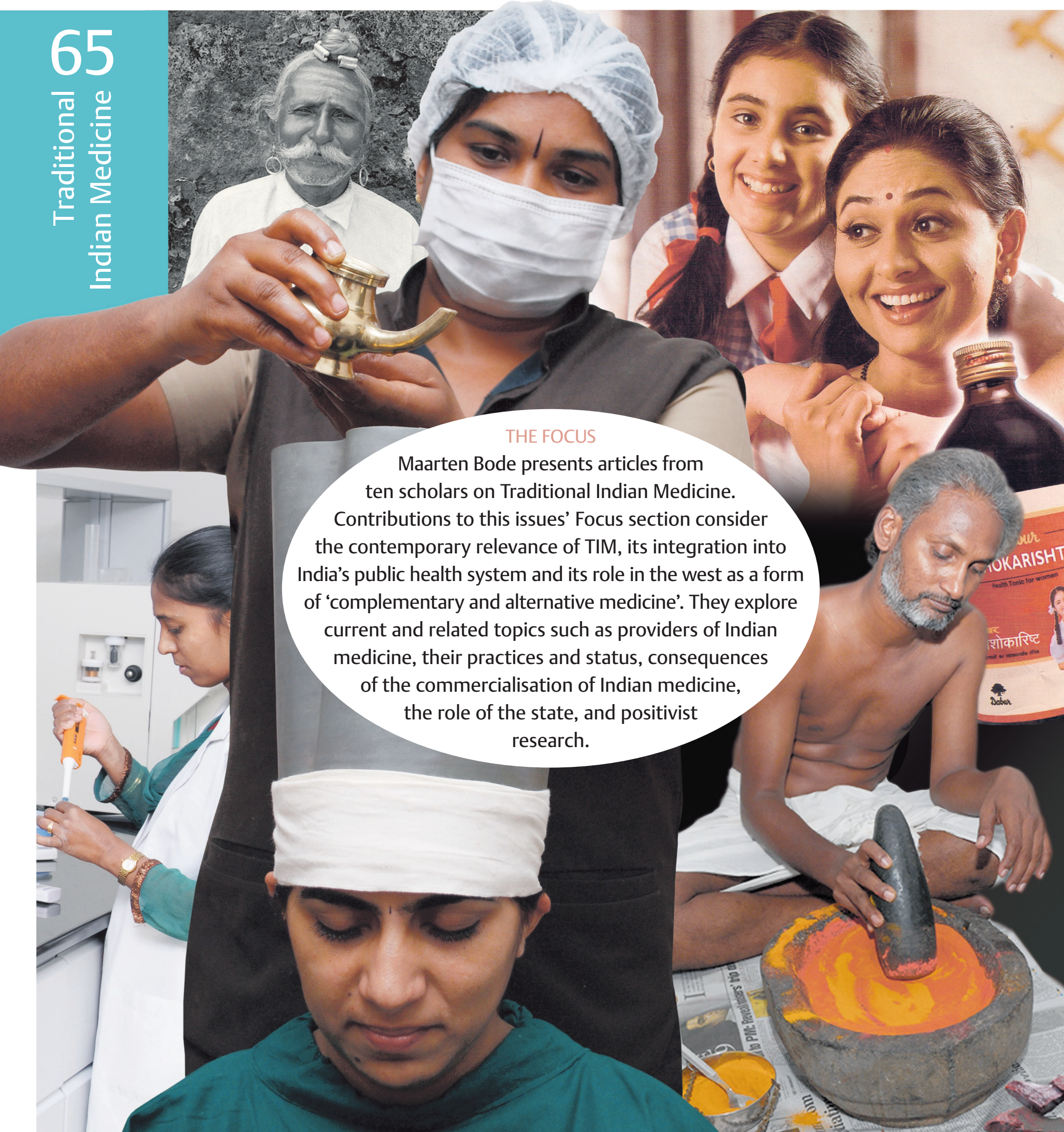**IIAS**
International Institute for Asian Studies

theNewsletter

Encouraging knowledge and enhancing the study of Asia

65

Traditional Indian Medicine

THE FOCUS

Maarten Bode presents articles from ten scholars on Traditional Indian Medicine. Contributions to this issues' Focus section consider the contemporary relevance of TIM, its integration into India's public health system and its role in the west as a form of 'complementary and alternative medicine'. They explore current and related topics such as providers of Indian medicine, their practices and status, consequences of the commercialisation of Indian medicine, the role of the state, and positivist research.

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theFocus

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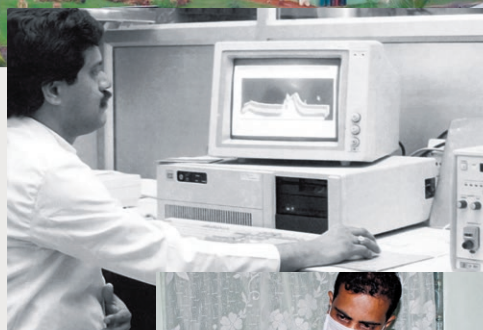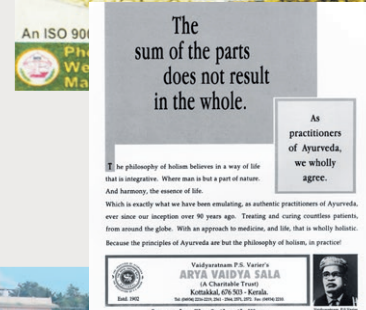
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Reframing Asian studies

The dust of ICAS 8 Macau has now settled, but it was a great success on all accounts! It was not just the number of participants and meetings, but also the quality of the roundtables and panel discussions, the numerous activities developed in association with the convention, and the new connections made thanks to a record number of Asian contributors (70%).

Philippe Peycam

THE MACAU EDITION of ICAS also helped the convention to evolve into a truly transnational and indeed global platform on Asian studies; this was made possible thanks to, among others, the newly created ICAS International Council.

Representatives from different parts of Asia and from world regions where Asia is being studied –Northern and Latin America, Africa, Australia and Europe –discussed ways for ICAS to help further 'decentralise' Asian studies, beyond the framing of the field in European and Northern American institutions, beyond Western-originated intellectual trends and concerns. At the IC meeting, Asian studies were discussed as both an issue among scholars from the different countries and regions of Asia, and as a concern within specific world-regional contexts.

ICAS 8 also saw IIAS celebrate its twentieth anniversary. For the occasion, the institute organised or co-ran 16 round-tables. Their diversity reflected the multiplicity of projects and subjects covered by the institute. These events, which were all public, were designed to help the institute advance future research and cooperative agendas around its three research themes: Heritage, Urban and Global studies in Asia. In all of the roundtables, efforts were spent to encourage a wide diversity of views, beyond geographic borders, but also outside the traditional boundaries marking the academic world. Think for instance of the roundtable on the Politics of Textile convened by Dr. Aarti Kawlra (see page 45), which brought craftsmen from Indonesia, Laos and India together with historians of material culture on Africa and Asia. Think also of Dr. Mehdi Amineh's meeting addressing the trans-regional question of energy security and the impact of the rise of China.

The remaining months of this year will see more events marking IIAS's twentieth anniversary. On 19 September, Prof. Carol Gluck from Columbia University will give the institute's Annual Lecture. In November, two other important events will take place in Leiden: on 11-13 November, an IIAS-Leiden University conference will explore forms of pre-modern urbanism across places and times within Asia. Linked to the Urban Knowledge Network Asia (UKNA), the conference will benefit from the additional collaboration of the Netherlands' Museum of Antiquities and the Singapore-based Institute of Southeast Asian Studies' Archaeology Unit. A week later, 18-20 November, IIAS and ISEAS will again join forces for another event entitled 'Framing Asian Studies'. Convened by Dr Albert Tzeng from Taiwan, it will echo some of the concerns discussed in Macau and address issues surrounding the economics of institutional knowledge production of Asian studies.

Meanwhile, IIAS and Leiden University's School of Area Studies have kept busy with the launch of an original trans-regional graduate programme on Critical Heritage Studies, comparing Asia and Europe, involving the collaboration of National Taiwan University, University of Gajah Madha and Yonsei University. This fall will also see the three IIAS-LU Asian studies Chairs in Indian, Korean and Taiwanese studies being filled. The 'season' will end for IIAS by returning to Macau for an exceptional 'Winter School' organised in collaboration with Macau University, on the subject of 'Postcolonial urban hybridity'. And finally, the next issue of The Newsletter, appearing in December, will be a special anniversary issue to celebrate 20 years of IIAS.

Philippe Peycam, Director IIAS

Call for Researchers for the Urban Knowledge Network Asia

THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR ASIAN STUDIES (IIAS) at Leiden University is seeking researchers for short-term or medium-term postings, with a grant from the EU, to its Chinese and Indian university partners to conduct research on cities in Asia.

Last available places between August 2013–31 March 2014
There are still a few open slots for the period from now until March 2014. Secondments are for 1-12 months. Please contact the UKNA secretariat as soon as possible if you are interested in applying. See www.ukna.asia/ukna-call-researchers for available positions.

About UKNA
The Urban Knowledge Network Asia is an inclusive network that brings together concerned scholars and practitioners engaged in collaborative research on cities in Asia. It seeks to influence policy by contributing insights that put people at the center of urban governance and development strategies. The emphasis is on immediate problem solving as well as on the identification of long-term, transformative processes that increase the scope for the active engagement of people in the creative production and shaping of the city.

Selection criteria
Applications will be considered on a rolling basis. Applications will be assessed both by IIAS as well as by the host institutes, based on their quality and their fit with the research principles of UKNA (see UKNA research themes below) and the current research interests of the host institute. Preference will be given to qualified applicants who can commence their research visits as soon as possible.

Grant scheme
Researchers participating in UKNA receive a monthly stipend of EURO 1,767 or EURO 1,953 per month, determined by the Marie Curie Actions IRSES scheme. This grant is intended for travel and subsistence costs, and is supposed to be in addition to the researcher's existing salary.

Eligibility requirements
Participating researchers must possess an EU passport and/or an official employment contract from an academic institution in the Netherlands or elsewhere in the EU. Applicants should be either PhD candidates (4 years or less research experience), Experienced Researcher (recent PhD) or Senior Researcher.

Tasks and deliverables
Researchers participating in UKNA are obliged to fulfill certain tasks and deliverables, which are officially recorded in contracts with the European Commission. Please find the list at www.ukna.asia/tasks-deliverables

Application process
Applicants should send their research proposals (in English) and proposed research start and end dates to the UKNA Secretariat at IIAS. A short motivation statement should accompany applications (www.ukna.asia/research-plan-report).

UKNA research themes

IDEAS OF THE CITY
This research theme explores competing ideas of the contemporary city from historical perspectives, to illuminate the continuities and ruptures in the process of city making.

CITIES BY AND FOR THE PEOPLE
This theme examines who the actors are and how they interact in the production, shaping, contestation and transformation of the city. It explores the relations between human flourishing and the making of urban space and form, with a particular concern for the rights of residents and users in the process.

FUTURE OF CITIES
This theme considers the challenges of urban dwellers and users in the areas of land, housing, infrastructure, services, planning and the environment, personal wellbeing (including livelihoods and human capital), and 'life spaces' (comprising culture, urban heritage, public spaces, and associational life).

For submission of applications, and for any questions, please contact the UKNA secretariat, as follows:
Dr. Paul Rabé
(p.e.rabe@iias.nl)
Ir. Gien San Tan
(g.s.tan@iias.nl)

For more information, please visit the UKNA website:
www.ukna.asia

UKNA is funded by a grant awarded by the Marie Curie Actions 'International Research Staff Exchange Scheme' (IRSES) of the European Union.

IIAS is one of the Network's 14 institutional partners, and its secretariat.

u k n a

Missionary archaeology on Republican China's southwestern frontier

Protestant missionaries played important roles in the transfer, alteration and creation of academic disciplines between China and the West in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This essay considers the work of three missionaries instrumental in the development of the modern discipline of archaeology in early twentieth century Sichuan province. It highlights the importance, but also the ambiguities of their work, caught as they were between amateur and professional, and imperialist and nationalist.

Jeff Kyong-McClain

Above:
The Executive Committee of the West China Border Research Society in Chengdu, 1935, including Graham (standing, far left) and Edgar (standing, center). Special Collections, Yale Divinity School Library.

IN APRIL 1933, two protestant missionaries were arrested and brought before the magistrate of Pengshan County, Sichuan, charged by the Jiangkou village headman with grave robbing along the Min River. The magistrate, sensitive to the possible international complexities of the case, sent the pair back to Chengdu with no punishment other than the confiscation of the excavated artifacts and their archaeological tools. Letters of accusation and counter-accusation briefly circulated between the missionaries, the magistrate, regional warlord Liu Wenhui, and the British and American consulates, but ultimately no resolution was reached.[1] The case could easily be construed as an example of missionaries as 'cultural imperialists', converting the Chinese to Western religion and stealing national treasures along the way. Conversely, their actions might also be thought of as part of a modernizing and nation-building process, where tombs are no-longer sacred spaces, but are bearers of national history, requiring scientific excavation and their contents to be moved to sanctioned museums. Scholars have used both paradigms to describe the activities of the missionary archaeologists discussed below: James Huston Edgar, Thomas Torrance, and David Crockett Graham (the latter two being the arrestees at Pengshan). However, as will be seen, none are so easily categorized, blending their Christian mission with archaeological work in distinct ways.

