his religious writings was the subject of the paper by Hans Harder (Univ. of Halle). Victor Ivbulis (Univ. of Latvia) talked on the difficulty of defining the Bengal Renaissance as a renaissance, why not choose Bengali Enlightenment and Romanticism?

There were some interesting contributions on theatre, either the urban type or the rural *jatra* (an important form of folk theatre). Bishnu P. Choudhury (Cardiff) spoke on satirical plays in the nineteenth century, making special reference to Michael Madhusudan. Different colonial and indigenous attitudes to the Bengali *Jatra* in the last century and in recent times were analysed by Bozena Sliwczynska (Warsaw).

Twentieth-century Bengali cultural perceptions were highlighted by the following speakers. France Bhattacharya (Inalco-CEIAS, Paris) dealt with the various ways in which the Baul poet Lalan Fakir (died 1890) has been constructed as a cultural hero both in West Bengal and Bangladesh. Arild E. Ruud (Univ. of Oslo) spoke on the influence of early twentieth-century Bengali novelists on the self-perception of present-day village leaders. Ashok Ghosh (Calcutta University) presented a theoretical discussion of the ways in which Bengali sensibility is constructed through film production. A. Roma Choudhury and her daughter Purba (Cardiff) gave a joint paper on the influence of Western melodies on Rabindranath's musical compositions through singing, a most welcome change in an otherwise text-oriented panel. Eva Wallenstein (Vienna) gave a presentation of a documentary film she had made in rural West Bengal on the social position of women dancers.

Two papers explored different aspects of Bengali anti-colonial nationalism. Mario Prayer (Univ. of Rome) spoke on the relationship between religious discipline and nationalism in the personality of the Bengali nationalist leader Subhas Chandra Bose (1897-1945). My own paper discussed religious discourse of national regeneration in Bengali essays written by Rabindranath Tagore around the beginning of this century. One paper did not really fit into Bengal Studies proper, but was nevertheless very interesting: Yaroslav V. Vassilikov's (St. Petersburg) exposition on the doctrine of cyclical time in ancient India with special reference to the Sanskrit Mahabharata.

## Bengal Studies in a global perspective

On the last day of the conference the participants in this panel came together to assess the results. There was overall enthusiasm but also some doubt about whether future European Conferences on Modern South Asian Studies should again have a special panel devoted to Bengal Studies. Some felt that the different presentations in this panel could have been held in other panels, and moreover, the other Indian languages had been represented in general panels on South Asian languages and literature. In other words: what makes Bengal and Bengali so special that they merit a separate panel?

Clearly this question cannot be viewed apart from the political and social history of the whole of South Asia (basically British India and the Princely States), both in colonial and post-colonial times. Whatever else colonial hegemony has done, it has 'helped' creating the conditions for the establishment of modern nation-states out of the Indian empire. Indian modernity asserted itself under colonial rule as a complex process of cultural and political resistance. Nineteenth-century Bengal did play an important role in this, and so did other linguistic areas shortly after. The assertion of an indigenous Indian modernity had to forge adequate linguistic tools for its dissemination. Hence, the late medieval literary dialects and vernaculars were moulded into standardized modern Indian languages.

After Independence, South Asian modernities sought to define the contours of the newly-formed nation states. These large historical and cultural processes form the backdrop to the present-day cultural expression in the South Asian languages including Bengali. In the present age of high modernity (Giddens' term) cultural production in South Asian languages creates spaces for contesting globalizing hegemony not only in a political and economic sense but also in a cultural sense. It is both a privilege and cultural necessity for European, American, and Australian intellectuals equipped with the necessary South Asian linguistic competencies to cooperate to some extent in prying open the boundaries of globalization (which I feel tempted still to designate with the term hegemonic 'Westernisation'). An honest and

sustained intellectual exploration of South Asian cultural production, in our case based on Bengali, can make a modest contribution towards accomplishing this.

Bengal Studies in Europe need synchronizing and a regular exchange of information. A need which was expressed in the last plenary session of the 'Bengal Sensibility' panel. A medium for this in the form of a separate newsletter did not seem possible at this juncture. But exchange of information can also be accomplished efficiently by using an extant medium with a wide distribution. The IAS Newsletter seems just the right vehicle for this.

## Bengal Studies and the IAS Newsletter

In accordance with the deliberations of 23 August 1996, I propose the following: the IAS Newsletter will, on a regular basis, contain at least one page devoted to Bengal Studies. Bengal Studies comprise the language, literatures, history, sociology, political science, anthropology, philosophy, religions of Bengal. Bengal means both pre-colonial and colonial Bengal as well as present-day Bangladesh and the Indian state

of West Bengal, or the whole of the Bengali linguistic area (including Bengalis in the diaspora). Under the heading 'Bengal Studies' small news items will appear such as announcements of workshops and conferences, small articles on current or intended research, announcements of important publications, brief summaries of significant debates in the field of Bengal Studies, or any other items that are considered to be of importance. Contributions (preferably typed and with the name and the address of the contributor) can be sent to the following addresses: ■

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Please write on the envelope Bengal Studies.

## Tagore's Gitali in Dutch translation



The Kern Institute, Leiden has published Victor van Bijlert's Dutch translation of Tagore's *Gitali*, a volume of Bengali poems and songs originally published in 1914. The book appears under the title *Toen Jij de Snaren Spande* in the Kern Institute miscellanea, no. 9. The book will be available on the market from the beginning of December. This translation is the first ever into Dutch of a full book of Bengali poems by Tagore. All previous Dutch translations of Tagore were based on his own English recreations. ■

The book can be ordered from:  
INDEX INTERNATIONAL  
BOOKSELLERS  
P.O. Box 1310, 2302 BH Leiden  
The Netherlands  
fax: +31-71-5146989  
Dfl. 32,50

Short

NEWS



## DR RAGHUNATH GHOSH

From 4 - 19 October 1996, Dr Raghunath Ghosh (University of North Bengal, Dept. of Philosophy) visited the Institute Kern, Leiden University in a programme under the auspices of the Indo-Dutch Cultural Agreement to do research and meet colleagues. Dr. Ghosh is a specialist in the field of Indian philosophy. His main areas of research is Navya Nyaya (a school of epistemology and logic dating back from the 13th century AD), Vedanta, and modern Indian thinkers.

On the 11 October, Dr. Ghosh gave a lecture in the Institute Kern entitled *The Religion of Man in the Light of Sri Aurobindo and Rabindranath Tagore*. In this lecture he discussed the concept of religion as humanism and compared the views of Tagore and Aurobindo on this topic. Ghosh argued that in the opinion of both thinkers, divinity lies in the heart of man. Both thinkers have interpreted classical texts such as the Upanishads in an original, novel way. Both believed that the human body is the bearer of infinite potentiality. But unlike Tagore, Aurobindo has offered a clear path to 'superhuman-hood' through a system of yoga, a system arrived at by way of experience and experiment. ■

## PROF. AMIYA K. BAGCHI

Prof. Amiya K. Bagchi whose field is economics, is director of the prestigious Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta. He visited the Netherlands as an affiliated fellow at the IAS at the invitation of IDPAD (Indo-Dutch Programme of Alternatives in Development).

On the 17 October he gave a lecture at the IAS entitled *Misreading Indian*

Nationalism. Focusing his lecture on the emblematic Bengali author Rabindranath Tagore, Prof. Bagchi tried to show how important Bengali terms used by Tagore such as *dharma* (I leave the term untranslated on purpose), a term which in English is often made to signify the Western concept of 'religion' can give rise to misrepresentation of the author's intentions. The concept of 'nationalism' is another such problematic word.

Bagchi contended that nowadays there are cultural analysts, prominent among them Ashis Nandy, who interpret Tagore's discussions and constructions of Indian 'nationalism' erroneously. It would be necessary to contextualize the strategies these analysts use to present Tagore (or Aurobindo for that matter) in this or that light. Although Nehru used to regard Tagore as a secularist there are now those who wish to present Tagore as a very religious personality.