James Huston Edgar and the Tibetan paleolithic
James Huston Edgar (1872-1936) was born in Australia but moved to New Zealand at a young age. Edgar was endowed with a natural curiosity and delight in adventure, so much so that as a youth he ran away from home and joined a tribe of Maori (despite being "a blood relation of Thomas Carlyle," his eulogist noted). In 1897, Edgar enrolled for a year of study at the Missionary Training Home in Adelaide, and upon graduation joined the China Inland Mission, with the understanding that he would eventually work at a mission station in western Sichuan, near Tibet, an area into which the mission was looking to expand. After four years learning Chinese in eastern China, Edgar arrived in Sichuan in 1902, where he remained until his death in 1936.[2]

Edgar had no training in archaeological theory or method, and was more a dabbler than a professional; but being so naturally curious about the history of the region, and being one of the few English-speaking residents in the borderlands, he accrued some level of authority on the subject. Edgar's archaeology of the region took him in many directions, but his most persistent efforts were aimed toward collecting what he determined to be paleolithic and neolithic artifacts, such as chipped or polished stone tools and bones. The primary outlet for his archaeological research was the *Journal of the West China Border Research Society*. In his initial archaeological offerings to the *Journal,* Edgar emphasized connections between stone implements of the frontier with China's Central Plains, so suggesting the notion, popular with Chinese nationalists at the time, that development had come to this peripheral region from the heart of China, and that there was, therefore, no independent civilization in the region in antiquity. However, the longer Edgar remained a resident of the Sino-Tibetan borderlands, the more he came to believe that the artifacts he collected indicated independent human development in the region, and he began referring to the stone tools' creators as "pre-Tibetans", discounting connections with China.[3] Edgar became so convinced, in fact, that he was bothered by all the attention given to the "advanced character" of the stone tools attributed to Peking Man, advertised as the ancestor of the Chinese, once writing to his friend: "If our Tibetan ones [artifacts] are not of the same kind – perhaps even more ancient! – I shall spend some labor eating my hat."[4] Ultimately, however, except for a few missionary friends (and perhaps Swiss geologist Arnold Heim), few were persuaded of this Tibet-centered archaeology.

Thomas Torrance and a lost tribe of Israel
Thomas Torrance (1871-1959) was born in a small village in Lanarkshire, Scotland, the same county that was home to an early inspiration for the young Torrance, David Livingstone. Torrance joined the China Inland Mission in 1895 and was sent for one year of Chinese language training in Shanghai, before moving to the China Inland Mission station in Chengdu. In 1910, after a falling out with some others at the mission, over whether or not there was a place for education and not just preaching in the mission program (Torrance said there was), he switched mission boards, affiliating with the American Bible Society, who kept him on in Chengdu. Torrance remained in Chengdu until his retirement in 1934, spending much of the last decade evangelizing in remote areas, most notably in northwestern Sichuan, the area inhabited by the ethnic Qiang people.[5]

Torrance combined a fervent evangelical missionary sensibility with a love of the past, believing that to more readily convert a people, one must know their history. Like Edgar, he was decidedly an amateur when it came to archaeology, but also like Edgar, he was one of the very few even attempting it in the region, and so became known as a specialist, and was awarded membership in the Royal Geographical Society despite his lack of training. At first, his archaeology focused on excavating Han Dynasty tombs (recall his arrest), the results of which he tried to use in his evangelism as proof that pre-Buddhist Confucian China was close to God.[6] Over time, Torrance came to believe that Buddhism had so corrupted the Chinese that God had sent a tribe of Israel to try to awaken the Chinese to his truth; that tribe, Torrance said, was known in China as the Qiang. His archaeological findings in the Qiang region of northwestern Sichuan became pieces in his overall case for the Qiang as a lost tribe of Israel. He attempted to show that the pottery excavated from Qiang area tombs bore (in his estimation) striking resemblance to pottery from the Levant.[7] Torrance's Jerusalem-centered theories garnered even less support from the archaeological community than did Edgar's.

David Crockett Graham and the Chinese nation
Of the three missionaries discussed here, American Baptist David Crockett Graham (1884-1961) did the most to establish disciplinary archaeology in the region and to focus the new discipline squarely on the Chinese nation. Graham spent most of his earlier life in Walla Walla, Washington, including his college years at Whitman College. After college, he studied at Rochester Theological Seminary (New York) before joining the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society and heading for China in 1911. After just one year of Chinese language training in Shanghai, Graham moved to Yibin, Sichuan, where he remained at the Baptist mission until 1930. In 1930, he left Yibin for a position in Chengdu, teaching anthropology and curating the archaeological and ethnographic museum at the Protestant college, West China Union University. He would remain in Chengdu until his retirement in 1948.[8]

Before moving into his new position, Graham spent a year and a half studying archaeology at the University of Chicago and Harvard, so that when he returned to southwest China, he brought a new level of professionalization to the region. His first major excavation occurred in 1932-33 when, with the support of the Sichuan Provincial Education Office, Graham took control of a large-scale excavation in Guanghan. The majority of the artifacts from that excavation, including large jade discs, jade beads, and pottery, were displayed in the West China Union University Museum. Graham determined that the material dated to the early Western Zhou dynasty (1027-771 BCE) and was stylistically much the same as the material that had been discovered around the Yellow River, thus proving (contrary to Edgar and Torrance) that a process

Edgar emphasized connections between stone implements of the frontier with China's Central Plains, ... [suggesting] that development had come to this peripheral region from the heart of China.

of diffusion had brought the higher culture of the Central Plains to Sichuan, which was a periphery. The discovery was heralded in archaeological circles in China and the West as showing China's long presence in the area.[9] Graham's fame thus established, he continued to excavate around Sichuan province in the 1930s and into the 1940s, usually offering interpretations of his findings that implicitly highlighted Chinese civilizational superiority over smaller people groups in the region, like the Qiang and the Tibetans.[10]

Conclusion
Japan's invasion of China in 1937 resulted in a massive movement of people from the occupied areas in eastern China into Sichuan. Included among the refugees were well-trained Chinese archaeologists. The position of the missionary archaeologists necessarily decreased in the face of the higher level of professionalization and the Chinese nationalist credentials of these scholars. Still, the missionary archaeologists detailed here had made their mark. Many of the sites Edgar, Torrance and Graham pioneered continued to attract the attention of Sichuan-based archaeologists for years to come. Most famously, the Guanghan site is now known for yielding remains of the highly distinctive (non-Central Plains) Sanxingdui culture. Leaving aside their value to the history of archaeology in China, the missionaries here also suggest something of the problem of a too cavalier dismissal of missionaries as imperialists. One must ask, and answer with nuance, 'whose imperialists?'

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Notes
1   The letters related to this incident are available in the Sichuan Provincial Archives, Record Unit 41, File 691.
2   Edgar's biographical information is drawn from the eulogy by D.S. Dye. 1936. 'James Huston Edgar, Pioneer', *Journal of the West China Border Research Society* 8:14-18.
3   See any number of Edgar's articles in the early 1930s editions of the *JWCBRS;* especially, 'Prehistoric Remains in Hsi-Kang or Eastern Tibet', *JWCBRS* VI:56-61.
4   Letter, Edgar to Leslie Kilborn, n.d., Sichuan University Museum Library.
5   This information about his life is culled from a biography of Torrance's more famous son, the theologian, Thomas F. Torrance. Alister E. McGrath. 1999. *Thomas F. Torrance: An Intellectual Biography,* Edinburgh: T&T Clark, pp.6-16.
6   For instance, Thomas Torrance. 1910. 'Burial Customs in Sz-chuan', *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 41:57-75.
7   Thomas Torrance. 1937. *China's First Missionaries: Ancient 'Israelites',* London: Thynne and Company.
8   On Graham's life, see Charles F. McKhann and Alan Waxman, 'David Crockett Graham: American Missionary/Scientist/ Explorer in Sichuan, 1911-1948', in Denise M. Glover et al. (eds.) 2012. *Explorers and Scientists in China's Borderlands, 1880-1950,* Seattle: University of Washington Press.
9   This description is based on Graham. 1933-1934. 'A Preliminary Report of the Hanchow Excavation', *JWCBRS* VI:114-131.
10 Graham. 1944. 'An Archaeological Find in the Ch'iang Region', *JWCBRS* XV(Series A):34-38.

Cambodian returnees' contributions to transformative change

The turbulence of a civil war (1970-1975), the Khmer Rouge takeover (1975-1979) and the Vietnamese intervention (1979-1989) forced many Cambodians into exile. Among the nations that offered refuge, America and France stand out in terms of numbers of Cambodian refugees accepted. Decades after these conflicts, members of the first generation refugees are returning to Cambodia. This first generation has combined their personal experiences of pre-conflict Cambodia, a prolonged stay in the country of exile, and a 'reacquaintance' with a post-conflict Cambodia that is emerging from its position as a 'weak state' under authoritarian leadership, to economic growth and relative political stability.

Gea Wijers

Above: Integration and Cambodian tradition; generational differences in the celebration of Khmer culture during Cambodian New Year in Lyon (photo by author).

IN THE HISTORY of Cambodian refugee resettlement, America and France have (since 1975) served as 'safe haven' for three waves of Cambodian refugees. Contributing to current discussions on the influence of migrant communities in origin and host countries, the focus of this research is on first generation Cambodian refugees who entered France or the United States before 1979 and who returned to Cambodia after the 1991 Paris Peace Accords. This group of informants may be distinguished in the Cambodian refugee community, in general, by their relative independence in resettlement, their language proficiency, the displayed cultural awareness of their new surroundings and their social belonging to the Cambodian middle or upper classes.

Creation and employment of social capital
My research fills a gap in the research on remigration and transnational entrepreneurship by taking a multidisciplinary, multi-sited and multi-embedded perspective on the study of institutional entrepreneurial activities by Cambodian returnees that are using their transnational networks as resources for their contributions to transformative change in their home country. These institutional entrepreneurs are defined as "actors with sufficient resources who see in the creation of new institutions an opportunity to realize their interest" in the governmental en non-governmental sector.[1] Their activities are designed to bring about transformative change within the profound socio-economic and political development of Cambodian society. The focus is on the creation and employment of the 'social capital' available in (trans)national social networks in these institutional entrepreneurial activities. It is proposed that these transnational social networks affect their institutional entrepreneurial activities by offering multiple opportunities at achieving the social legitimacy needed to make transformative change happen.

The research was designed as a comparative multiple case study, in the acknowledgement, nevertheless, of individual differences and social contexts. It was not meant to bring forward a set of structural cultural and ideological differences between host countries. Moreover, the social capital created and employed in social networks was not quantified systematically. Rather, evaluations were made on the basis of informants' stories about the social networks' cohesion by analysis of their 'narrativizations' on themes related to conflict and solidarity.[2]

Data collection took place in Lyon, France (2010), Long Beach (CA), USA (2011) and Phnom Penh, Cambodia (2010 & 2011). In the localities studied, members and leaders of Cambodian community organizations were contacted systematically and asked to assist in the recruitment of other informants. In four three-month periods of data collection in Lyon, Phnom Penh, Long Beach and then again Phnom Penh, the experiences of individual and key informants were collected through 129 semi-structured interviews.

Comparison and analysis
In the comparison and analysis it was established that a country's resettlement policies and immigration infrastructure have (had) a determining effect on many of Cambodian communities' actions. Laws and policies can bind the form, aims and extent of community organizations and the support they offer, thus affecting the refugees' social adaptation process and the social capital they create.

For the Cambodian French, remigration experiences have resulted in a discourse that implies that, although making a contribution to transformative change in the homeland is important, it is not necessary to resettle in Cambodia to do so. For instance, even while claiming their lawful French benefits and fulfilling their mortgage obligations, my informants in Lyon and Paris proudly mention their feelings of 'homecoming' in Cambodia. The Cambodian French returnees they refer me to are, also, best characterized as 'circular migrants'.[3] Upon return, their transnational networks and their positive linkages to overseas Cambodian French communities and organizations have initially provided the Cambodian French returnees with a relatively generous bargaining power. This seems to be related to perceptions of their social status both before and during exile. In this way, historical ties with Cambodia brought returnees from France the benefit of their preferential treatment and expedient inclusion in certain local social networks both in the home and host country. They had a lot of overseas and local social capital to share transnationally. Since the 1997 clashes, however, colonial associations with France, the Cambodian French's traditional attitude of middle and upper class superiority towards the local Cambodians, and the English language barrier, have all contributed to processes that exclude the Cambodian French from reintegration at other levels of society.

The Cambodian American informants in Long Beach generally express high expectations of a return. Extensive and visible homeland attachments and involvements show that transnational activities in the Long Beach community are not necessarily 'choices' but may provide an 'escape' from a socially marginalized existence in the United States. For example, political rhetoric during public events and a history of support for military activities that were initiated on the Thai border during the Vietnamese takeover (1979-1989), demonstrate aspects of diasporic nationalism in this overseas Cambodian community. Informants interviewed in Cambodia express that the relatively cautious reception of Cambodian American returnees has, during the last decades, evolved into a warmer welcome to people from a country that is perceived to be rich and powerful. Cambodian American trade relations and American investments in Cambodia are still growing. Cambodian American transnational networks have professionalized and returnees are taking advantage of the available Cambodian as well as American opportunity structures. These intensifying relations seem to be appreciated in both the USA and Cambodia. Nevertheless, it can prove difficult for returnees to seize these opportunities effectively.

In general, however, returnees from both France and the United States, to a different degree, get stuck and become isolated in following the flows imposed on them by host land and homeland institutions. Both the Cambodian American and Cambodian French informants explain how perceptions of group and individual identities, their feelings of 'belonging', 'homecoming' and being a part of a social network, are re-evaluated and renegotiated upon return. As a result, the returnees' transnational resources and distinct histories have sometimes even actively led to dynamics of cultural exclusion, self-exclusion and marginalization upon return in Cambodia.

When it comes to the institutional entrepreneurs' roles as builders, their activities do not lead to the significant contributions to transformative change in Cambodia they intended. The social capital these returnees have created in the host country is hard to employ in Cambodia, while their transnational social networks have a varied impact on their 'success'. Resistance, opposition and disinterest towards their institutional entrepreneurship by fellow Cambodians, as well as local distrust, can counteract their ambitions to make change happen.

Conclusions
One of the more significant conclusions to emerge from this study, which looked at the ways in which first generation Cambodian French and Cambodian American returnees create and employ their social capital in institutional entrepreneurial activities upon return to the home country, is that the social capital in (trans)national networks is even more versatile than previous research would have us believe. Not only can it provide individuals with benefits through their membership of these networks, but also, in the dynamics of social relations, 'negative social capital' may be produced, which actually restrains relationships and contributions to transformative change.

Upon return, the comparison and analysis of the Cambodian French and Cambodian American returnees' cases show that neither group can freely employ the social capital in their (trans)national networks to realize their ambitions for Cambodia. When the returnees first arrive in the country, and their social legitimacy in Cambodia is not yet established, they are often met with suspicion by local parties. The questions of loyalty, 'foreignness' and 'ethnicity' are put to them and affect their access to resources as well as their initiation of institutional entrepreneurial activities. Only a few returnees are well-established socially, both overseas and in Cambodia, and are allowed to work on the basis of trust in multiple localities. Those individuals are often perceived as the most 'successful' institutional entrepreneurs by the overseas Cambodian communities.