In order to understand Tagore properly one has to take into account the fact that he wrote many things at the same time and that no single statement can be taken to represent his complex points of view exhaustively. Turning to the question of nationalism, Bagchi emphasized that Tagore has always been an opponent of nationalism in the Western fashion. In other words, Tagore was opposed to statist constructions of a state-nation, constructions that were imposed on Indian society from above. Tagore, however, was not opposed to building up the nation socially, from the bottom up. Whether this means that Tagore was an anarchist is difficult to say, because he was not against all forms of state formation. He was not in favour of Annie Besant's version of orthodox Hindu nationalism. He maintained a friendly relationship with Subhas Chandra Bose but did not endorse the latter's connections with the Axis Powers, and like Gandhi, Tagore saw the need for social action. ■

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## The Queensland Art Gallery's Asian Collection

# A Commitment to Asian Art



A further example of this has been the staging of the inaugural Asia-Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art in 1993, a project initiated by the gallery to provide a framework for a genuine artistic and intellectual interchange with countries in the region. The Triennial's philosophy of building long-term relationships based on mutual respect has received an enthusiastic response from Australia and the region. Over two hundred works by seventy-six artists from twelve countries and Hong Kong were included in the first exhibition which was augmented by an international conference and two major publications. The Gallery prepared for the second Triennial featuring the work of over 100 artists, which opened in September 1996, and a third Triennial is planned for 1999.

Hosting the Asia-Pacific Triennial has presented the Queensland Art Gallery with a unique opportunity for the development of contemporary Asian art by providing access to some of the most significant artists currently practising in the region. The Gallery has made the commitment to build a distinctive collection that is not only a reflection of the dynamic and changing nature of the many cultures and societies represented, but also of themes that en-

gage artists in an international debate. Encompassing a wide variety of media including sculpture, installations, paintings, video, prints, photographs and drawings, the Queensland Art Gallery's collection reveals the strength and diversity of contemporary art practice in the region.

### Wabi aesthetics

Although the emphasis of its collecting activity lies with contemporary works, the Gallery has undertaken a programme of initiating and presenting outstanding historical exhibitions of Asian sculpture, bronzes, ceramics, and painting, and does have a number of historical Asian works in its holdings. Most notable among these is a focus collection of ceramics from the Six Old Kilns of Japan which are the centrepiece of a new historical Asian art gallery, The ARCO Gallery of Asian Art. This collection was the inspiration of former Chairman of Trustees Dr R.W.L. Austin OBE AO who had spent many years in Japan, and Queensland Art Gallery Director Doug Hall. Each of the major kiln sites - Bizen, Echizen, Seto, Shigaraki, Tamba, and Tokoname - is represented in works that exhibit the irregularity of form and random decorative elements that allowed these formerly purely functional wares to become highly regarded by the Zen Buddhist proponents of the Japanese tea ceremony, *chanoyu*.

In September 1993 the Queensland Art Gallery announced the formation of the first substantial collection of contemporary Asian art in Australia with the establishment of The Kenneth and Yasuko Myer Collection. Since then, holdings have been expanded to include more than 100 items from China, Japan, Korea, Hong Kong, The Philippines, Vietnam, Thailand, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, and Indonesia, demonstrating the Gallery's aim to establish a collection of contemporary Asian art in this country. Already including some exceptional works, the formation of the collection of contemporary Asian art reflects a new direction of looking to Asia that has been evident in Gallery policies since 1987.

Montien Boonma (Thailand, b. 1953),  
**LOTUS SOUND** (1992).  
Terracotta, gilded wood.  
Collection: The Queensland Art Gallery.

The informed admiration of utensils used in the preparation and performances of *chanoyu* was an important element of the ceremony, and, influenced by the wabi aesthetic and its emphasis on the imperfect over the perfect, led to an appreciation of asymmetrical or warped vessels. Although the techniques used at the Six Old Kilns do not appear to have originally been the result of a conscious aesthetic choice (the wares were initially produced for domestic or farming purposes), their misshapen and irregularly decorated forms were ideally suited to the tea masters' heightened sensibilities.

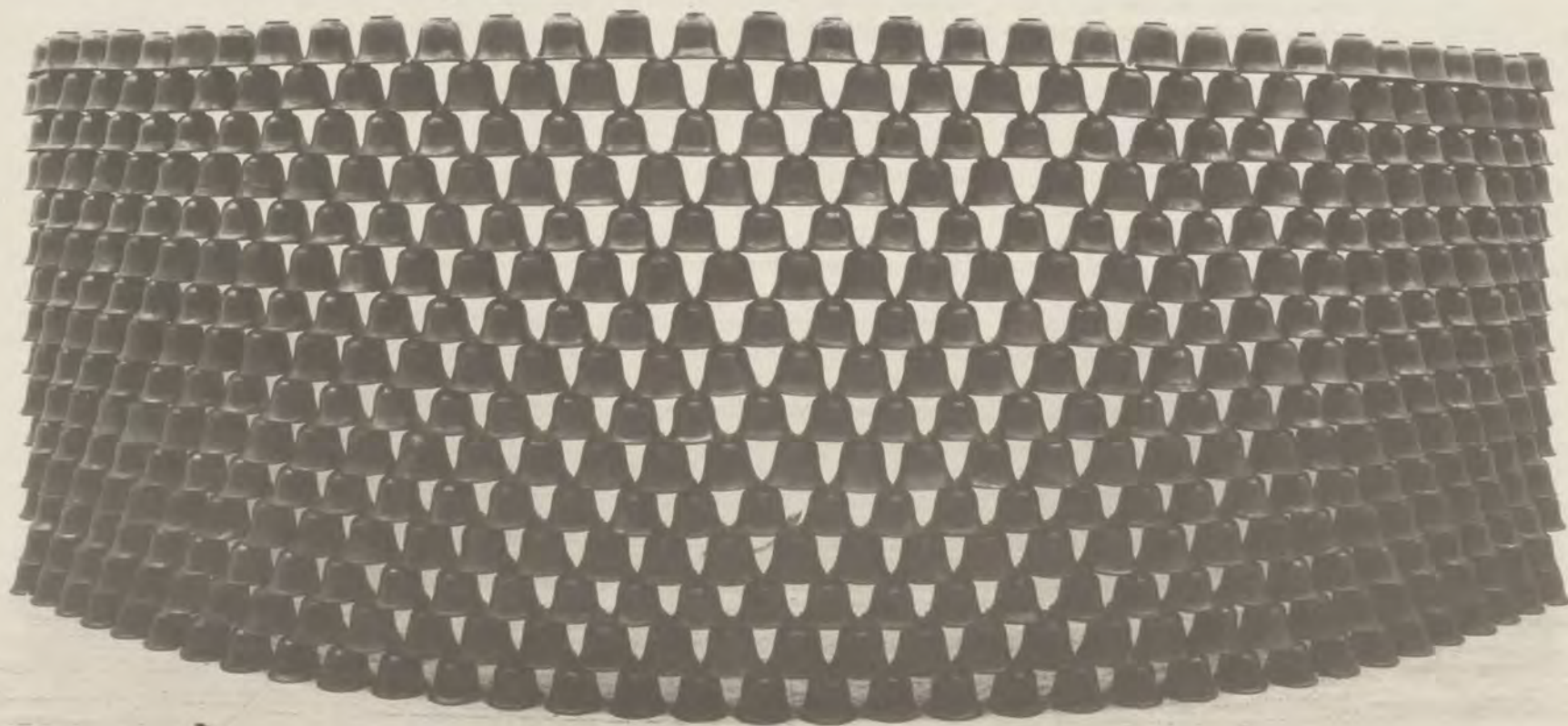
An irregularity of form also characterizes *Woods III* (1991-92), the work of contemporary Japanese sculptor Shigeo Toya, and certainly a coincidence with the spirit of the wabi aesthetic may be detected in his working methods, described in the 1993 Asia-Pacific Triennial catalogue by Takeshi Kanazawa as excavation rather than construction. Using a chain saw to pare away the external structure, Toya attempts to make visible the internal true forms that suggest themselves in the wooden blocks with which he works. *Woods III* represents a sculptural major work within the Gallery's collection of contemporary Japanese art which is particularly strong in the area of works on paper. Emphasis has been placed on the acquisition of prints

and photographs by some of Japan's most highly regarded art practitioners including Yasumasa Morimura, Hiroshi Sugimoto, Tokihiro Sato, Yukinori Yanagi, expatriate Korean artist Lee Ufan, and Masami Terakoya.