Returnees to Cambodia may not remain neutral. In the long term, they are not able to remain unaffiliated and have to choose sides, socially and politically, in order to survive. Their transnational connections that push for transformation of the country may prove a burden as the traditional Cambodian patronage system hardly allows for a type of change that follows contested western models for development or democratization. Moreover, populist rhetoric on 'foreigners' posing a threat to the Cambodian nation, affects the reception of returnees. A lack of social legitimacy, trust and acceptance thus limits the returnees' opportunities to initiate institutional change in this context of cultural competition, political contestation and looming social conflict.

Of course, individual informants differ from one another in their abilities, skills and personality traits. On a group level, however, distinct differences that seem to exist between Cambodian French and Cambodian American returnees confirm that:
• the geopolitical position of their host country may positively or negatively affect the returnees' reception as well as their social legitimacy upon return;
• language barriers may restrict the returnees' opportunities to find a livelihood as well as restrict the employment of the social capital available in their transnational social networks;
• levels of cultural exclusion related to the host countries' migration policies and ideologies are evident in processes of resettlement in host countries as well as the employment of transnational resources by returnees.

The conclusions of this research support policy makers' efforts to establish efficient and effective institutional mechanisms for (re)migration. Future research will have to produce more detailed insights in the ways these may facilitate and open up opportunities for returnees from a diversity of countries.

Gea Wijers, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Cambodia Research Group (g.d.m.wijers@vu.nl). The dissertation has been published as: *Navigating a river by its bends. A comparison of Cambodian returnees' contributions to the transformation of Cambodia* (2013), Amsterdam: VU University Press. ISBN: 9789086596478.[4]

Notes
1 DiMaggio, P.J. 1988. 'Interest and Agency in Institutional Theory', in L.G. Zucker (ed.) *Institutional Patterns and Organizations: Culture and Environment,* Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Co, pp.3-21 (see p.14)
2 In contrast to personal narratives, such as life stories, a narrativization focuses on particular 'selected' experiences considered pivotal by the narrator in semi-structured interviews.
3 These returnee institutional entrepreneurs chose to remain 'transnational' and 'unbounded' in the sense that they only return to Cambodia for several months a year and live in France the rest of the time thus making 'circular' movements between countries.
4 The author gratefully acknowledges the support of the NWO-WOTRO Science for Development organization through the Cambodia Research Group, as well as the support of the Graduate School of the Faculty of Social Sciences, VU University Amsterdam.

'The Chinese Art Deco architect of the 1925 Paris Expo' – My grandfather
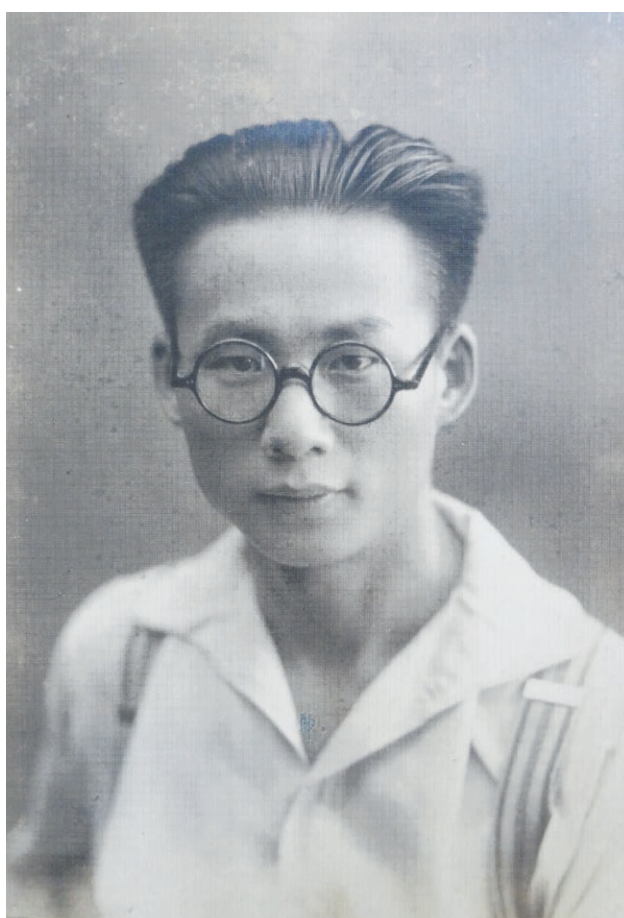
It is my honor as family historian to tell you about my maternal grandfather Liu Jipiao (劉紀標) 1900-1992, whose life spanned 3 continents and a century of history filled with upheaval and transformation. He was born in China, educated in Paris, returned to China to help rebuild a nation and fled to America to live out the rest of his life. My grandfather left our family his artwork, furniture, photos and blueprints that he produced in America. From this collection, childhood stories, and published works, I am piecing together his story.

Jennifer Wong

BEFORE SHARING HIS LIFE, I'd like to introduce my family. My mother, Gayook (Liou) Wong, Liu Jipiao's eldest daughter, came to America at age 3. Her recollections have been invaluable in stringing together events. She was diagnosed with cancer around the time our research began; we believe this project has given her purpose and a deeper understanding of her father, and thankfully, she has been cancer free for over a year now. My brother Matthew, a business major from University of Virginia, has been archiving the artwork and running the business side of our endeavor. And I am an East Asian Studies major from Wesleyan University, Connecticut. I wanted to learn Mandarin, live in China and meet family I never knew. It never occurred to me that my education would be useful in helping my family 25 years later. With every piece of information discovered, we reclaim more of Liu's story and together, reshape our family legacy.

I have two paintings that hang in every bedroom I've had since 1990. My grandfather framed everything himself. Times were tough so he used any materials he could get his hands on. My paintings, for example, were mounted directly on press board, no glass. Liu knotted the string on both ends, drilled holes in the pressboard and threaded it through the back. One day the string broke and I was left wondering how to fix it without damaging the art. This is when it occurred to me to not only have it framed 'properly', but to also digitize it before it aged any further; in fact, it then came to mind that I should digitize ALL his paintings. One thing led to another. I started talking to friends about preserving the artwork. One suggested I find a grad student to help with the research. She wrote to her professors and the University of Southern California (USC) East Asian Library responded. They were interested in digitizing Liu's work for their database.

Our research often progressed in this manner. I found a dissertation online about Liu's work in Paris, wrote the author, who sent me to Professor Steinhardt of University of Pennsylvania, who referred me to her co-editor Dr Jeff Cody, Senior Project Specialist at Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles. (They had collaborated on, *Chinese Architecture and the Beaux-Arts*.) Dr. Cody met us at the Getty, where

we browsed the *Exposition Internationale Des Arts Decoratifs Et Industriels Modernes A Paris 1925,* a catalog from the Paris Expo 1925, Chinese Section. My grandfather had participated in this exposition, designed the catalog cover and was responsible for the exhibit design.[1] (Fig. 2) This was the first time we saw an example of his work that pre-dated his time in America.

The catalog also included a glowing review of Liu Jipiao's contributions to the art world:

> — M. Liou is one of those rare spirits invulnerable to the real vulgar life, and similar to the immaculate white lilies on the pond. […] What a difference between him and the old artist. His execution method, modeling, colors and style, makes him a true modern artist.[2]

It was exciting and poignant. My mother broke down and cried. My grandfather rarely spoke of his previous life, and we didn't know him as a young man. Grandma used to say he was a very important and incredibly talented high official in Chiang Kai Shek's government. To us, he was a silent, sometimes bitter man, who came alive when he had a brush in his hand. But here was something we'd never seen before, created by someone we didn't know: a motivated young man with hopes and dreams of modernization that he poured into his art. For me it was exhilarating, a promise of things to come. If we found this catalog, maybe we could find more!

Liu Jipiao (4 June 1900-15 April 1992)
On 4 June 1900, Liu Jipiao was born in Meizhou, a northern region of Guangdong, to an affluent family that owned a silk dye factory employing 500 workers. A recognized child prodigy, Liu was drawn to the nearby porcelain factories of Jingdezhen, the 'Porcelain Capitol'. In 1971, Liu wrote:

> — The most interesting section to me, since I always like to paint, was the decorating room. Six members of the second generation worked in this area [...] extremely quiet, with dignity and skill, each artist enjoyed his work; some artists specialized in birds, some in dragons. [...] much of my ability in

Fig. 1 (above left): Liu Jipiao as a young man ca.1923.

Fig. 2 (below left): Cover designed by Liu Jipiao of the catalogue for the Chinese Section of the Exposition internationale des Arts décoratifs et industriels moderns, Paris, 1925.

Fig. 3 (above right): Postcard of the Chinese entrance, designed by Liu Jipiao for the Exposition internationale des Arts décoratifs et industriels moderns (Published in 1925 by Armand Noyer).

china painting came directly from those six artists – how to prepare the color, how to apply it correctly with a firm and steady brushstroke, and the graceful outlining.[3]

During his adolescent years, Liu went to Shanghai to study Chinese and Western painting. At the age of 19 his family sent him to Europe to study. According to articles published in the 1920s, Liu traveled through Europe with Lin Fengmian (林風眠) and Lin Wenzheng (李金發), meeting up with other Chinese artists such as Xu Beihong (徐悲鸿). A strong bond was formed early on, ensuring that these young men would somehow work together in the future. After living in Berlin for 6 months, Liu settled in Paris to study French. He told my mother no one studied at *L'Ecole* if he was not fluent in the language. In 1922 Liu enrolled at *L'Ecole Nationale des Beaux Arts* under the tutelage of Ernest Laurent (1859-1929), a neo-impressionist painter and one-time collabo-rator of Georges Seurat. The more Liu and his cohort studied Western Art, the more they were fascinated by the prospect of combining Eastern and Western principles to create a modern art form. They hoped to strengthen and revitalize China, which was still struggling to unify after much political upheaval.

In 1923, dissatisfied with the two-dimensionality of painting, Liu switched to architecture. He felt that the powerful complexity of architecture could fulfill his inner needs, not as a profession divorced from art, but rather as a field of study related to fine art:

> — The artistic spirit of old architecture has progressed and revolutionized. If you lose this spirit, you lose the ability to create new art that is of value. Contemporary creators must work together to find a new road. [. . .] They must invent and discover, as in the West, thereby invent-ing a new art, style, and manner of doing things. Art and science are central to architecture, working together.[4]

The concept of architecture as a profession was relatively new in a rapidly changing China. Projects were government commissioned, designed and built by unknown craftsmen following traditional rules. Liu sought to meld 'art' with the 'science' of architecture, redefining the profession of 'Architect' to incorporate an artist's creative and innovative ideas. 'Architecture as Fine Art' was a major theme in Liu's life as he struggled to embody both artist and architect.

Fig. 4: Hangzhou National Academy of Art, ca.1928. Professors and Family. From Left to Right, back row: Liu Jipiao, (sixth from left), Lin Wenzheng, Li Shuhua, André Claudot, and Lin Fengmian (third from right). Front Row: Cai Weilian (far left), Mrs. Claudot holding infant Danielle Li, Alice Lin, Li Shuhua's wife. (All others unidentified).

Liu Jipiao (aka Teìpeìou Liou in France), along with his friend Lin Fengmian, were able to test their modern theories of East/West art at the Strasbourg Expo of 1924, a precursor to the more renowned Paris Expo of 1925. As the 'architect and general decorator' of the Paris Expo, Liu flexed his artistic and architectural muscles. Both were clearly evident in the interior designs he created for the installations. Due to the heavy Art Deco influences, many scholars call Liu one of the earliest 'Chinese Art Deco' architects. (Fig. 3)

In 1927, after graduating from *L'Ecole Nationale des Beaux Arts* Liu returned to China. He was reunited with his friends Lin Fengmian and Li Jinfa (李金發), who had also recently returned from France. All believed that cultural exchange was the key to strengthening and modernizing China and that education was necessary to achieve that goal. Liu realized success would depend on the support of leading academics such as Cai Yuanpei (蔡元培), who had returned from America, and Li Shiceng (李石曾) and Li Shuhua (李書華), who had returned from France. They also garnered approval from Zhejiang province government officials. A year later in 1928, the National Hangzhou Art School started to enroll students [200]. Lin Fengmian was appointed principal; Liu Jipiao academic dean, and concurrently, departmental head of architecture and design. Li Jinfa was professor and head of sculpture.[5] (Fig. 4)

In addition to teaching, Liu began planning the West Lake Exposition 1929, which built upon his experience in Strasbourg and Paris. As main architect, Liu donated 6 months of his time believing that China's exposure to the modern age was an important step in her growth as a nation. "In the exposition, Liu crossed the domains of fine arts and architecture, transplanting the western Deco style [...] which differed dramatically from the traditional industrial architecture." His Educational Pavilion served as an architectural precedent for the more recent Shanghai Expo Pavilion in 2010.

1929 Liu launched the construction company Da Fang (大方), with offices in Hangzhou, Shanghai, and Hong Kong, and partnering with Li Zhongkan (李宗侃), the son of Li Shiceng, who

had also received his architectural education in France. Other French connections that helped Da Fang succeed came from Liu Jiwen (劉紀文), Nanjing's mayor, and We Daoming (魏道明), head of the city's public works. Together they built thoroughfares and villas for government officials. Liu proposed several European influenced designs for the new Government Capitol Plan. (Fig. 5)

In 1932, Liu launched his architectural firm of the same name in Nanjing, building modern style structures including his three homes in Shanghai, Nanjing and Guangzhou. That same year, he married my grandmother Pan Fengxiao (泛鳳簫). An artist in her own right, she was a petite woman, considered a beauty in their social circles. They were a very active couple, horseback riding, traveling, dancing, hunting and socializing. My grandmother told us how they entertained high-end clients and important officials late into the evenings. Liu drove his clients around town in one of the first European automobiles he had imported, with the name of his company painted on the side.