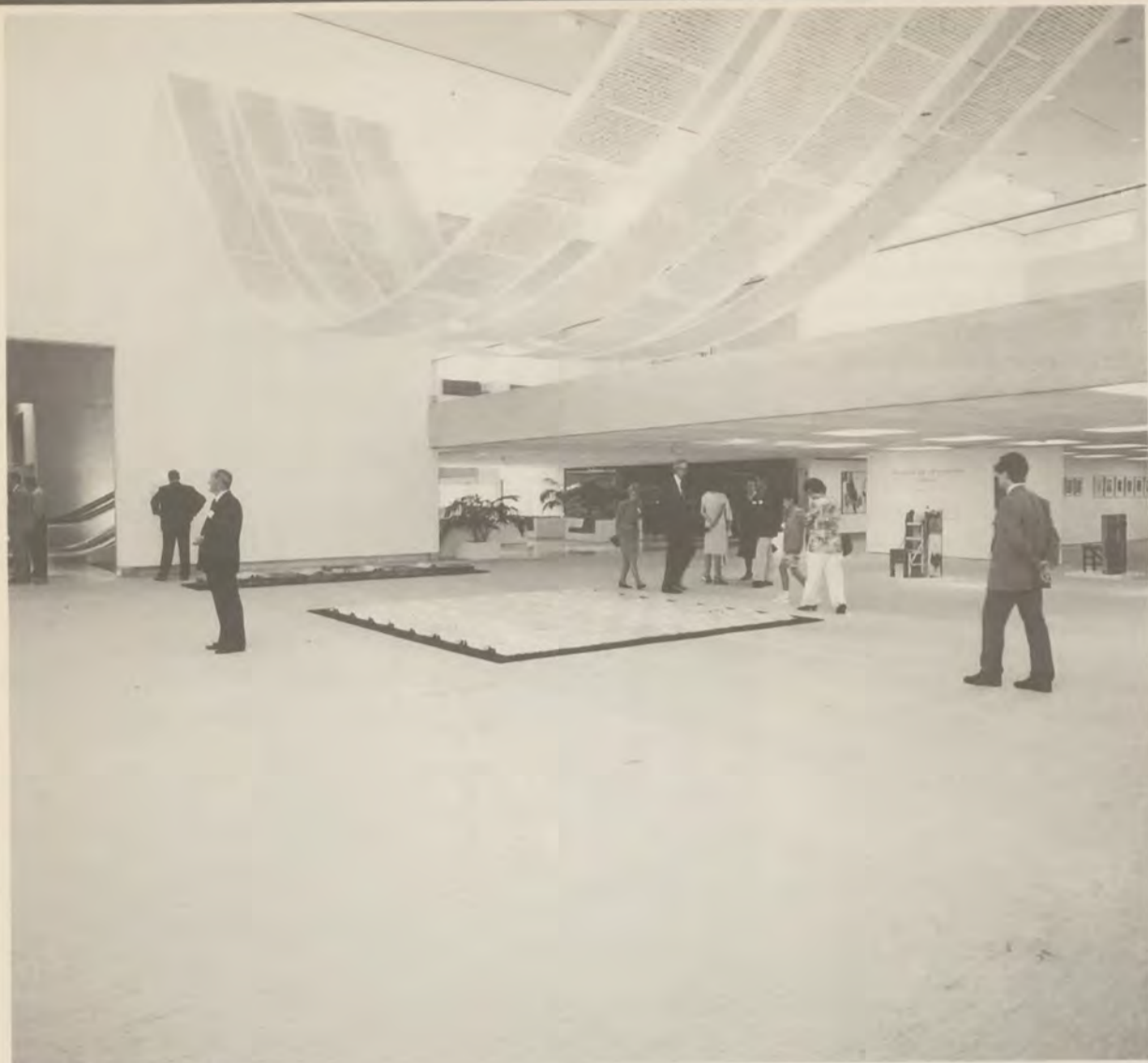
### The Heart of tradition

Buddhist thought permeates Thai culture, although rapid modernization has brought great change to traditional social structures. This is reflected in the Gallery's collection of works by contemporary Thai artists which includes installations, sculptures, prints and drawings. In the face of cultural transformation, *Lotus sound* (1992), Montien Boonma's elegant sculpture of terracotta bells and gilded lotus petals, provides a calm and meditative presence that articulates an essentially Thai Buddhist approach using a non traditional format. The lotus has a profoundly important iconographical meaning in Buddhist philosophy, symbolizing purity and spiritual perfection. Implicitly suggesting the sound of temple bells, *Lotus sound* is an aniconic representation of Buddhahood that resonates with inner peace reflection.

Xu Bing's *A book from the sky* (1987-91), formerly titled *A mirror to analyse the world*, is one of the most significant works to emerge from China in recent years and has been the focus







Xu Bing (China / USA, b. 1955),  
**A BOOK FROM THE SKY** (1987-91).  
 Woodblock print, wood, leather, ivory.  
 Collection: The Queensland Art Gallery.



Heri Dono (Indonesia, b. 1960),  
**CAMPAIGN OF THREE PARTIES**  
 (1992). Synthetic polymer paint  
 and collage on canvas.  
 Collection: The Queensland  
 Art Gallery.

of considerable international critical attention. Consisting of suspended scrolls and printed bound books, the power of the work lies in the ambiguity of the printed characters. These do not form Chinese ideograms but are instead imitative yet ultimately illegible patterns with no communicative meaning, and are therefore as open to (mis)understanding by Chinese viewers as foreigners. Given the importance of China's literary tradition and the contribution made by Confucian scribes to the shaping of Chinese education, administration, and domestic and cultural life for centuries, Xu Bing's work makes a powerful statement that goes to the heart of Chinese tradition, history, and art.

The Indonesian artist Heri Dono also applies a traditional vocabulary to explore contemporary themes. *Campaign of the three parties* (1992) makes stylistic reference to the wayang puppet figures which have long had an influence on Javanese visual and performing arts. Wayang puppets are used to enact the stories of kings, heroes, gods, and demons in complex performances that relate episodes from Javanese history and mythology and from the Hindu epics the Mahabharata and the Ramayana in which political and social power groupings shift and realign in a perpetual struggle. Heri Dono's work reveals the vital significance of traditional art in underpinning contemporary practices, which also incorporate Western approaches.

**Symbols of empathy**

Contemporary Indonesian art is well represented in the Gallery's collection which includes three other works by Heri Dono as well as paintings, installation-based work, collages, prints, and drawings, and Dadang Christanto's powerful sculptural installations *For those: Who are suffer(ing), Who are oppressed, Who are voiceless, Who are powerless, Who are burdened, Who are victims of violence, Who are victims of a dupe, Who are victims of injustice and For those who have been killed*. Consisting of suspended and standing lengths of bamboo, the works are a symbol of empathy with ordinary people everywhere in the world and humanitarian philosophy enunciated by the artist as a response from the heart.