But in 1937, under the threat of Japanese invasion, Liu closed his businesses. He was appointed Lieutenant General and Chief Architect in charge of fortifying Guangdong. He redesigned Humen Fortress with bunkers and air raid shelters. In 1938, when Guangzhou was overrun, he fled back to Meizhou, then to Guangxi, Macao and, by 1942, Shanghai. By then my grandmother was pregnant with my mother, Gayook. Due to several earlier miscarriages she remained bedridden in the family's Shanghai home, until the birth on 25 March 1943.

Eventually, Liu's connections with the Guomingdang became problematic with the emergence of the Chinese Communist Party, and so in January 1947 my grandparents and mother fled China. At first they boarded an airplane, but were warned by one of Liu's students that the Communists knew where they were, and so he helped them reroute onto the *General M.C Meigs,* bound for San Francisco and sailing from Shanghai that night. Liu left his second daughter, Gaylon, (18 months old) with his mother-in-law, thinking he would soon return. Not only did my grandfather leave my aunt, but also most of his wealth and possessions, including the three homes. Both the Shanghai and Guangzhou houses were

eventually sold, but the Nanjing house (9 Yihe Lu) is now the main office of the Confederation of Charities of Jiangsu Province.

For a year the family traveled across America sightseeing, ending their trip in New York City. By 1949, the Communists had taken over China and return was impossible. They settled in Manhattan. Cut off from China, faced with racism, unable to practice architecture or speak English fluently, Liu's job opportunities were limited to restaurant or laundry work. He invested in one of the first automated laundromats, eventually opening a second in the outer boroughs. By 1953 he sold both to a friend and purchased a chicken farm in New Jersey.

In 1955 my aunt was finally brought to America; it had been 8 years since they left her as a baby. The family would have to adjust and get to know each other again. There were other challenges as well. Unable to keep up with the high production and lower prices of large industrialized companies, the farm went bankrupt. The family struggled to survive. In order to make ends meet, my grandparents became massage therapists. My mother remembers working all hours, often going hungry, her father depressed, sometimes suicidal. My grandmother became the strength that held the family together.

It wasn't until the 1960's that Liu returned to what he loved. Liu resurrected his architectural skills, by working under the architect Sergey Padukow. He designed St. Vladimir Memorial Orthodox Church in Rova Farms, and other residential and commercial buildings in New Jersey. A few years after my birth in 1965, my grandfather retired and began a prolific period of painting oil, porcelain, watercolor and designing furniture. His portrait of President Lyndon Johnson was sent to the White House and is now at the Lyndon B. Johnson Memorial Library. During the last two decades of his life, Liu returned to what he loved most, painting, teaching and promoting intercultural awareness. He taught and exhibited locally. (Fig.6)

My grandfather had always believed that he'd live to be 92, because both his father and grandfather lived until that age. Liu Jipiao died 15 April 1992, two months shy of his 92nd birthday. We hope that our work honors his memory.

On a personal note
In February 2013, Dr. Jeff Cody gave a presentation about Liu Jipiao at the *Institut national d'histoire de l'art's* conference in Paris: 'Architectural Exchange: Europe and East-Asia, 1550-1950'. We showed at the National Heritage Board of Singapore's Art Deco exhibit hosted by the Urban Redevelopment Board. This autumn sees the opening of the Paris exhibit, 'Art Deco style Made in France', at *Cite de l'Architecture & du patrimoine* (16 October 2013-17 February 2014). It describes Liu as the "Chinese Art Deco Architect of the 1925 Paris Expo."

Understanding Liu's triumphs and struggles has allowed us to understand ourselves better as individuals and as a family. We were also surprised to discover the significant role he played in Chinese Modernism. Unfortunately, much information about this pivotal period has been lost or destroyed. Recently there have been efforts to preserve this part of Chinese history. We hope our research can in some way contribute to this cause.

My family is incredibly grateful to the wonderful people who have helped us research and translate, and who have encouraged us to continue Liu's story. We hope to raise sufficient funds to travel to China and Taiwan to search through building records, view his architecture and search for original publications and artwork. We would appreciate any ideas or information you may have to further our search. We are chronicling everything on our website and hope to eventually publish and lecture, forwarding Liu Jipiao's dream of intercultural exchange through art.

Contact us at info@liujipiao.com; find out more about Liu Jipiao and our discoveries at http://liujipiao.com

Fig. 5 (left): Rendering by Liu Jipiao, "Office Building", Part of the Nanjing Capitol Plan ca. 1930.

Fig. 6 (inset): Porcelain painting by Liu Jipiao, "Red Pagoda", 1971.

Notes
1 Catalogue Cover and illustrations of the 'Section Chine', *Exposition Internationale des Arts Decoratifs et Industriels Modernes,* Paris, 1925 (Fig. 2)
2 Lin Wenzheng [Ling-Vincent, President d l'Association des Artistes Chinois en France] Catalogue of the 'Section Chine', *Exposition Internationale des Arts Decoratifs et Industriels Modernes,* Paris, 1925, p.35-36.
3 Liou Kipaul [Liu Jipiao] 'China Painting by Chinese Artists', *Ceramic Arts and Crafts,* August, 1971.
4 Liu Jipiao, 'The Past and Future of Chinese Architecture', *Dongfang zazhi/Eastern Miscellany,* Vol. 21, No. 2, 25 January 1930, p.133-139.
5 Li Do, *Shanghai World Expo China Pavilion of the Biggest Challenges: Inspiration,* 29 April 2010, http://blog.sina.com.cn/liguangdou [accessed August 2013]
6 Fei Wenming, 'Transplanting "Art-Deco", Blossoming "Architecture as Fine Art", A Discussion of the Architecture Design of Liu Jipiao', *Journal of Nanjing Arts Institute,* February 2011, p.140.

Islamic bonds unbound: Japan's samurai sukūk

Japan is an evolving case showing how a form of financial praxis originally based in the identity and ethical concerns of Islam has acquired new appeal and is thereby expanding into regions of the global economy that is lacking large Muslim populations. This article surveys the initiation and the proffered justifications of Japan's issue of Islamic bonds (sukūk). It examines Japanese or J-sukūk, and the tax and legal regulatory reforms underlying their issuance, to explore the significance of the current state and future trajectory of Islamic finance in Asia.

Scott Morrison

A turn at the turn of the century

When tracing the evolution of the ideology and institutional expansion of Islamic banking in the twentieth century and its emergence in key countries across South Asia (Pakistan), Southeast Asia (Malaysia) and the Middle East (Egypt, Iran, and the wealthiest of the Gulf Cooperation Council states), religious identity and faith commitments appear as primary motivations for what has become known as 'shariah-compliant' banking and finance.

Without diminishing the religious and principled attraction of Islamic banking and finance to Muslims (and those of other or no faith tradition who are concerned with the moral implications of their financial and investment activities), in the current century the global spread of the industry reveals how it has become decoupled from considerations of identity and faith – as countries with little or no Muslim population seek to promote and encourage the growth of this financial sector.

Instances of economic motives – either alongside, or in the absence of traditionally religious motivations – include actions and policies undertaken by agents in both the public and private sectors in those countries featuring the largest economies of North America, Europe, and Asia. In the U.S., Islamic finance has been driven by private banks, with some measure of tax and policy reform permitting them to do business in relative parity with their conventional counterparts. In Britain, a greater degree of governmental promotion (of London in particular) hosting shariah-compliant finance is evident. Similarly, Islamic banks and banks with Islamic windows have been encouraged by state bodies in both Singapore and Hong Kong with a view to fostering regional capitals of Islamic finance.

Margins and centers in Asia

The country with the largest Muslim population in the world is Indonesia. However, banking catering to Muslims is of greatest scale in Malaysia, with its 40% non-Muslim minority. Within Southeast Asia, Malaysia has been an historic leader in both the size of deposits and investments, as well as the regulation of its own range of Islamic financial products, regulations, and norms of corporate governance. Within South Asia, Pakistan has been the historical leader.

Entering the competition for international investment, and in particular for investors from the oil-rich states of the Arabian Gulf (in an era of consistently high oil prices), the recent and increasing interest of countries with very small minorities of Muslims in East Asia most dramatically illustrates the effect of motivations that are of a more purely economic –rather than a religious –valence. Two relative latecomers in this Asian sub-region are South Korea and Japan. In keeping with the religious demographics of these two countries, the appearance of shariah-compliant finance in these jurisdictions does not include retail banking; it emphasizes cross-border investments and capital flows, and organized (to varying degrees) efforts to capture these by means of regulatory accommodations and reformed tax treatment.

Contemporary Islamic bonds (sukūk) – entering a novel jurisdiction

The Arabic term usually translated as 'Islamic bonds' is the plural (sukūk) of the word *sak,* which means check, legal instrument or deed. Just like bonds that do not adhere to shariah principles ('conventional bonds' for the purpose of this article), sukūk are securities. They represent shares "in the ownership of tangible assets, usufruct and services or...assets of particular projects or special investment activity."[1] Unlike conventional bonds, sukūk do not guarantee a fixed return; in observance of the prohibition of interest and speculation in Islamic law, sukūk operate on a profit and loss basis, and are asset-backed. Proponents maintain that sukūk and Islamic finance are less prone to volatility and market failure, and that the industry better weathered the latest global economic crisis.

The fact that the terminology and, until recent years, the reality of sukūk reflected an Arabo-Islamic origin does not diminish the local or national flavor of contemporary instances and issues of Islamic bonds occurring outside of this religious-cultural milieu. In Japan, sukūk have been effectively rendered a national project with a distinctively Japanese tincture. The effort to couple sukūk with Japanese culture and history is most apparent in the samurai sukūk; an appellation that excavates and reconstitutes the feudal Japanese warrior. Samurai sukūk speak to a national interest in prosperity and bringing investment and capital from abroad into Japan, in a meta-phorical battle for prosperity and economic competitiveness .

The legal and regulatory treatment of J-sukūk

Examining governmental publications, policies and legislation concerning J-sukūk, permits an investigation of the packaging or branding of J-sukūk, and the substantive governmental position concerning shariah-compliant instruments, contracts, and transactions. The picture that emerges of Islamic finance in Japan is that of a preliminary and experimental national project. Sunset provisions in relevant tax legislation reflect the tentative and staged nature of the Japanese regulatory authorities' novel venture into Islamic finance. At the same time authorities hold out the possibility of renewing legislation upon its expiry; the scope of legislative amendment bespeak the intensity and seriousness of purpose in exploring Islamic finance as a source of transnational capital and investment. Rhetoric about the religious origins or background, or any other such concerns that might be found in some western jurisdictions, are decidedly absent.

In December 2008, the Financial Services Agency of Japan authorized the subsidiaries of Japanese banks to engage in shariah-compliant finance transactions; Japanese banks such as the Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi UFJ (Malaysia) transacted shariah-compliant deals, as did Nomura and Sumitomo. In 2011, further measures for the treatment and promotion of Islamic finance were implemented; in April 2012 the Japan Securities Depository Center announced that it could act for the issuance of J-sukūk.

Under the amended Asset Securitization Act (number 105 of 1998), in Japan sukūk are treated as quasi-bonds within the existing beneficial interest and rights structure; they are issued by a special purpose trust. While sukūk are not deemed a bond, they are treated as such for tax purposes by reforms that came into force in 2011.[3] Following enactment of the Act on the Partial Amendment of the Financial Instruments and Exchange Acts to Enhance the Infrastructure of Capital Markets and Financial Sector (2011 Act Number 49), along with a variety of related tax laws, the Japanese legal and regulatory environments were fully readied for the issue of J-sukūk.

The Japan Securities Depository Center (JSDC) states that "Sukūk refers to securities with bond-like characteristics that are issued in a format that complies with 'Sharia' Islamic law. As Islam generally prohibits receiving and paying interests [sic], investments that correspond to investments in corporate bonds in substance adopt such schemes as capital contributions and lease transactions in order to receive and pay proceeds from assets and businesses in the form of dividends, thereby enabling Islamic investors to invest in securities, similar to bonds."[4] The JSDC and the tax regime seeks to treat sukūk as a bond, while recognizing the distinction between sukūk and fixed income bonds. The JSDC defines samurai-bonds as "a yen-denominated debt security issued in Japan by a foreign government or foreign company" for the purpose of allowing those foreign governments and companies "in the Islamic world" to use J-sukūk as financing measures in Japan.[5] The chief benefits that the JSDC highlight are "favorable attention to the issuers in the Islamic world [...] Thus, the issuers are expected to gain favorable positions in marketing in the Islamic world"[6] as well as the diversification of investment portfolios.

The tax regime applicable to the dividends of J-sukūk grants an exemption to foreign parties; it also exempts financial institutions in Japan from tax withholding at source. In order to make J-sukūk competitive, the tax authorities have also granted exemptions for transfer taxes on trust assets, real estate acquisitions, and licensing and registration and property transfer taxes. Notably, individuals as distinct from institutions, resident in Japan, are required to pay tax (20%) on J-sukūk dividends.[7]

Shariah-compliance and Japan

Originally devised as a means for Muslim consumers and investors to conform their financial affairs to their religious beliefs, shariah-compliant banking and finance have in recent years grown to appeal to new populations and world regions. Given the very small numbers of Muslims in East Asia, and the distance from South and Southeast Asian countries possessing larger Muslim minorities (or majorities), the expansion of such investment instruments may be most striking in countries such as Japan and South Korea.

This article has surveyed the process through which a particular shariah-compliant instrument, sukūk, has entered a new jurisdiction: Japan. In the twenty-first century the motivations of attracting capital and investment, particularly but not exclusively from the oil rich states of the Arabian Gulf and Muslim investors, have supplemented the global demand for shariah-compliant finance. It may be queried whether the interest rather than the identity-based motivations powering the expansion of sukūk into Japan and other novel jurisdictions may actually be a more effective force for the expansion not only of shariah-compliant banking and finance, but also for the ethical ideals to which Islamic banking and finance refers and aspires. Whether the adoption of the vocabulary of Islamic law and fiscal morality implies anything more than an instrumental acceptance of the belief system from which that vocabulary emanates, is an open question.

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Notes
1 Accounting and Auditing Organization for Islamic Finance Institutes (AAOIFI), Sukūk standards published January 2005 (section 2), as referenced in Michael JT McMillen (2006) 'Islamic Capital Market: Development and Issues', *Capital Markets Law Journal,* 1(2):136-172 at page 164 (http://tinyurl.com/ml6dqk4)
2 See page 2 of *Financial Services Tax News.* Taxation of J-Sukuk Q&A (May 2012) (http://tinyurl.com/llmf32s)
3 JASDEC Newsletter, Volume 14, Winter 2011 (http://tinyurl.com/my8mtff)
4 ibid
5 ibid
6 Financial Services Agency, The Japanese Government, 'Publication of "Taxation of J-Sukuk Q&A"' (http://tinyurl.com/kerzgju)
7 Financial Services Agency (April 2012) *Taxation of J-Sukuk Q&A* (http://tinyurl.com/m2zbodm)

Afrizal Malna: techniques of writing and bodily encounters with urban space[1]

Afrizal Malna sits apart from many of Indonesia's contemporary poets. Not only is he a productive literary and theatre critic,[2] Afrizal has also written novels and collections of short stories. Afrizal, now in his mid-50s, is highly industrious: he writes around the clock, he travels regularly throughout Indonesia for seminars, readings and festivals, and when not working on a new collection of poems, he is revising older works, or having essays published in *Kompas,* a daily national newspaper. In 2012, Afrizal had residencies in Poland, at Platform Lublin, and at DAAD in Berlin. His most recently published book of poems is *museum penghancur dokumen.*[3] In 2014, he will return to Berlin for a year-long residency. During the 1980s and 1990s he was active with Teater Sae. For a period in the 1990s, he was affiliated with the activist group 'Urban Poor Consortium in Jakarta'. Despite this degree of activism, as a writer and poet, Afrizal remains relatively neutral in terms of Indonesia's often polarised literary communities.

Andy Fuller

The Poet

Photos: Afrizal Malna. Left photo taken by Andy Fuller, right photo taken by Sartika Nurain.

AFRIZAL'S VOICE AS A POET is distinctive from others who are also well-established in the modern Indonesian literary canon. He stands in contrast to the wildness and *joie-de-vivre* of Chairil Anwar (Afrizal though, also writes of his indebtedness to Anwar), the intellectualism of Goenawan Mohamad (to whom a poem is dedicated in his new collection – pointedly or not), the activism of the legendary late W.S. Rendra, the gentle romanticism of Sapardi Djoko Damono, the playful domestic scenes of Joko Pinurbo or the absurdity of Sutardji Calzoum Bachri. Afrizal, if such generalisations are relevant, is concerned not so much with the romanticism of a poet's loneliness, but with a questioning of language and a bodily engagement with public and private space, objects and their associations. It is through the appearance of everyday objects that Afrizal's poems emerge as a vital catalogue and repository of the cultural meanings of space and things in Indonesia's everyday contestable modernity. In an essay published in *museum penghancur dokumen,* Afrizal writes:

> in the triangle between language, body and space, the poems in this collection are like a net that leaves behind what can't be caught in the net; i.e. shadows from the aforementioned triangle: linguistic-shadows, bodily-shadows, spatial-shadows.(p.106)

Afrizal's poems employ various strategies that evoke both a familiarity and a defamiliarisation with the objects of everyday life. His phrasing and grammar is often disarmingly simple. Yet, grammatical variation and poetic effect is achieved through idiosyncratic uses of words such as *tentang* [about], or *di antara* [in between]. Moreover, he will often times remove subjects from sentences. This presents problems for translation, but, also opens up a broadness of interpretation and meaning.

Afrizal's poems draw on the practices of surrealism and montage. Objects are placed in the same sentences as each other without any apparent correlation. In these cases *di antara,* or just *antara* [space between/among], is used. For example, in *Capung di atas pagar tinggi* [dragon fly on a high fence] he writes, "seperti ada bangkai yang terus dipuja dalam warna kelabu langit, kenangan di antara kacang hijau dan bunga matahari" [like there is a corpse that is continued

to be praised in the grey sky, memories amongst mungbeans and sunflowers] (p.12). And, in *Musik Lantai 16* [Level 16 Music], he writes, "senda-gurau antara koper dan puisi, antara gigi dan daging tersayat, sebuah orgasme yang membuat seluruh bahasa manusia terdiam" [laughter between suitcases and poetry, between teeth and sliced meat, an orgasm that silences all of mankind's languages]. 'In between' or 'amongst' is used as a device to create relationships between disparate objects, and between concrete and intangible nouns. Surrealism, as Ben Highmore argues, is something more than just a formal technique epitomised by the "chance encounter on a dissecting table of a sewing-machine and an umbrella". But it is able to "attend to the everyday" through refusing to inhabit a separate realm between art and everyday life.[4]

Afrizal's sentences vary from being self-contained to those that are fragmentary and incomplete. And thus, he plays one sentence off against another. Afrizal writes in blocks of sentences, rather than flowing, linear narratives. They are repetitive and disconnected. This is a style of writing that embodies doubt in the language that he uses. Afrizal argues that he is 'uncomfortable' with language. And that despite being a poet, critic, novelist, he feels more at home with the discourses and practices of the visual arts.[5] He claims that Indonesian is his only language, but, that it is a language without a home; a language that rejects domestication. At his book launch for *museum penghancur dokumen*[6] he argued that Indonesian is his first language (and only language), but that it is not his mother tongue. Afrizal's frequent references to the soles of feet and to the palms, emphasise the importance of touch in his engagement with the space he occupies. He seeks to reclaim a kind of Indonesian language that is both questioning of its construction and grammar, as well as a language that draws on the body and physical experience, as opposed to bureaucratisation and staid formality.

Afrizal's poems often involve a fragmentary and multiple 'self': *saya* or *aku.* This first person presents the poetic discourse across various moments in time. *Saya* or *aku* is neither stable or reliable, but an entity that is diverse and problematic. Using these terms is a moment of contestation and negotiation. *Mesin penghancur dokumen,* for example:

"Ayo, minumlah. Tidak. Saya sedang es kelapa muda. [...] Saya tidak sedang *nasi rames*." [Go ahead, drink it. No. I'm being a young coconut juice. [...] I'm not being nasi rames.] (p.31) And, elsewhere, in *Aku Setelah Aku* [Myself after Myself],[7] the *aku* that is present is persistently problematic, never just 'aku', but always 'aku setelah aku' – as this self, or rather *these selves,* negotiate an encounter with a woman in an unnamed city, somewhere in Europe.

The concluding essay from *museum penghancur dokumen* articulates Afrizal's position regarding the first person. He writes,

> the first person has passed at the moment he writes. Writing is performed through changing the first person into the third person. I cannot write 'I' into time and space at the same time: the camera cannot photograph the camera, my eyes cannot see and gaze at myself at the same time. Writing only happens when 'I' has become 'him'."(p.102)

Nonetheless, *aku* and *saya* consistently appear throughout his poems. But, these are selves that are doubted and negotiated with the context of time (un-linear) and space in which 'aku' is a part.

The sense of an ambivalent imagining with Indonesian language is complemented by Afrizal's problematic relationship with Jakarta. The trajectory of modern Indonesian literature is inextricably linked to the processes of urbanisation and Afrizal's poems offer another variation on the ongoing exchange between urbanisation and the articulation of these changes through literary discourses. Afrizal's sense of disconnect with Indonesian is reflected in his realisation of the 'city' as a place that is not a site of 'return' in Indonesian literary discourse. He argues that to return never means to go home to a city. Although this statement is somewhat exaggerated and generalised, his point is that the city is most often imagined as a site of expectation, novelty and ambition. Afrizal, however, characterises his experience of Jakarta through the riots of the Malari incident (1974) and *reformasi* (May 1998). On the night of the Malari incident, Afrizal was woken by a member of the army as his home was searched for looters. It was at that moment that poetry became no longer a literary matter to him, but one of a "bodily engagement with space".[8]

Afrizal Malna's work as a poet spans some thirty years. His first collections of poetry Abad yang Berlari (1984), *Yang Berdiam Dalam Mikropon* (1990) and *Arsitektur Hujan* (1995) were written at the height of the Suharto-led New Order era. Until now, he has maintained a consistent style – which some regard as being uniquely 'afrizalian'. In my reading, this afrizalian style draws on the techniques of inscribing a fragmentary self, an engagement with language games in which various punctuation marks are absent and subjects or objects are removed or rendered ambiguous. His diction frequently draws on the ideas of what is 'stored', 'kept', 'held', 'preserved', 'retained' through the use of the word *menyimpan.* The poems are explorations of bodily engagements with his surroundings: those of domestic and urban spaces. References to the *telapak kaki* [sole] and *telapak tangan* [palm] recur frequently. Afrizal's practice of constructing poems from lists, from playing with uses of 'in between' and 'about' are other common traits. Afrizal's poems, however, cannot be reduced to these qualities and techniques. Through drawing on these practices, Afrizal's poems maintain a fine balance between consistency and variation, which asserts his distinctive poetic voice.

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Notes

1 All translations are by Andy Fuller

2 See, for example, his books *Sesuatu Indonesia: Esei-Esei dari Pembaca yang Tak Bersih* (Yogyakarta: Bentang Budaya, 2000) and *Perjalanan Teater Kedua: Antologi Tubuh dan Kata,* Yogyakarta: iCAN, 2010)

3 All page numbers for excerpts in this article refer to: Afrizal Malna. 2013. *museum penghancur dokumen,* Yogyakarta: Garudhawaca. [lit. document destroying museum]

4 Ben Highmore referencing Comte de Lautréamont, in Highmore, B. 2002. *Everyday Life and Cultural Theory: An Introduction,* Routledge, p.46

5 Discussion with Afrizal Malna, 4 July 2013, Yogyakarta

6 Cafe Lidah Ibu, Yogyakarta, 4 July 2013

7 Afrizal Malna. 2013. 'Aku Setelah Aku', in *Aku Setelah Aku,* unpublished collection, p.11. This is a collection based on his travels and residencies in Europe during 2012 (Poland, Germany and France)

8 Afrizal Malna. 'Kota di Bawah Bayangan Api', *Kompas,* 17 March 2013, p.20

Rabindrasangit: uncovering a 'Bengali secret'

The Composer

On 14 November 1913, Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature for *Gitanjali* – a selection of his Bengali lyrics in English prose, translated by the poet himself, with an ecstatic introduction by W.B. Yeats. Rabindranath was the first Asian to win the prize, and was honoured that year by bypassing one of the English greats: novelist and poet Thomas Hardy.

Rituparna Roy

Above: Example of Rabindra-Nritya Dance. Image reproduced under a creative commons license courtesy of Iavik on flickr.

Inset: Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941). Image reproduced under a creative commons license courtesy flickr.

Gitanjali and the Nobel

When Alfred Nobel instituted the prize in 1901, he intended for the committee to discover a new genius for the world every year. But by 1913, Tagore was already a very distinguished figure in his own country – he was the foremost poet and writer of Bengal; a pioneering educationist who had started an experimental educational institution in Shantiniketan; and a national leader who had given creative leadership in (the early phase of) one of the greatest political upheavals of the time, the 'Banga-bhanga andolan' (the anti- 'Bengal Partition' movement) of 1905. But his international career began only in 1912, when *Gitanjali* was first published in London to rave reviews; and the Nobel Prize, following closely on its heels in 1913, gave him worldwide recognition that continued for the next three decades until his death in August 1941, and beyond.

This article is *not* in celebration of *Gitanjali;* the Prize, the controversies surrounding the exact nature of Yeats' contribution to it, the decade of enthusiastic translations of Tagore's other works following the Nobel, the decline in interest thereafter – have all been well-documented. Nor is it about the theft of the Nobel Prize medal from Shantiniketan in 2004, and its replacement five years later. Instead, what I intend to focus on in this article, is a lesser known facet of Tagore's genius in the West, though ironically one of the most abiding aspects of his variegated legacy: his songs. While the world knows Tagore chiefly as a poet, he was many other things besides – educationist, philosopher, political thinker, social reformer, anti-nationalist national leader.

Tagore's prophecy

One of his earliest English admirers and biographer, E. P. Thompson, in trying to establish Tagore's impressive fecundity, wrote in 1948:

Milton's English verse is less than 18,000 lines. Tagore's published verse and dramas amount to 15,000 lines or their equivalent. His non-dramatic prose, novels, short stories, auto-biography, criticism, essays of many kinds, is more than twice as much, and there is also a mass of uncollected material.[1]

What is notable here, for a Bengali, is not the comparison with Milton, but the fact that Thompson omits *Rabindrasangit* [Tagore Songs] altogether – the 2000 plus songs that Tagore wrote and composed music for, over a period of sixty years. Tagore would not have been surprised; he knew he had a limited audience, but he was also confident of his creations. In a letter to Thompson as early as the 1920s, he had prophesied:

It is nonsense to say that music is a universal language. I should like my music to find acceptance, but I know this cannot be, at least not till the West has had time to study and learn to appreciate our music. All the same, I know the artistic value of my songs. They have great beauty. Though they will not be known outside my province, and much of my work will be gradually lost, I leave them as a legacy. My own countrymen do not understand. But they will.[2]

Almost a 100 years after it was written, this statement still holds true. Ask any Bengali and he/she will have at least one

great memory with a song. If the person grew up in a house that cultivated Tagore, then the association will be deeper and more vital – but even otherwise, there is no getting away from Tagore. Especially his songs. My own earliest memory is of my mother singing Rabindrasangit, late into the evening. A marble bust of Tagore had pride of place in our living room – it still does! – the only god that my atheist father has lived with for more than 40 years. But the deity, in this case, was kept alive through reading and mostly singing.

Rabindrasangit and India

Tagore was only partially correct in his prediction; there is at least one song that all Indians know: their national anthem, J*ana Gana Mana Adhinayaka Jaya He.* And then there is the song that Gandhi made his own, and hence it has always had a national currency – *Jodi tor daak shune keu na ashe, tobe ekla cholo re* [If they answer not your call, walk alone, walk alone]. Another of his songs was chosen as the national anthem of Bangladesh in 1971, when it seceded from Pakistan – *Amar Shonar Bangla, ami tomay bhalobashi* [My Golden Bengal, I love you]. Bengal was divided thrice in the 20th century, but Rabindrasangit has remained a common legacy for Bengalis on both sides of the border.

Indians also encounter Tagore's songs through their movies. Many of the most talented composers in the Hindi film industry have used Tagore songs – mostly without acknowledgement! One example of a 'hit' Hindi song based on a Tagore tune is, *Tere mere milan ki yeh raina* (taken from the original Bengali song, *Jodi tare nai chini go sheki*) – featured in the film *Abhimaan*

(1973), which happens to have been one of megastar Amitabh Bachhan's earliest successes. Luckily, this trend of using Rabindrasangit on the sly has been on the decline ever since.