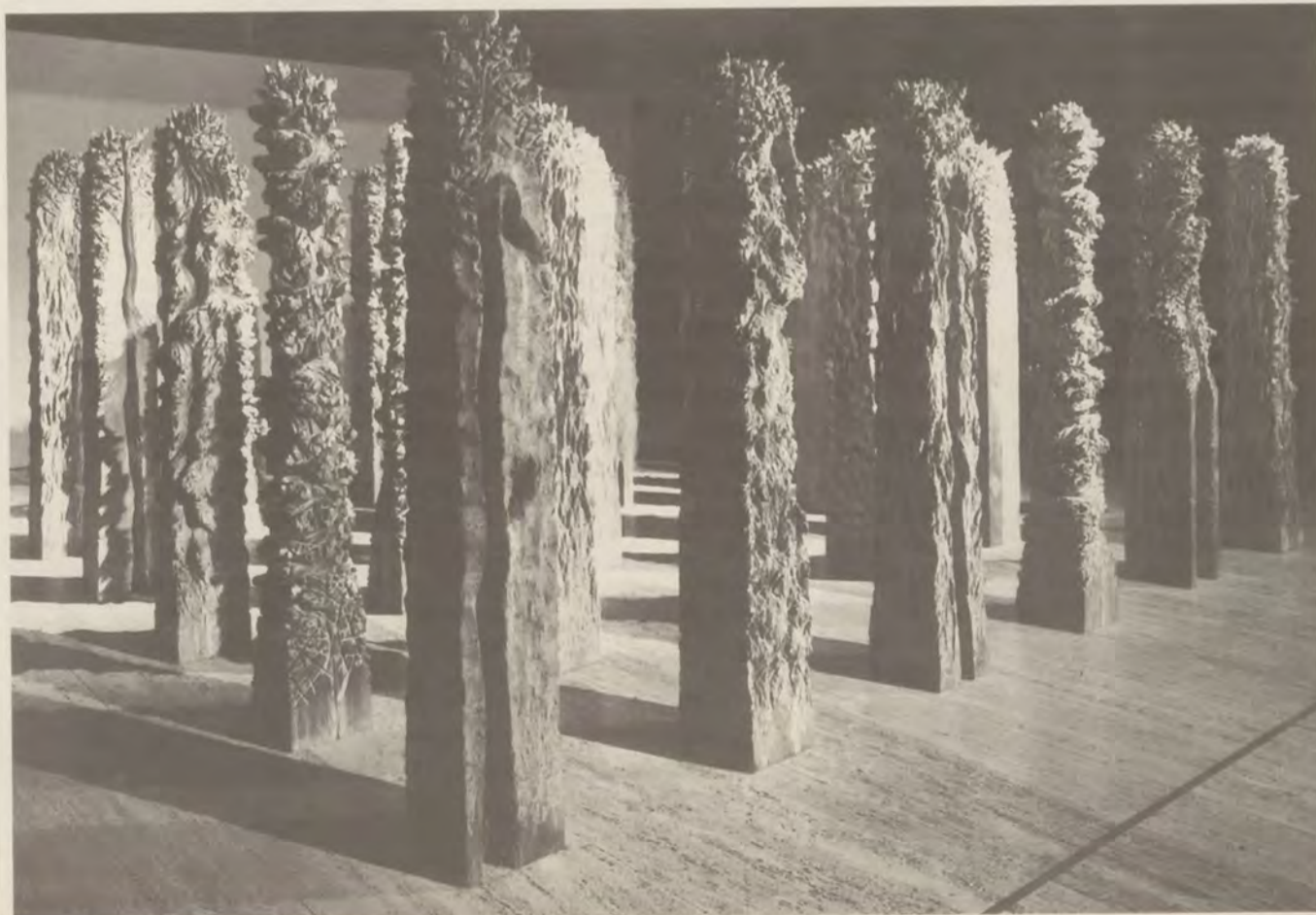
An important recent purchase has been a late self portrait by Affandi,

one of Indonesia's pre-eminent modernist painters who is widely regarded as a major influence on contemporary Southeast Asian artists. Typical of his free and gestural drawing in paint, *Self portrait in Kusamba Beach* (1983) is not only an excellent example of Affandi's style, but also provides a pertinent context in which to view contemporary art practice by looking at the development of modern art in the region.

The Queensland Art Gallery has consolidated its commitment to Asian art of the twentieth century not only by undertaking to purchase some outstanding examples of works in this area but also by the announcement of a major exhibition of Asian and Western modernism scheduled for the year 2000. Experts in twenty countries are contribut-

ing to the formation of a curatorial plan for this challenging exhibition which will examine the development of modern art in the region at the close of the twentieth century. The Gallery today has Australia's most active and diverse programme of art exhibitions and collection development in modern and contemporary Asian art. ■

**The Queensland Art Gallery**  
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 P.O. Box 3686  
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 Tel: +61-7-38407333  
 Fax: +61-7-38448865  
 Daily 10am - 5pm



Shigeo Toya, **WOODS III** (1991-92).  
 Installation comprising wood, ash,  
 synthetic polymer paint.  
 Thirty pieces, 220 x 30 x 30 cm each.  
 Collection: The Queensland Art Gallery.

The European Ceramics Work Centre

# Mukherjee & Kaneko: A Sculpture & a Painter



Work by JUN KANEKO at the EKWC

Asian Art



The stated aim of the European Ceramics Work Centre (EKWC) is to develop the artistic exploration of ceramics in the form of both fine and applied art. The concept evolved from a desire to increase the understanding of ceramics and to bridge the gap between the artist's studio and a more public situation, by providing a working place in a professional environment with financial support and accommodation. The EKWC is a cross-cultural, non-profit, contemporary art work space, with a particular focus on ceramics. It is open to visual artists from all over the world. The emphasis is on exploration, creativity, and dialogue.

The participants work independently in their own studios. The latest ceramic facilities are available and technical assistance is provided. Confronting and encouraging the exchange of ideas among artists from various disciplines and different cultural backgrounds are significant aspects of how the EKWC operates.

Among the artists participating in 1996 were Mrinalini Mukherjee from India and Jun Kaneko from Japan.

### Organic sculptures

Mrinalini Mukherjee (b. 1949 Bombay, India) is known as an artist who works with rope. Using hand-

dyed knotted sisal and hemp she creates organic sculptures on a human scale.

Mukherjee's earliest rope sculptures date from the beginning of the 1970s. The purely organic character of her works is an index of a ready access to nature.

As if in harmony with the vegetal realm from which her medium is derived, the leading metaphor of Mukherjee's work comes from the organic life of plants. Improvising upon motif or image that serves as her starting point, the work gradual unfolding itself becomes analogous to the stirring into maturation of a sapling. The tough, hand-dyed hemp fibres are twisted and knotted around

an initial, fairly rudimentary metal armature.

Mukherjee was one of the Indian artists who was asked to participate, with three Dutch artists (Rob Birza, Bastienne Kramer, Berend Strik), in the project *The Other Self* (1996) initiated by the Foundation for Indian Artists. The other Indian artists were Bhupen Khakar and N.N. Rimzon. She started working with papier mâché, but soon abandoned this for clay. Working with clay was completely new to her, so she had to cope with a host of problems. While working with clay, she had to change her methods as, in comparison to clay, knotting a rope sculpture is a much more time-consuming operation. Rob Birza and Bastienne Kramer, who had previously worked at the EKWC, encouraged her to work there as well.

The upshot of their recommendation was a three-month period at the EKWC, which was rounded off with a presentation on 3 September 1996. In her recent clayworks the colour and form are reminiscent of the hemp fibre sculptures. Mukherjee has developed her methods and ideas in such a way that her works in clay are competitive, mature, and autonomous works of art.

### Painted ceramics

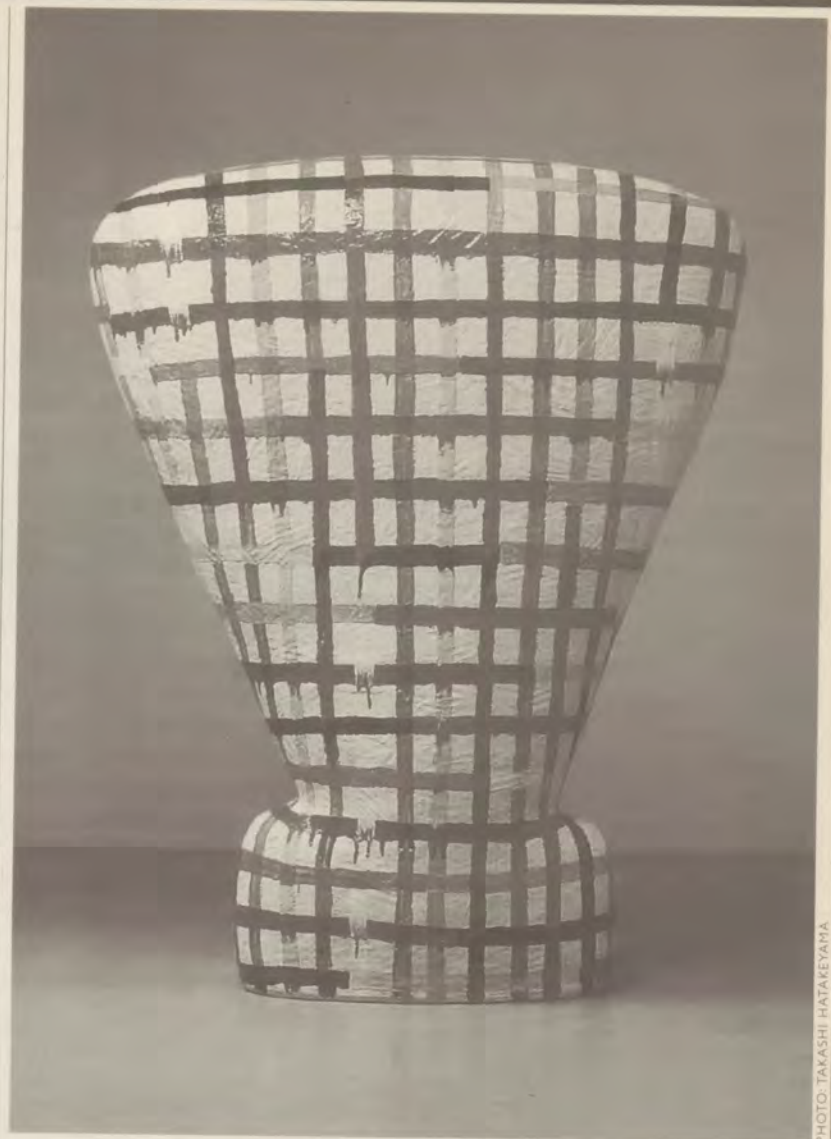
The approach of Jun Kaneko (b. 1942 Nagoya, Japan), is considered to be 'non-ceramic'. His monumental heads are decorated with signs and patterns, an approach that reveals his schooling as a painter. He works by enlarging and abstracting the heads, dealing cautiously with colours. Painting structures echoing nature betray to the Westerner that this work is Orient-inspired.