In Bengali films, however, it has remained a staple. It adds to their overall aesthetic appeal and is bound to strike a chord with the audience. But it was Satyajit Ray and Ritwik Ghatak, the gurus of Bengali cinema who changed its idiom in the 1950s, who took it to new heights. Ghatak produced movie magic when he had the brother-sister duo (Shankar and Nita) sing *Je rate mor duwar guli bhanglo jhore* in his classic, *Meghe Dhaka Tara* [The Cloud-Capped Star] (1960).[3] The song was a most effective and bold dramatization of the raw emotion of the characters, rendered memorable by the voices of the gifted singers, Gita Ghatak and Debabrata (George) Biswas. As for Ray, a whole generation of Bengalis came to know Tagore through his films, which included *Teen Kanya, Charulata,* and *Ghare-Baire*. In each of them, he made very sensitive use of Tagore songs. He had an ear for both eastern and western classical music, but had once said: "As a Bengali I know that as a composer of songs, Tagore has no equal, not even in the West –and I know Schubert and Hugo Wolf."[4]

Rabindrasangit categories & their significance
Once again, it may be pertinent to quote Ray on the subject of Tagore's magnitude:

Rabindranath began to compose his songs in a spirit of rebellion. He wanted to break with convention, break new ground. Though he did not abide by the prescribed forms, he did not consider them to be unnecessary either. His aim was the perfect union of word, tune and rhythm, but because he was as fine a writer as he was a composer, he had difficulty in creating this union in a song without compromising either the words or the tune.[5]

It all began with *Valmiki Pratibha* in 1878, when Tagore was only 17 years old. He had just returned from England, his head full of the songs he had heard and himself sung there. Indeed, western classical music would remain an important strain in Rabindrasangit, along with Indian classical music, and Bengali folk songs. In *Valmiki Pratibha* itself, there are ample examples of both the western and eastern classical influences. Later in life, Tagore would lean heavily on the folk music of Bengal – the familiar, earthy, vigorous flavour of the songs would then become an effective weapon in arousing the patriotic sentiments of his people. Almost seven decades later, the same songs would once again inspire the Bengalis of East Pakistan in their fight for liberation.

It is important to note here that the entire oeuvre of Tagore's songs is divided into four major thematic categories: Prem (Love), Puja (Worship), Prakriti (Nature) and Swadesh (Patriotism), to which was later added Bichitra (Miscellaneous). Prakriti is further sub-divided into all the seasons of the land, and some of the most memorable ones are those of the rains ('Barsha'). To the connoisseur, the quintessential Tagore can be found in the songs of Prem and Puja. For Tagore, the object of love and worship are often the same; and hence to the uninitiated, classification can be deceiving. As an example, let us take the following song from Puja:

*I crave your company, o beautiful one!
You consecrate my mind and bless my body –o beautiful one!
In heavenly light my eyes open, enchanted;
The wind blowing in the heart's vault abates
in your scent –o beautiful one!
Your loving caress captivate my consciousness
Your ambrosial flow of union will be stored in my soul
Restore me thus again and again by your embrace
And I will be reborn even in this life forever –o beautiful one![6]*

This is the impassioned worship of a devotee. But it is also a celebration of love –as much a hymn to the beloved as an expression of gratefulness for the presence of love in, and its effect on, one's life. In both, however, there is an element of yearning. And it is this that connects Tagore to the *Bauls* (the wandering minstrels of Bengal). One of the reasons that he was drawn to the Bauls was that, in their concept of *Moner Manush* [Man of the Heart], he had found an echo of his own philosophy of *Jiban Debata* [Life-God]. As Shantidev Ghosh says, "We notice that like the Bauls, in many songs of Prem and Prakriti, Gurudev (i.e.,Tagore) has repeatedly expressed a deep pain for the absence of a certain dear one."[7] This perpetual absence is, however, a presence, to be felt by the poet's innermost self; as in this song:

*You hid in the middle of my heart and I couldn't view you
I couldn't see you at all!
I kept looking outside for you but I didn't look at my heart
In all my loving – in all that hurt me – in all my hopes
You were with me all along but I wouldn't reach out to you.[8]*

Tagore would lean heavily on the folk music of Bengal – the familiar, earthy, vigorous flavour of the songs would then become an effective weapon in arousing the patriotic sentiments of his people.

Below: Suchitra Mitra and Kanika Banerjee.

The dissemination of Rabindrasangit in the 20th century
From 1878 till 1941, the year in which he died, Tagore continued to compose songs incessantly. The evolution of those songs into a distinct category of music, however, happened over a period of time. In its early phase it was intimately tied up with the advancement of the school that Tagore had started in 1901, in Shantiniketan. Shantidev Ghosh, one of the earliest students of the school, and later a most distinguished exponent of Rabindrasangit, has recounted those early days with great charm and candour in his seminal work, *Rabindrasangit Vichitra*. Tagore would write a song and teach it to Dinendranath (one of his nephews), who would then teach it to the students in the evenings, in the presence of the poet. Sometimes, he also taught all of them together –teachers and students alike –for some special occasion. "Tagore was afraid of losing his tunes", Shantidev tells us, and hence insisted on teaching them immediately, along with their notations.[9] Everybody who was interested in Tagore's songs was encouraged to sing in those days at Shantiniketan –whether they were trained in music or not, whether they sang well or not, whether they even knew Bengali or not. Indeed, there were teachers and students from other provinces of India who never fully mastered Bengali and sang with their regional accents. Initially, Tagore did not impose any restrictions on *who* could sing Rabindrasangit, and *how*. "It was only in 1926, after the establishment of *Vishwa Bharati,* that he first gave attention to this aspect … and made it clear to the music companies that no matter who sang his songs, they at least needed to learn the tune correctly."[10]

To Pankaj Mullick belongs the credit of popularizing Tagore's songs. It was Mullick who first brought it before the public, through public performances and radio programs. Before him, in Calcutta, the teaching, learning and performance of Tagore's songs had been limited to only a few Brahmo households and their gatherings.[11] It was in a bid to liberate Rabindrasangit beyond this coterie, that a series of institutions were formed by some of its stalwarts in the 1940s.

Geetabitan, Dakshinee, Rabitirtha
The first of these institutions was Geetabitan, founded in 1941. In the words of Smt. Jayati Chakrabarty (my teacher and that of my mother before me), who belonged to one of the earliest batches of graduates: "It was the first institution to systematically teach Rabindrasangit in a 5-year diploma course. The proper course could only start at age 12, before which young children were required to undergo 2+2 years of preparatory training". She herself was one of those who started very young, goaded by the enthusiasm of her father, and recalls how the nine years of study and practice there gave her a comprehensive insight into Tagore.

Two more institutions sprang up in the same decade in Calcutta – Dakshinee and Rabitirtha. Rabitirtha was founded by Suchitra Mitra and Dwijen Choudhury. Dakshinee was founded in 1948 by Shree Shubho Guhathakurtha to propagate a culture: *Rabindra Shikhsha.* While it had many elements common with Geetabitan –the 5-year diploma; extra preparatory years for children; compulsive training in the basics of Indian classical music, to enable students to understand the nuances of *ragas* and *taals* –in the teaching of Rabindrasangit, however, it maintained a distinct style of it own; and its high standard has also never fallen in the more than six decades of its existence. As a recent graduate, Brototi Dasgupta, confirms: "The school boasts of serious rigor in terms of discipline and dress code and though many would argue the redundancy of such rigor in a fast changing society, Dakshinee's student strength has been proudly recorded at 1200 plus".[12] It may be noted here that, apart from Rabindrasangit, Dakshinee also teaches *Rabindra-Nritya,* the special form of dance that Tagore used in his dance dramas, inspired chiefly by the Manipuri style of dance.
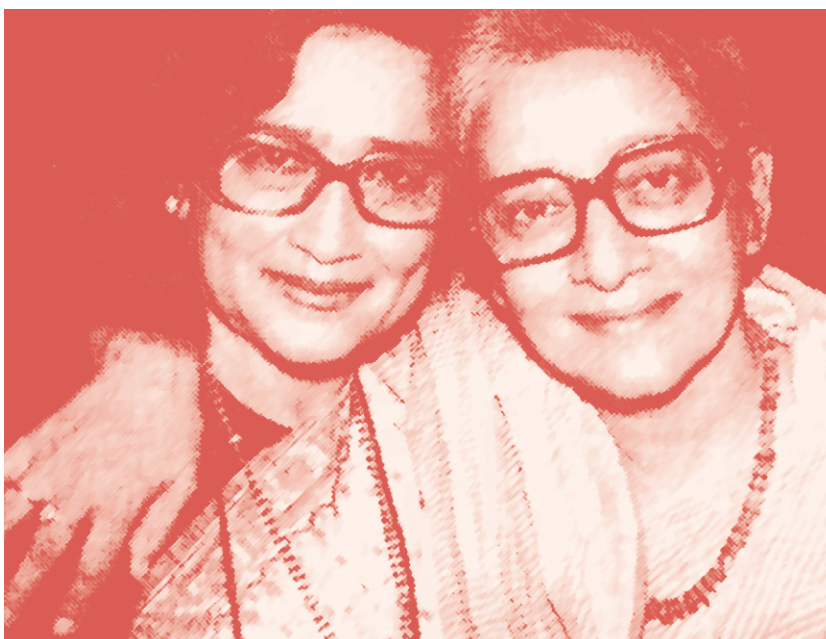
The famous four
For many, Suchitra Mitra is the face of Rabindrasangit; for others, it is her contemporary, Kanika Banerjee. Both learnt Rabindrasangit at Shantiniketan's *Sangit Bhavan,* under the tutelage of masters who had learnt Tagore's songs from Tagore himself –Shantidev Ghosh and Shailaja Ranjan Majumdar, among others. Suchitra emulated Ghosh's signature style of clear diction in singing; while Kanika (who was christened *Mohur* [Jewel] by Tagore), followed that of Majumdar. Hers was a melodious voice in which the contemplative songs of Tagore found its most beautiful expression. These two women gave birth to a new brand of artists, that of the performer-academic; for not only were they extraordinary performers, but they also taught Rabindrasangit as a subject of study, as a lecturer and eventually as a Professor and Head of a Music Department at a University –Kanika at Vishwa Bharati in Shantiniketan, and Suchitra at *Rabindra Bharati* in Calcutta.

In 1961, Tagore's centenary was celebrated with innumerable special functions and programs all over West Bengal. Among the artists who gained prominence during this time was Debarata Biswas (nicknamed 'George'), who introduced a deep baritone in Rabindrasangit! His vibrant, energetic renditions made him hugely popular in the 1960s, which was unfortunately cut short in the early 1970s when the Vishwa Bharati Music Board imposed restrictions on the style and manner of singing Rabindrasangit. The resulting trauma was movingly recorded in his autobiography, *Bratya Janer Ruddha Sangit* [The Stifled Music of the Outcast, 1978].

The fourth singer to make his mark in the golden era of Rabindrasangit was the incredibly popular Hemanta Mukherjee, who somewhat followed in the footsteps of Pankaj Mullick. His main claim to fame was that he was the voice of the Bengal matinee idol Uttam Kumar for decades –but this apart, he was a gifted music composer, who composed songs for several 'hit' Bengali and Hindi films. Like Suchitra and Debabrata, he too had been a member of the IPTA (the Indian People's Theatre Association), and knew how to reach out to the people.

Bengali secret
Harish Trivedi once famously complained: "Rabindranath Tagore … was arguably the greatest writer of modern India. Yet the precise nature of his literary greatness, and the evidence for it, has by and large remained a fairly well kept Bengali secret."[13] Rabindrasangit has indeed been a fairly well kept Bengali secret till now; this article is a humble (and no doubt flawed) attempt to uncover and share a little of that secret in English.

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Notes
1 Thompson, E.P. 1948. 'Preface', *Rabindranath Tagore: Poet and Dramatist,* Oxford: OUP.
2 Quoted in Krishna Dutta & Andrew Robinson. 2000. *Rabindranath Tagore: The myriad-minded man,* New Delhi: Rupa & Co., p.360.
3 'Je rate mor duwar guli bhanglo jhore', *Gitobitan:* Vol I, 'Puja', Song 220. Kolkata: Viswa Bharati, p.97.
4 See note 2, p.359
5 ibid, p.360
6 'Ei lobhinu songo tobo', *Gitobitan:* Vol I, 'Puja', Song 516. Kolkata: Viswa Bharati, p.204. The author is very grateful to Prof. Fakrul Alam of Dhaka University for the translation of this song, and the next in note 8.
7 Ghosh, S. 1972. 'Rabindranath O Banglar Baul', in Rabindrasangit *Vichitra* [Rabindrasangit Miscellany], Kolkata: Ananda Publishers, p.100
8 'Amar hiyar majhe lukiye chhile', *Gitobitan:* Vol I, 'Puja', Song 50. Kolkata: Viswa Bharati, p.26
9 Sudhir Chakrabarty has argued that this is an important reason why Tagore's songs were not lost, unlike those by his other contemporaries – Atul Prasad, Rajanikanta Sen, and Dwijendralal Roy – because he had himself created the system to maintain it, through the active medium of teachers, students and a school. (Chakrabarty, S. 2010. 'Rabindrasangit – Amader Sarbanash o Sarboshho', in *Rabindranath Onekanto,* Kolkata: Patralekha, p.66.)
10 Ghosh, S. 1972. 'Rabindrasangit Samikhha', in Rabindrasangit *Vichitra* [Rabindrasangit Miscellany], Kolkata: Ananda Publishers, pp.102-103.
11 Interview with Suchitra Mitra in 'Parabas' magazine – 'Ek Bikeler Adda' [An Afternoon Conversation]. http://tinyurl.com/oduev2m (accessed August 2013).
12 The author would like to thank her mother Kalpana Roy, her teacher Jayati Chakrabarty, and her friend Brototi Dasgupta for sharing their experiences of Geetabitan and Dakshinee with her.
13 See Harish Trivedi's 1989 'Introduction' to E.P. Thompson's *Rabindranath Tagore: Poet and Dramatist,* Oxford: OUP.

From wooden attendants to terracotta warriors

The 'terracotta army' of the First Emperor of Qin (reg. 246/221–210 BCE) is the most famous group of representations of human and animals made in order to accompany a dead person in the afterlife. The emperor's burial complex can be better understood by looking back at the earlier roots of the Chinese *tomb figurines* tradition.

Maria Khayutina

CONFUCIUS (551-479 BCE), the paramount thinker of the Chinese antiquity, was sceptical about any 'modernist' trends. He regarded the early days of the Zhou dynasty (ca. 1045-256 BCE) as the 'golden age', but complained about the moral decline taking place during his own lifetime. When people in his home dukedom of Lu started to make tomb figurines *(yong)*, he found this inappropriate. Confucius' statement represents the earliest reference to this custom in Chinese written sources. Until the beginning of the 21st century, archaeological theory seemed to confirm that this custom emerged during the 6th-5th centuries BCE.[1] Recent excavations, however, have revealed that it existed much earlier already.

Tomb excavations

In 2006-2007 archaeologists excavated the cemetery of the Rui dukedom in Liangdaicun near Hancheng city (Shaanxi Province). The rulers of Rui were related by common ancestry to the kings of the Zhou dynasty. Most of them were buried according to the funerary rules promulgated by the Zhou kings across early China. But one richly equipped tomb dating from the late 9th or early 8th century BCE, and supposedly occupied by one ruler of Rui, greatly surprised the excavators: inside the burial pit, four wooden figurines from ca. 70 to 100 cm tall stood in the corners of the step 'second-level' platform surrounding the coffin of the deceased.[2] They had outstanding ears, flat round faces with high eyebrows, narrow eyes and high noses. Their faces, necks and hands were painted with ochre, imitating skin. Although the colours have faded, it can still be distinguished that their robes were originally red, whereas their hair, collars and belts were once black. Holes were carved into their rectangular upper bodies in order to attach movable arms. The angled arms of the taller figurines ended with clenched hands in which gaps were left in order to insert objects (Fig. 1). Wheels of dismantled chariots lying near the figurines reveal their function as charioteers, who had held the reins in their hands. The smaller figurines stretched their arms out straight, with palms turned upwards, ready to carry something. They may be identified as attendants. The lower parts of the figurines represent long robes, into which separately carved feet were inserted. Their flat shoes were decorated with upwardly curled thin toes–up to 10 cm in length. This kind of footwear is not evident anywhere in early China; hence, the figurines might represent foreigners.

Fig. 1 (left): Wooden charioteer. Courtesy of Zhang Tianen, excavations' director.

Fig. 2 (centre): Terracotta figurine. Photo: Christine Moor, Bernisches Historisches Museum.

Fig. 3 (right): Bronze head. Photo: Christine Moor, Bernisches Historisches Museum.

One year after the discovery of the Liangdaicun tomb figurines, archaeologists excavated a cemetery from the Western Zhou period (ca. 1045-771 BCE) at Dahekou village near Yicheng in Shanxi Province –about 140 km from Liangdaicun on the other side of the Yellow river. The largest tomb with many ritual bronzes, some of which carry inscriptions, belonged to the Lord of Ba. In this tomb, dated late 11th-10th centuries BCE, two 70 cm tall human figurines made of wood, lacquered and painted red, stood with outstretched arms on lacquered wooden turtles, on the eastern side of the second-level platform.[3] Deeply carved eye orbits and high nasal bones can still be distinguished on their faces. The Ba state was never mentioned in Chinese historical sources. Although, in general, the people buried in the Dahekou cemetery practised rituals similar to those of other early Chinese states, some of their customs, e.g., burying the dead with flexed legs or carving niches in the walls of tombs for placing funerary goods, show that they retained some features of a different cultural tradition. The Ba state was possibly founded by inhabitants of Shanxi who lived there before the arrival of the Zhou colonists in the 11th century BCE, or by migrants from somewhere else. An inscription on one bronze vessel from the tomb of the Lord of Ba is evidence that he received presents from the Duke of Rui. This means that both states communicated with each other during the 11th-10th centuries BCE. The ruling lineage of Rui might have learned the custom of making tomb figurines from Ba, or both Ba and Rui perhaps borrowed it from another common source. From where and when this tradition took its origin cannot be answered today and should become the subject of further investigations. Nevertheless, the find at Dahekou proves that tomb figurines were used in China five centuries before Confucius' time.

The accompanying dead

Did the Rui state play some role in the transmission of the tomb figurines' tradition to the state of Qin? Duke Mu of Qin (659-621 BCE) conquered the Rui state in 640 BCE, but it is not known whether he had a chance to learn about Rui's burial customs. The Qin practised the custom of killing attendants of their dead rulers and placing them in their tombs as 'accompanying dead' *(ren xun)*. From 677 to 384 BCE Qin dukes resided in their capital Yongcheng (at present-day Fengxiang in Shaanxi) and were buried in the Nanzhihui necropolis near

this city. One of these huge tombs, occupied by Duke Jing of Qin (reg. 576-537 BCE), excavated in the 1980s, included 188 bodies of the 'accompanying dead' and human victims *(ren sheng)*. During a survey, archaeologists found two human figurines about 22 cm tall made of stone, near another ducal tomb. Possibly, tomb robbers had considered them useless and had thrown them away (most tombs at this necropolis have been robbed many times). This find suggests that Qin rulers started to use tomb figurines while continuing to kill real humans (this brutal custom was abolished only in 384 BCE). Stone could be chosen as a durable alternative for wood, but carving stone was time consuming and the results were very modest: the figurines from Nanzhihui are, with their angular chests and without arms, more abstract than their wooden predecessors from Liangdaicun.

If the Qin artisans were not very successful at working stone, they developed excellent skills in modelling clay. In 2005-2006 archaeologists investigated a large pottery workshop dating to the 5th-4th centuries BCE, near the Doufucun village, within the precincts of the ancient Qin capital Yongcheng. Among other things, they found two damaged human figurines of 6.5 and 9.2 cm tall (Fig. 2), which are currently on display in the exhibition 'Qin –the eternal emperor and his terracotta warriors', at the Bernisches Historisches Museum in Bern, Switzerland. The exhibition outlines the history and culture of the Qin state and offers some insights into the early Chinese tomb figurine tradition. Since the figurines from Doufucun were found in a workshop, it is not known what they were made for. However, during the 5th and 4th centuries BCE, figurines of humans often appeared in tombs in various Chinese states.[4] It is conceivable that these two figurines were designed as tomb figurines too. Although they may appear 'primitive' at first glance, they were made with great attention to detail. One figurine wears a flat hat bound under the chin. It grasps its left arm with its right hand –the meaning of this posture is unclear. Its convex underside could have been designed to provide stability to the figurine after inserting it into the earth inside the tomb. Another figurine outstretches its arms as if it once held something. The wide-open oval eyes with long eyelashes and a prominent nose may identify it as a foreigner.

do not manifest any deliberately emphasized foreign facial features, headgears or costumes. Instead, all faces were individualized by combining a limited number of elements typical for the Chinese in various ways, so as to resemble real Qin people (Fig. 5).

Other noteworthy terracotta figurines were found in 1995 in a 4th-3rd century BCE tomb in the Taerpo cemetery near Xianyang in Shaanxi Province, where the last Qin capital of the same name was located from 350 to 207 BCE. These are the earliest representations of cavalrymen in China discovered up to this day. One of this pair can now be seen at the exhibition in Bern (Fig. 4). A small, ca. 23 cm tall, figurine represents a man sitting on a settled horse. He stretches out his left hand, whereas his right hand points downwards. Holes pierced through both his fists suggest that he originally held the reins of his horse in one hand and a weapon in the other. The rider wears a short jacket, trousers and boots – elements of the typical outfit of the inhabitants of the Central Asian steppes. Trousers were first introduced in the early Chinese state of Zhao during the late 4th century BCE, as the Chinese started to learn horse riding from their nomadic neighbours. The state of Qin should have adopted the nomadic clothes about the same time. But the figurine from Taerpo also has some other features that may point to its foreign identity: a hood-like headgear with a flat wide crown framing his face and a high, pointed nose.[5] A bronze head with a tiara-like headgear, excavated in 1982 in the ruins of a bronze workshop in Xianyang, possibly also represents a foreigner (Fig. 3). A plug under its neck allowed the head to be inserted into the now missing body that was made separately and perhaps of a different material. Whether or not this figurine was made for a tomb cannot be determined because of its indistinct archaeological context.

An underground world
Against the historical and cultural background sketched above, the terracotta figures from the burial complex of the First Emperor of Qin can be understood as both staying within and reinterpreting an already long existing tradition. The earliest find in the tomb of the Lord of Ba indicates that the custom of making tomb figurines possibly had a foreign origin. The find in the tomb of the Rui dukedom shows that ruling lineages of some Chinese states used tomb figurines at least three centuries before the time of Confucius.

Both in Ba and Rui states, furnishing tombs with figurines represented a special privilege of the ruler. However, even in these states not all rulers were buried with tomb figurines. It could be that they hesitated over the appropriateness of the custom. The find in the Nanzhihui necropolis indicates that Qin dukes also occasionally used tomb figurines. The find in the pottery workshop of the Qin capital Yongcheng demonstrates a tendency towards the democratization of this custom, since the small, simple figurines could have been designated for a rather modest tomb. The find in the Taerpo tomb, occupied by a better situated commoner, confirms that this custom was not exclusively used by the highest elites. Why tomb figurines often represented foreigners, remains unclear. Either this was related to the considerations of prestige, or this was a way to make tomb figures not resemble 'real people' from the personal surroundings of the dead. In fact, the imitation of real people was an element that Confucius explicitly wanted to avoid.

As the First Emperor of Qin was looking for new means to display his authority in the real life and in the afterlife, he looked back at a long local tradition of tomb figurines. Great reformer as he was, he launched new forms of the tradition that suited the aims of his imperial enterprise. He was probably the first Chinese ruler who detached sculpture from the burial practice. After the conquest of the six neighbouring states in 221 BCE he used the bronze weapons of the defeated armies to cast twelve huge statues and put them in his Xianyang palaces. Notably, these statues represented foreigners. Possibly, by these means the emperor aimed to display his next goal – the conquest of the rest of the world. At the same time, the First Emperor of Qin designed an underground world populated with every kind of terracotta substitute of his real subjects. These included an army, arranged in military formations in three huge pits and counting up to 8000 figures of warriors and horses. Other pits with terracotta and bronze figurines within his giant tomb complex can be interpreted as a terracotta administrative office, a circus, and even as a leisure area with an artificial lake and a musical band. The terracotta people who accompanied the emperor into the afterlife

Fig. 4 (left): Terracotta rider. Courtesy of Xianyang Museum.

Fig. 5 (right): Terracotta archer. Courtesy of Terracotta Army Museum.

Qin – the eternal emperor and his terracotta warriors
Ten original terracotta statues from the tomb complex of the First Emperor of Qin can be seen at the Bernisches Historisches Museum until 17 November 2013. These include six warriors of different ranks and types and a settled cavalry horse, as well as a civil official, an acrobat and a musician. The exhibition also allows the visitors to appreciate the impact of the First Emperor of Qin on the later Chinese tomb culture, with the example of two large groups of tomb figurines from imperial burial complexes of the Western Han Dynasty (202 BCE–9 CE). The accompanying publication includes nine thematic chapters written by historians, archaeologists and conservators and a large number of images, charts and maps. It covers all of the topics dealt with in the exhibition and expands upon them.[6]

Maria Khayutina, Exhibition curator,
Bernisches Historisches Museum
(information and tickets: www.qin.ch)

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5 Zhao Bin, 'Xianyang Taerpo Zhanguo chutu qimayong zushu bian' 赵斌, 咸阳塔儿坡战国秦墓出土 骑马俑族属考辨, *Kaogu yu wenwu,* 2002, 4:40-44.
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*Cities of Aristocrats and Bureaucrats:
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ISBN: 9789971695293 (pb)

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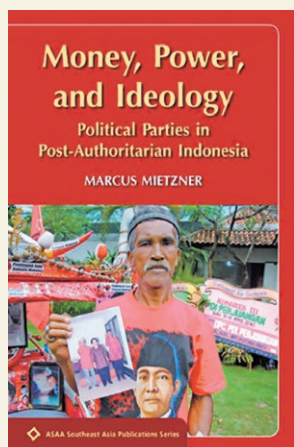
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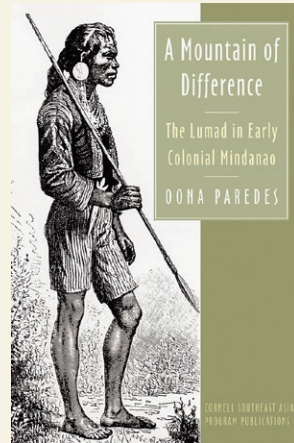
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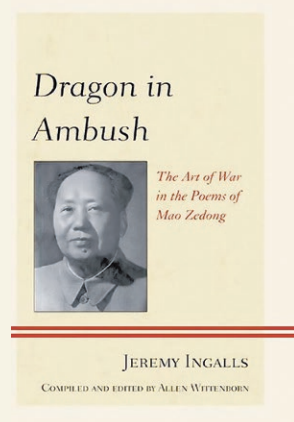
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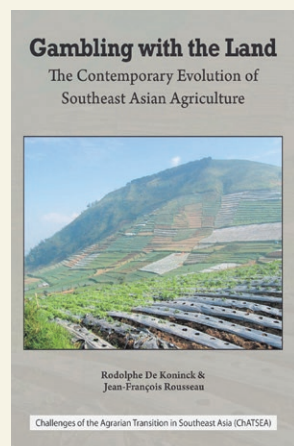
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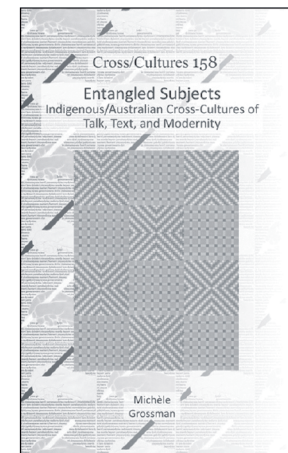Hong Kong: Hong Kong University
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In addition to the reviews published in this issue of *The Newsletter*, you will find that the reviews listed below have also recently been added to the New Asia Books website.