His latest works were shown during the 2nd International Ceramic Biennale in Alden Biesen in Belgium (August 1996), at which the EKWC was represented by no fewer than eleven artists of different nationalities. Also in 1996, the EKWC published a catalogue of Jun Kaneko's brightly coloured ceramics.

Jun Kaneko began his artistic career as a painter, becoming a sculptor when he arrived in the United States thirty-three years ago. His way of working is influenced by time and space in a balanced way, reflected in the story he was told by an old Japanese carpenter: 'A long time ago, when someone in the village wanted to build a new house for the family, they would go to the master carpenter to discuss the amount of space they required and the design of the house. Then they would show the carpenter the family mountain where they intended to cut trees for the new house. After having obtained a clear understanding of the family's needs, the carpenter walked around the mountain site, looking at each tree, trying to find the best one for each section of the house he was going to build.'

The most significant conclusion Jun Kaneko draws from this story is the relationship to nature. As the carpenter was going to learn from the trees how to build a house with those very trees, so Kaneko thinks that it is very important to understand nature and the development of the material with which one is working.

Similarly scale is an issue in Kane-

Jun Kaneko, *BETWEEN LIGHT AND SHADOW*, 185 x 45 cm.

ko's ceramics. He experiences and deals with scale in an emotional context. Scale connected to space is always dependent on the immediate surroundings. This becomes significant when a small child stands next to a tall person or a grain of sand is deposited in the desert.

Creative energy, the nature of the material and scale are essential to the choices Jun Kaneko makes in his works of art.

At present Chinese artists Wu Weishan and Yang Zhiling are among the international artists being given the opportunity to develop their artistic ideas through the medium of ceramics at the European Ceramic Work Centre. ■

### EUROPEAN CERAMICS WORK CENTRE

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5211 SG 's-Hertogenbosch  
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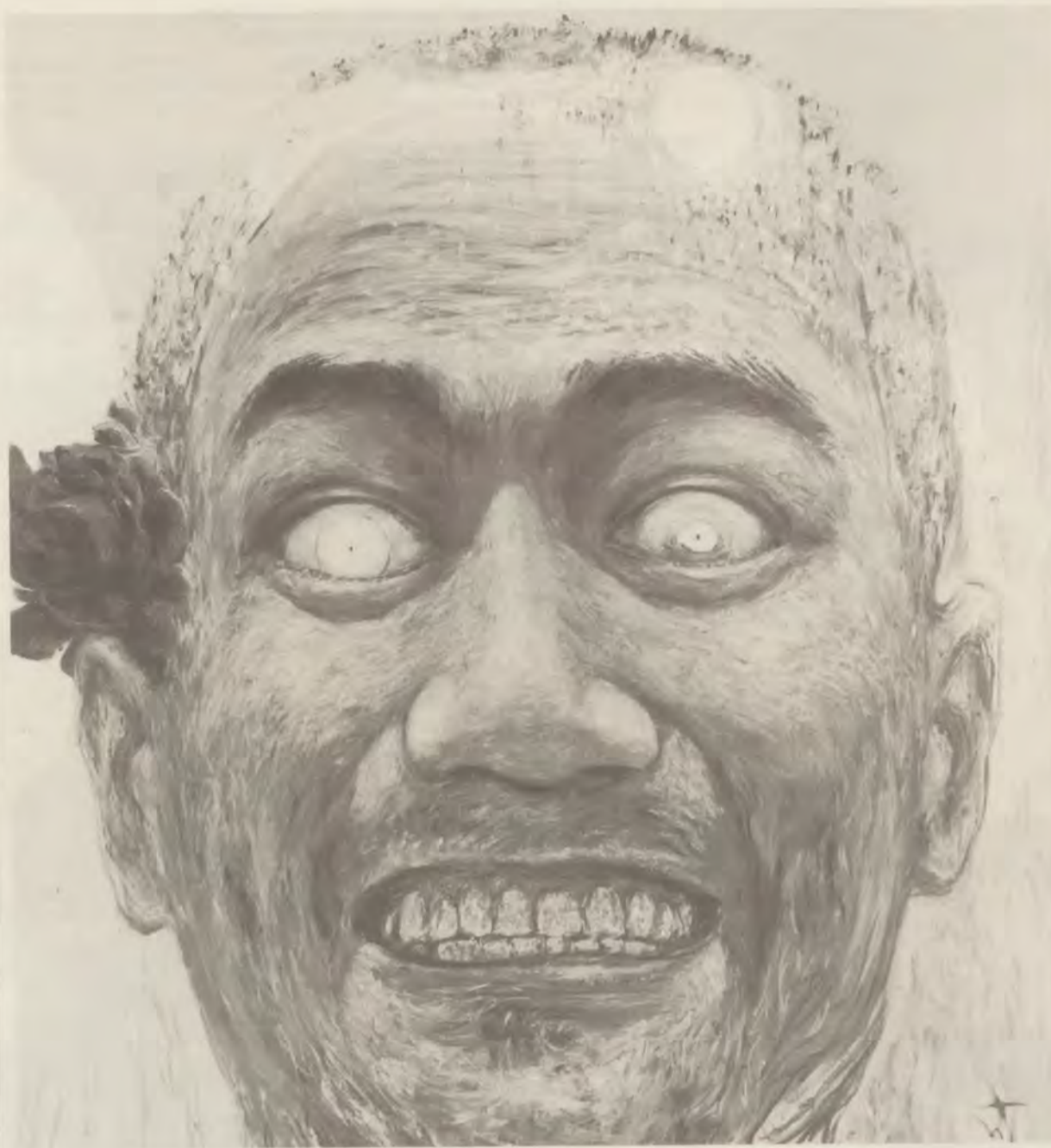
INSTALLATIONS  
by Mrinalini Mukherjee  
at the EKWC.

PHOTO: PEER VAN DER KRUIS

THE ASIA SOCIETY / QUEENS MUSEUM OF ART / GREY ART GALLERY  
NEW YORK: UNTIL 5 JANUARY 1997

# Contemporary Art in Asia Traditions/Tensions

This autumn, the Asia Society has unveiled an exhibition that will introduce American audiences to the dynamic contemporary art scene in Asia. Twenty-seven artists from five Asian countries are presented in this first world-class, pan-Asian contemporary art exhibition.



**Asian Art**  
The exhibition will present 64 objects by today's leading artists from South Korea, Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand & India. Their works of art - in a variety of media ranging from painting to sculpture to installation art - explore the dynamism of Asia as it bursts into a period of vibrant economic growth and offer a new interpretation of Asia's highly developed and revered cultural traditions.

Due to its size, scope, and appeal to a wide-ranging audience, this major exhibition will be presented in three parts simultaneously at three galleries in New York City: the Asia Society, New York University's Grey Gallery, and the Queens Museum of Art. Following its New York showing, the exhibition will tour additional North American venues. A subsequent tour in Asia will mark a new era in the presentation of contemporary Asian art in Asia, introducing new art forms to Asian audiences and creating the pathways for its ongoing presentation and appreciation. The exhibition will travel to India (late 1997), Singapore (1997-early 1998), Seoul (mid-1998), and possibly Japan (late 1998).

Organized by Apinan Poshyananda of Thailand, a leading scholar of contemporary Asian art and guest curator for the Asia Society, in association with a team of international advisors, the exhibition explores the current cultural complexities in several of Asia's urban societies. Artists whose work has been selected for the exhibition are powerful creative voices in changing, dynamic Asian countries who assume the role of observers of changes and as critics of their societies. Artists are organized neither by countries nor strictly by themes, but their work is juxtaposed in ways that can suggest visual and conceptual relationships and transcend national boundaries while heightening personal reactions to local, national, and/or international issues.

### Yellow Robot

Vishakha N. Desai, vice president for Cultural Programs and Director of the Asia Society Galleries, said: 'In the West, people tend to be aware of the fast-paced economic growth of Asia, but its cultures are mostly seen as traditional and even stuck in the past. This exhibition will likely surprise many Americans because it shows the vitality of a living, evolving, thriving contemporary art scene that is happening throughout Asia today - one that entirely parallels the excitement of its economic growth'.

The radical departures of this exhibition will be evident immediately when viewers encounter such works as South Korean artists Choi Jeong-Hwa's large-scale, mechanical, yellow robot that keeps falling to the ground in a statement about Asia's current aspiration to acquire technologies.

Works relating to a theme of Religion: Forms, Functions, and Ideas will include installations by Thai artist Montien Boonma, who creates contemplative spaces filled with the aromas of medicinal and religious herbs and infused with simple humming

Chatchai Puipia  
(Mahasarakam, Thailand, b.1964),  
**SIAMESE SMILE** (1995).  
Oil on canvas with shells.  
240 x 220 cm. Private collection.

sounds that visitors experience as they enter into small contained areas with stupa-like perforations; and by Indonesian artist Heri Dono, whose expressionless sculptures made from volcanic stone from his historically religious area of Central Java are fitted with radios and tape recorders. N.N. Rimzon from India and Agnes Arellano from the Philippines, two artists who use traditional religious iconography in untraditional ways, are also represented, along with Yun Suknam from South Korea who explores the idea of ancestor worship.

### Sensual watercolours

A section on a theme of Tradition Reinvented and the World Beyond deals with different issues particular to the media in which Asian artists are

working, including painting and sculptures that use or respond to traditional forms such as ink paintings on rice paper or large, mural-like paintings in the traditional style of Bali. Included in this section will be sensual and lyrical Hijda watercolour series by Bhupen Khakhar, who has drawn upon images of male transsexuals or transvestites that have been part of the Indian cultural scene for centuries to comment pointedly on the status of gays in contemporary India. Other works with similar combinations of traditional forms and contemporary messages will be works by the Balinese painter I Wayan Bendi and the South Korean painter Kim Ho-Suk. There will also be paintings and installations that deal with issues of

Sanggawa Group (Philippines),  
**HOUSE OF SIN** (1994).  
Oil on canvas. 198 x 291 cm.  
Artists' Collection.

recent political and colonial history in the context of interactions between Asian countries and the outside world.

Works addressing political and cultural topics will be the focus of a section on The Politics of Culture and Gender and will include works that explore women's roles in changing Asian societies. For example, Imelda

Cajipe Endaya's installation Filipina: DH will highlight women's issues in the broader context of the social and political conditions in the Philippines. The problems of traditionally acceptable roles for women in many Asian societies are also dealt with in works by Soo-Ja Kim and Araya Rasdjarmrearnsook. Contradictions between traditional expectations and contemporary realities are also explored by Thai artist Chatchai Puipia, whose intentionally horrific Siamese Smile mocks the notion of the serene and beatific smile of the Thais. Another work which assumes a similar tone and criticizes political conditions is Kamol Phaosavasdi's Mode of Moral Being, which appears to be a simple food vendor's cart like the ones on any city street in Thailand, but inside has video monitors projecting images of prostitutes and the sale of women.

### Catalogue

A fully illustrated catalogue produced by the Asia Society accompanies the exhibition. It includes seven essays, beginning with an overview of regional/global issues and discussions of the individual artists written by curator Apinan Poshyananda. Thomas McEvelley follows with an essay on contemporary Thai art. Discussions on current issues are provided by Asian art critics: Geeta Kapur on India, Jim Supangkat on Indonesia, Marian Pastor Roces on the Philippines, Jae-Ryung Roe on South Korea, and Apinan Poshyananda on Thailand. The book will be distributed in North America and Europe by Harry N. Abrams. ■

### THE ASIA SOCIETY

725 Park Avenue / 70th St  
New York City  
USA  
Tue, Wed, Fri, and Sat: 11am - 6pm  
Thu: 11am - 8pm, Sun: noon - 5pm  
Closed on Mondays and major holidays

### GREY ART GALLERY

New York University  
100 Washington Square East  
New York City  
Tue, Thu, Fri: 11am - 6pm  
Wed: 11am - 8.30pm, Sat: 11am - 5pm

### THE QUEENS MUSEUM OF ART

New York City Building  
Flushing Meadows Corona Park  
Queens, New York  
Wed, Thu, Fri: 10am - 5pm  
Sat, Sun: noon - 5pm



UNTIL 15 JANUARY 1997  
MUSEUM OF EAST ASIAN ART,  
COLOGNE, GERMANY

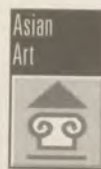
MUSEUM OF  
EAST ASIAN ART  
Universitätsstrasse 100  
50674 Cologne  
Germany  
Tel: +49-221-940518-0  
Fax: +49-221-407290

# Twentieth Century Chinese Painting

With the special exhibition Twentieth Century Chinese Painting, the Museum of East Asian Art in Cologne presents a comprehensive overview of this century's developments of style of Chinese painting. More than 130 pictures coming from the Hong Kong Museum of Art and significant private collections show the developments of traditional painting up to the experimental works of contemporary young artists.



Qi Baishi (1864-1957),  
**CRABS IN INK** (1932),  
hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 134x33.5 cm.  
Collection C.P. Lin.  
('Twentieth Century Chinese Painting'  
Museum of East Asian Art, Cologne)



Until now, contemporary Chinese art has been documented almost entirely by exhibitions of Western oriented oil paintings in Germany. But in China these oil paintings do not play a dominant role. The exhibition in the Museum of East Asian Art in Cologne will therefore present a survey of the manifold spectre of twentieth century ink painting. The history of Chinese painting in this century develops before a dramatic and sometimes tragic historical background: the year 1911 marks the end of the Qing dynasty and the establishment of the Chinese Republic, Japanese invasion, the civil war of the 30s and 40s, the 1949 establishment of the People's Republic of China and the exodus of numerous artists to Taiwan and Hong Kong. During the Cultural Revolution political persecution took place and since the end of the 70s the opening towards the West. The artists displayed in the exhibition work in the People's Republic of China, sometimes also in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, or in the US and in Europe. The common focal point in their works is that they employ the traditional materials of Chinese painting: brush, ink, and paper.

In the Chinese painting of the 20th century the classical themes are still dominant, but the realistically depicted motives frequently have a deeper symbolic meaning. Thus the Crabs of Qi Baishi dated 1932 stand for the Japanese invaders. The confrontation with Japanese and Western art led to a great change in form and expression as well as in the painting techniques. Furthermore, being involved with their own centuries-old tradition also brought about important impulses.

After its spectacular start in Hong Kong and Singapore and a venue in the British Museum in London, the exhibition Twentieth Century Chinese Painting will be shown on the European continent only in the Museum of East Asian Art in Cologne.

An excellently illustrated catalogue is published by Prestel Verlag. The price of the museum edition will be DM 49,-.

The exhibition is jointly presented by the Museum of East Asian Art, Cologne and the Urban Council, Hong Kong. It is organized by the Museum of East Asian Art, Cologne and the Hong Kong Museum of Art. ■



Lu Yanshao (1909-1993),  
**LIFE ALONG THE YANGZI GORGE** (1986),  
hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 175 x 68 cm.  
Private Collection.  
('Twentieth Century Chinese Painting'  
Museum of East Asian Art, Cologne)

## Art

## AGENDA

DECEMBER 1996 &gt; DECEMBER 1997

## AUSTRIA

## Museum of the History of Art

Maria-Theresien Platz  
1010 Vienna  
Tel: +43-1-52177301  
Daily 10am - 6 pm, closed on Mon.

## Permanent collection

Egyptian and Oriental collection,  
paintings, coins, and antiquities.

## AUSTRALIA

## National Gallery of Victoria

180 St Kilda Road  
Melbourne, Victoria 3004  
Tel: +61-3-92080222  
Fax: +61-3-92080245

## Permanent exhibition

The Asian Gallery features Chinese  
ceramics and archaic bronzes, plus  
Hindu and Buddhist art from India, the  
Himalayan region, China and Japan.

## Queensland Art Gallery

Queensland Cultural Centre  
South Bank, South Brisbane  
P.O. Box 3686  
Brisbane, Queensland 4101  
Tel: +61-7-38407333  
Fax: +61-7-38448865  
Daily 10am - 5pm

## Permanent Collection

The Kenneth and Yasuko Myer Collection  
of Contemporary Asian Art has  
some outstanding pieces of Asian art.  
(See article at page 48)

## until 19 January 1997

Second Asia Pacific Triennial of  
contemporary Art

## BELGIUM

## Royal Museums of Art and History - Brussels

## Cinquantaire Museum

Jubelpark 10  
1000 Brussels  
Tel: +32-2-7417211  
Fax: +32-2-7337735  
Daily 10am - 5pm, closed on Mon.  
and Public Holidays

## Permanent exhibition

Important collections regarding China,  
Korea, India and Southeast Asia.

## until 16 February 1997

Buddhas of Siam, Treasures from  
the Kingdom of Thailand  
An exhibition of sculptures and  
jewellery from Thailand's temples and  
museums dating from the second  
millennium BC to the last century.

BUDDHA IN THE  
BHUMISPARSA-MUDRA.

Early Ayutthaya style,  
U Thong C-type, 14th-15th c.  
Collection: National Museum  
Bangkok. From the exhibition:  
'Buddhas of Siam' in the  
Cinquantaire Museum,  
Brussels.



## GERMANY

## Museum of Ethnology

Lansstrasse 8, D-14195 Berlin  
Tel: +49-30-83011  
Fax: +49-30-8315972  
Daily 9am - 5pm, Sat./Sun. 10am - 5pm

## Permanent collection

Studies of the cultures of the Pacific  
islands, Africa, America and Southeast  
Asia.

## Museum of Indian Art

Lansstrasse 8,  
D-14195 Berlin  
Tel: +49-30-8301361  
Fax: +49-30-8316384  
Daily 9am-5pm, Sat/Sun. 10am-5pm

## Permanent Collection

Archaeological objects from India;  
terracotta, stone sculptures and  
bronzes from India, the Himalayan  
countries and Southeast Asia;  
miniature paintings.

## July 2 1996 - March 31 1997

Animals and their Symbolism in Indian Art

Museum für Ostasiatische  
Kunst SMPK

Takustrasse 40, 14195 Berlin (Dahlem)  
Tel: +49-30-8301383  
Fax: +49-30-8316384

## until 15 December 1996

Chinese Porcelain from the 17th century  
for the Japanese market

## until 9 February 1996

Chinese painter Chen Chi-Kwan

## Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst

Universitätsstrasse 100  
D-50674 Cologne  
Tel: +49-221-9405180  
Fax: +49-221-407290  
Daily 10am - 4pm, Sat./Sun.  
11am - 4pm, closed on Mon.

## until 15 January 1997

Twentieth Century Chinese Ink Painting  
(See article at page 52)



COLLECTION C. F. LUN



▲ Lü Shoukun (1919-1975),  
SELFBEING OF ZHUANGZI (1974),  
hanging scroll, ink and colour  
on paper, 13 x 69.3 cm.

◀ Wu Changshuo (1844-1927),  
FLOWERS AND ROCKS (1889),  
hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper,  
11.7 x 56.2 cm.

## CHINA

## Red Gate Gallery

Level 3, China World Hotel  
1 Janguomen Wai, Beijing  
Tel: +86-10-65322286 / 65052266  
Fax: +86-10-65324804

## until 11 December 1996

Work by Li Tianyan

## 14 Dec. 1996 - 31 Jan. 1997

Major review of art  
shown throughout 1996

## FRANCE

Museum of Fine Art  
and Archaeology

Place de la Révolution (Place du Marché)  
25000 Besançon  
Tel: +33-81-814447  
Fax: +33-81-615099  
Closed on public holidays.

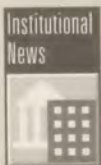
## Permanent collection

Fine art and archaeology from non-  
Western areas.

## Musée Guimet

Place d'Iena 6, 75116 Paris  
Tel: +33-1-47238398  
Fax: +33-1-47238399

Due to renovations the museum will  
be closed until the end of 1998.

International Centre  
for Cultural DevelopmentA Roof over  
Artists' Heads  
in India

The International  
Centre for Cultural  
Development  
(ICCD) offers artists the  
possibility to stay, work,  
and exhibit in Thiruvananthapuram, the capital of Kerala,  
in southern India.

Initiators of the ICCD are the Dutch  
artist Cornelis Peters and his wife,  
Mohana Kumari. After a modest  
start in 1991, the ICCD has developed  
into a professional centre where (a  
maximum of) eight artists can be ac-  
commodated. Studio facilities are  
also available.

More than fifty artists from vari-  
ous disciplines (writers, sculptors,  
painters) have visited the centre  
since its establishment. Most of  
them are from the Netherlands.  
Many artists have made use of the  
opportunity to work together with  
Indian craftsmen such as bronze-  
casters, woodcarvers, printers, bill-  
board painters, and blacksmiths.

Many artists find the ICCD an in-  
spiring place. A large number of peo-  
ple come back for a second or third  
time. The family-like atmosphere  
and the modest size of the centre cre-  
ate an atmosphere in which the resi-  
dents feel at home.

ICCD is not only an institute for art-  
ists, it is also a foundation with the  
following aims and activities:

- to promote and support the arts  
and artists in all disciplines.
- to provide a space to live and work  
for foreign artists, as well as  
promote exhibitions, perfor-  
mances, lectures, and the like.
- to promote the exchange between  
Indian and foreign artists.
- to provide for socio-cultural  
research, for example for  
scientists, journalists, and  
architects.
- to initiate research and issue  
publications on the disappearing  
arts of Travancore. To achieve this  
aim workshops and lectures on  
tribal and folk-art are being  
organized, and these are not  
confined to India. ■

For more information and documentation:

## MR CORNELIS PETERS

ICCD Trivandrum  
TC 31/1719, Anayara P.O.  
PIN 695029 Kerala INDIA  
Tel/Fax: +91-471-73368

## MS HANNEKE REIJBroek

ICCD European Branch  
Tel: +31-24-6450385

## Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum

Ubierring 45  
50678 Cologne  
Tel: +49-221-3369413  
Fax: +49-221-22114155  
Daily 10am - 4pm, first Thursday in the  
month 10am-8pm, closed on Mon.

## Permanent collection

Collections illustrating non-European  
cultures.

## April 1996 - January 26, 1997

Who had the Coconut? The Coconut palm  
tree - The tree of thousand possibilities  
The significance of the coconut palm  
for cultural and economic purposes.

## Linden Museum

Hegelplatz 1  
70174 Stuttgart  
Tel: +49-711-1231242  
Fax: +49-711-297047  
Daily 10am - 5pm, Wed. 10am - 8pm,  
closed on Mon.

## Permanent collection

World-wide ethnographical collections,  
Chinese and Japanese lacquer-ware.

## GREAT BRITAIN

## Fitzwilliam Museum

Cambridge University  
Trumpingtonstreet  
Cambridge CB2 1RB  
Tel: +44-1223332900  
Fax: +44-1223332923

## until 22 December 1996

Variations on Ceramic Themes:  
Big is Beautiful

## until 22 December 1996

The Utogawa School - Japanese prints

## The Burrell Collection

2060 Pollokshaws Road  
Glasgow G43 1AT  
Tel: +44-41-6497151  
Fax: +44-41-6360086  
Daily 10am - 5pm, Sun. 11am - 5pm

## Permanent collection

Art objects from the ancient  
civilizations of Iraq, Egypt, Greece, Italy,  
the Orient and from Medieval Europe.

TO BE CONTINUED



UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

**Museum of Fine Arts**  
465 Huntington Avenue  
Boston, MA 02115  
Tel: +1-617-2679300  
Fax: +1-617-2670280

**until 18 May 1997**  
*Beyond de Screen: Chinese Furniture of the 15th and 17th Centuries*

**Arthur M. Sackler Museum**  
Harvard University Art Museums  
32 Quincy Street  
Cambridge, MA 02138  
Tel: +1-617-4952397  
Fax: +1-617-4964732  
Daily: 10am-5pm, closed on Sunday

**until 12 January 1997**  
*Masterworks of Ukiyo-e*



▲ Utamaro Kitagawa (1753-1806),  
**THE COURTESAN YAEGIKU OF THE MATSUBAYA** (c. 1797-8).  
Ukiyo-e woodblock print in 'oban' format; ink and colours on paper. From the exhibition: 'Masterworks of Ukiyo-e' at the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Cambridge, USA.



▲ Toshusai Sharaku (active: 1794-5)  
**THE ACTOR ARASHI RYUZO AS THE MONEY LENDER ISHIBE KINKICHI FROM THE PLAY 'HANA-AYAME BUNROKU SOGA'** (Miyako-za: 1794). Ukiyo-e woodblock print in 'oban' format; ink and mica on paper. From the exhibition: 'Masterworks of Ukiyo-e' at the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Cambridge, USA.

**Museum of Science and History**  
1501 Montgomery Street  
Forth Worth, Texas 76107  
Tel: +1-817-7321631  
Fax: +1-817-7327635

**until 2 January 1997**  
*Mingei: Two Centuries of Japanese Folk Art*

**Museum of Fine Arts**  
1001 Bissonnet  
Houston TX 77265  
Tel: +1-713-6397300  
Fax: +1-713-6397399  
Daily: 10am-5pm, Sun. 12-5pm

**until 19 January 1997**  
*An Enduring Legacy: Selections from the Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd Collection of Asian Art*

**The Newark Museum**  
49 Washington Street  
Newark NJ 07101-0540  
Tel: +1-201-5966550  
Fax: +1-201-6420459  
Daily 12 - 5pm, closed Mon./Tues.

**Permanently on view**  
Authentic Tibetan Altar built in the Newark Museum from 1988 - 1991 and consecrated by His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama in 1990.

**The Asia Society**  
725 Park Avenue  
New York, NY 10021  
Tel: +1-212-2886400  
Fax: +1-212-5178319  
Daily 11am - 6pm, Thursday 6pm - 8pm, Sunday 12 - 5 pm.

**until 5 January 1997**  
*Traditions/Tensions: Contemporary Art in Asia* (See article at page 51)

**China Institute Gallery**  
125 East 65 Street  
New York, NY 10021-7088  
Tel: +1-212-7448181  
Fax: +1-212-6284159

**until 21 December 1996**  
*The Life of a Patron: Zhou Liangong and the Painters of Seventeenth-Century China*

**Grey Art Gallery & Study Center**  
New York University  
100 Washington Square East  
New York City

**until 23 December 1996**  
*Traditions/Tensions: Contemporary Art in Asia* (See article at page 51)

**Queens Museum of Art**  
New York City Building  
Flushing Meadows Corona Park  
Queens, New York

**until 5 January 1997**  
*Traditions/Tensions: Contemporary Art in Asia* (See article at page 51)

**Pacific Asia Museum**  
46 North Los Robles Avenue  
Pasadena, California 91101  
Tel: +1-818-4492742  
Fax: +1-818-4492754

**Permanent Collection**  
Objects from the Lydman, Snukal and Otto Collections, which includes ceramics from the Han, Tang, Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties.

**Asian Art Museum of San Francisco**  
Golden Gate Park San Francisco  
California 94118  
Tel: +1-415-3798800  
Fax: +1-415-6688928

**until 8 December 1996**  
*Splendours of Imperial China: Treasures from the National Palace Museum Taipei*

**until 16 February 1997**  
*Decorative Painting of Korea*

**20 December 1996 - 30 March 1997**  
*Yoong Bae: a retrospective.*

**Smithsonian Institution**  
Arthur M. Sackler Gallery  
1050 Independence Avenue SW  
Washington DC 20560  
Tel: +202-3574880  
Fax: +202-7862317  
Daily 10am - 5.30pm

**until 31 December 1997**  
*Puja: Expressions of Hindu Devotion*



PHOTO: COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

▲ Soo-Ja Kim (Taegu, South Korea, b. 1957),  
**SEWING INTO WALKING** (1994).  
Installation at Gallery Soemi, Seoul. Used clothing, bed cover, TV monitor, c.c. camera, CD player, and video projector. Artist's collection. From the exhibition: Traditions / Tensions, The Asia Society, New York

**Smithsonian Institute of Art**  
Freer Gallery of Art  
1000 Jefferson Drive at 12th street, SW  
Washington DC 20560  
Tel: +1-202-3572104  
Fax: +1-202-3574911  
Daily 10am - 5.30pm

**Through early 1997**  
*Seto and Mino Ceramics*

**National Gallery of Art**  
4th Street & Constitution Avenue  
NW Washington DC 20565  
Tel: +1-202-7374215  
Fax: +1-202-8422356

**26 January - 6 April 1997**  
*Splendours of Imperial China: Treasures from the National Palace Museum Taipei.*

**Ming's TM Asian Gallery**  
10217 Main Street, Old Bellevue  
Washington 98004-6121  
Tel: +1-206-4624008  
Fax: +1-206-4538067

**until 29 December 1996**  
*Romance in the stone: Jade, the Magic Power*

**Seattle Art Museum**  
100 University Street  
Seattle WA 98122-9700  
Tel: +1-206-6258900  
Fax: +1-206-6543135  
Daily: Tue-Sat 11am-5pm, Thu 11am-9pm, Sun. 12-5pm

**until 3 March 1997**  
*Vietnamese Ceramics: a Separate Tradition*

VIETNAM

**Red River Gallery**  
71A Nguyen Du Street  
Hanoi  
Tel: +84-4-229064

**Permanent collection**  
Work of such Vietnamese painters as Khuc Thanh Binh, Thah Chuong, Dao Tanh Dzuy, Pnam Minh Hai, Dang Xuan Hoa, Tran Luong, Pham Hong Thai, Boa Toan, Truong Tan, Do Minh Tam.



PHOTO: RAJANI BABU

▲ Ravinder G. Reddy (Andhra Pradesh, India, b. 1956),  
**HEAD IV** (1995).  
Painted, gold-gilded polyester resin fibreglass. Artist's collection. From the exhibition: Traditions / Tensions, The Asia Society, New York

**Art Gallery Hien Minh**  
1st Floor, 44 Dong Khoi Street, Distr. 1  
Ho Chi Minh City  
Tel: +84-8-224590

**Permanent collection**  
Work of the Vietnamese painter Nguyen Thi Hien.

**Galleria Vinh Loi**  
49 Dong Koi Street, Distr. 1  
Ho Chi Minh City  
Tel: +84-8-222006

**Permanent collection**  
Among other items the work of the Vietnamese artist Bui Xuan Phai (1921-1988).

The Art Agenda is produced by The Gate Foundation in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. Please send all information with regard to activities and events relating to Asian art to:

**THE GATE FOUNDATION**

HERENGRACHT 344  
1016 CG AMSTERDAM  
THE NETHERLANDS  
TEL: +31-20-620 80 57  
FAX: +31-20-639 07 62



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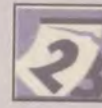


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 POSTAL CODE / ZIP CODE \_\_\_\_\_  
 CITY \_\_\_\_\_  
 COUNTRY \_\_\_\_\_  
 TEL (country number / number) \_\_\_\_\_  
 FAX (country number / number) \_\_\_\_\_

PLACEMENT IIASN ISSUE:  15 FEB 19 ...  15 MAY 19 ...  15 AUG 19 ...  15 NOV 19 ...  
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