REVIEWS BY NIELS MULDER

Sarmento, C. (ed.) 2010.
From Here to Diversity: Globalization and Intercultural Dialogues
Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
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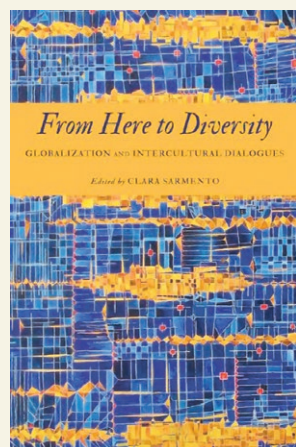
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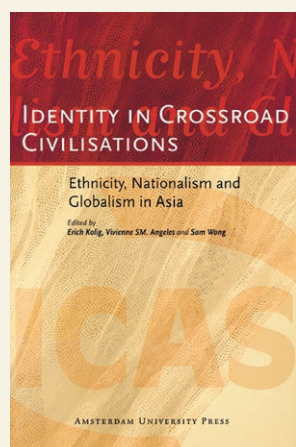
REVIEWS BY WILLIAM NOSEWORTHY

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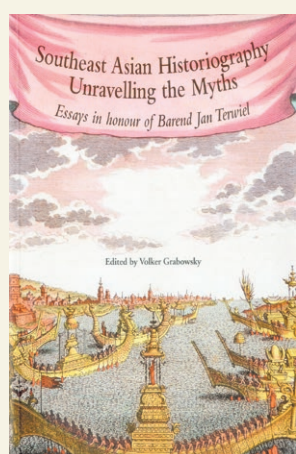
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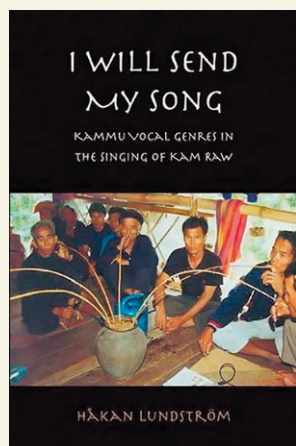
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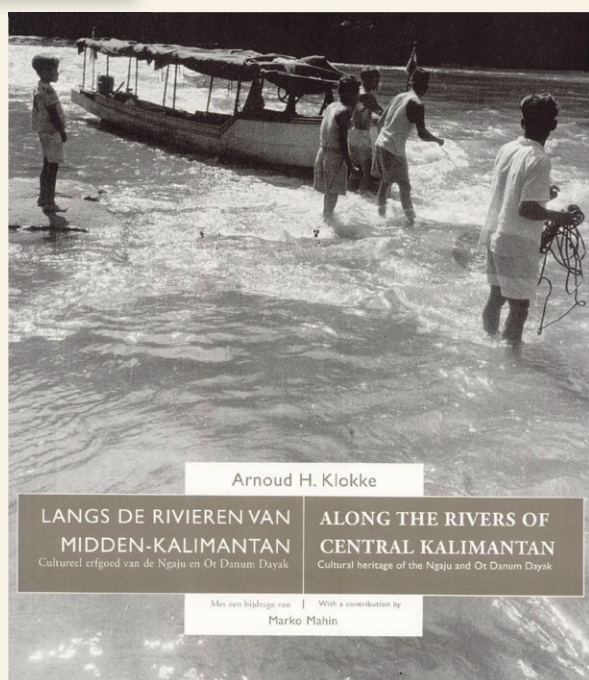
REVIEW BY MUHAMMED HASSANALI

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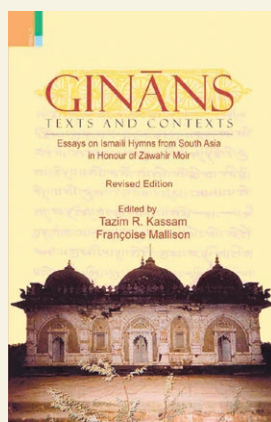
REVIEW BY INGE GRUSS

Harriden, J. 2012.
The Authority of Influence: Women and Power in Burmese History
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REVIEW BY NICHOLAS TARLING

Steinberg, D.I. & Hongwei Fan. 2012.
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REVIEW BY KATHLEEN AZALI

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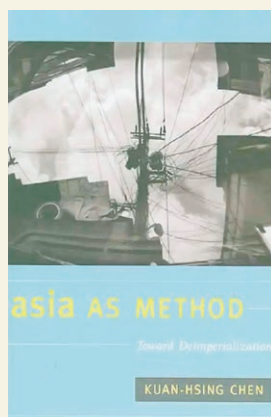
REVIEW BY KRISTINA GÖRANSSON

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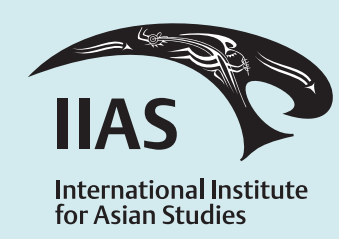
Power balance

Perhaps few international actors had their standing in global life as profoundly altered by the end of the Cold War as the United States and China. Almost overnight, Washington became the capital of the sole surviving superpower. It took Beijing longer to vie for a similar status. However, China's expanding outreach and diversifying roles have provided a novel context for the ongoing reconsiderations of world affairs. Steve Chan's investigation assesses the likely patterns of interactions between the American hegemon and the Chinese contender in the context of East Asia. The emphasis is on the deepening and widening engagement, which does not necessarily banish power politics from the policy equation, but makes it highly unlikely by engendering a complex network of "interlocking interests, stakes, and ideas".

Emilian Kavalski
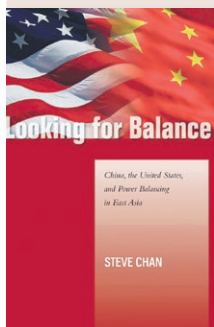
Reviewed publication:
Chan, Steve. 2012.
*Looking for Balance: China,
the United States, and Power
Balancing in East Asia*
Stanford, CA: Stanford University
Press, ISBN: 9780804778206

IT HAS TO BE STATED FROM THE OUTSET that while detailing the positions of the two sides of this relationship, the Chinese stance takes the limelight. And this is understandable. Beijing's external outlook has drawn attention both because of its agency and because of the particulars of its individual engagements. The dominant view is that it is the complex interaction between the very turbulence of the post-1989 period and the ability to maintain consistent levels of economic growth that have allowed China to demonstrate an enhanced confidence and ability to fashion international relations. In fact, a number of commentators have interpreted China's growing prominence as one of the clearest indications of a palpable shift to the East in international life.

Interpreting international affairs
For at least 200 years, the rivalry over structural power in global politics has been presented as "the great game" of Western actors. Yet, China's growing external outreach has demonstrated that non-Western actors are just as skilled and willing to engage in the global playground as Western ones. This shift appears to attest both to the transformations in and the transformative potential of Chinese foreign policy attitudes. At the same time, such changes have backstopped the growing interest in (as well as anxiety about) the prospective trajectories of Beijing's international interactions. And this is where Chan's book is most incisive. His account debunks number of (especially, American) misconceptions about China's international interactions. In fact, the title of his book – *Looking for Balance* – can be read as an appeal for more balanced and thoughtful interpretations of the nascent dynamics of international life.

In fact, Chan is quite blunt when it comes to outlining the prospective patterns of Sino-American relations. As he says, whether the relationship is conflictual or cooperative is not up to the whims of fate, but choice – a choice, which is "fundamentally tied to an elite's strategy for garnering and sustaining domestic popularity and control". In other words, the onus is on the decision-makers on both sides of the Pacific Ocean to steer the relationship away from the extremes of confrontation. And this is what Chan does in the book – he traces the courses that Washington and Beijing have charted in their Asia-Pacific interactions. The suggestion is that dominant interpretations tend to overemphasize the adversarial logic of Sino-American interactions.

To balance or not to balance ...
Chan's emphasis on the choices made by decision-makers is a major innovation in the literature on balance. Usually, commentators indicate that the foreign policy of any

country is determined by the constraints and possibilities of its external security environment. In other words, a country's international outlook is very much conditioned by the particular geopolitical locale where it is situated. Chan however claims that that this is not the case. On the contrary, it is the specific choices taken by state elites that frame the horizon of foreign policy possibilities. Such emphasis rests on a rare acknowledgement of the coexistence of adversarial and associational elements in international politics. In other words, it is rare that two states are just friends or foes – usually, it is much more complicated than that.

In this respect, the book's analysis of the Sino-American relationship demonstrates the veracity of Chan's proposition. It offers a detailed process tracing of the history, preferences, economy, interests, and security dynamics informing the strategic outlook of both Washington and Beijing. At the same time, the book presents a thoughtful and perceptive analysis of the emerging dynamics of East Asia. As Chan demonstrates, while there has been a dearth of formalized institutional arrangements, the Asia Pacific has nonetheless been increasingly defined by "less noticed but more important progress in constructing regionalism based on burgeoning financial and economic interactions".

Looking towards the future
Chan's book makes an important and valuable intervention in both the explanation and understanding of the international relations characterizing the current patterns of Sino-American interactions. What emerges from the book's prescient examination is that the US position of hegemony in East Asia is seriously undermined (if it has not already become a thing of the past). Yet, this does not necessarily portend a military confrontation. On the contrary, Chan aptly evidences that "suggestions to the effect that a rising China presents a threat to be balanced sound suspicious to other states [in the region]". This suggestion offers a stimulating framework for the discussion of the prospective trajectories of Sino-American interactions in East Asia. In this respect, the book will be welcomed by students and scholars alike. At the same time, Chan's thoughtful process-tracing of this complex topic of current global politics provides a compelling perspective on the intricate pattern of relations between Washington and Beijing that is bound to attract policy-makers and pundits interested in US and Chinese foreign policy.

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Capturing time and place

One of the most difficult things to achieve by simply reading is to get an accurate picture of the time and place we read about, especially if the time and place are far removed from us. I remember that my first reading of an Indonesian novel let me to picture a Jakarta in my mind that could not have been more different than this vibrant Indonesian city. Like most recipients of the picture postcards discussed in this book, I too had never been to Southeast Asia and had no idea what to make of what I read. I was only able to get a more accurate idea of Jakarta when I first went there. For many in the past, and still at present, their first introduction to far off places was and is by means of picture post-cards. The cards convey, or try to convey what travelers and expatriates experienced on their journeys and of the places where they sojourned. Even now with all the images readily available on the internet, we still tend to send pictures home because they capture what we really saw in a much more private and immediate way than any website can do.

Dick van der Meij
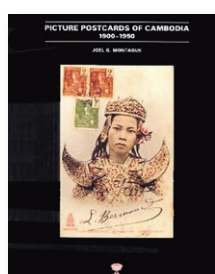
PICTURE POSTCARDS differ from other photographic collections of the past, of which many collections exist. Photographs of kings, nobles and courtiers of the various kingdoms in the area are, of course, mostly commissioned and portray people and places as favorable as possible. People are finely attired and look into the camera lens with confidence and display characters of vigor and strength. They took themselves to the studio or had the studio come to them. Other collections portray the deeds of army troupes conquering peoples not yet brought under the 'pax' of the country involved. Still other collections portray family life and the daily experiences of the people of the far away tropics in their lush tropical surroundings with volcanoes lingering in the background. They differ from picture postcards because these cards also had to capture the eye of the purchaser who tried to find just the right ones to send, which they thought could deliver the message as poignant and immediate as possible. Looking at the picture postcards in this book I have the impression that a large number of them are random snapshots and were made with much less care than the 'official' photographs of the colonized nations.

Pictorial notions of colonial successes
Picture postcards were big business. Quoting Paul Armand, the author mentions that billions of cards were printed and sent before the First World War. For instance, in 1905 a staggering number of 7 billion cards were sent worldwide. (After the War, the number decreased because of the advent of the personal camera and other means of communication becoming available). Also from French Indochina, huge numbers of cards were sent home. To make some sense of the amounts, the book under discussion has no less than 16 chapters that take us through geopolitical contexts, the monarchy and its palaces and administration, to continue with the Khmer people and their arts, religions, rites of passage and Cambodia's archaeological wonders. It gives us a look into a world that has all but vanished.

In the first part of the twentieth century, the French were proud of their achievements in their Southeast Asian protectorate and keen to share them with France and the world. This was not only a French thing. In view of the volumes recently produced on picture postcards from former Dutch insular Southeast Asia, this was a time when photography could and was used as a means for disseminating pictorial notions of European Colonial successes. It may come as no surprise therefore that especially in the early period of picture postcards, many were of an architectural nature and imprinted in the mind of the sender and receiver the huge contributions the colonizers had made and were making to civilization and culture.

The author states that for many Cambodian historians in the early 1990s, the era of the French Protectorate of the region amounted to some kind of non-history and they felt that this time, some 90 years (circa 1863-1954), somehow fell out of Cambodian time. They are proven wrong if only because pictures, also those portrayed in the book, show that the French indeed had been there, what they had been doing and how Cambodia had changed because of their presence. Indeed, Cambodia's French history cannot and should not be easily dismissed.

Mr. Montague is quite rightly surprised that in the past, the wealth of "cheap ephemera", such as cheap postcards, have been dismissed as historical sources in favor of miles and miles of written sources. Indeed, the expression that a 'picture can paint a thousand words' is ever so true in this case. In view of the millions of postcards purchased and sent overseas, they form an important source of the way the French saw themselves, the country they occupied and how the French interacted –or not– during important and, this is more significant, during not so important encounters. Looking closely at many cards I got the impression that the French did look as if they were literally 'out of place' in Cambodia. Their European attire and headdresses, the way they stood and posed were quite the fashion in Paris at the time, but indeed do look odd in the tropical Southeast Asian landscape. Many postcards display pictures of a world now lost in time. The means of transportation, fashion, hair styles and the whole set up of the cities and towns and their streets and parks have all but totally disappeared. However, to look at places in the east with streets almost empty, but for a dogcart or two, and comparing those with the traffic congested reality of today is a wonder in itself.

Banal messages?
Communication between French Indochina and France was not easy especially in the early days. The most touching pictures discussed in the book and displayed in some illustrations are therefore those of huge crowds awaiting the arrival of the mail boat, or sending it off. Living in the Far East far away from home made people pine for news of family and friends. The mail boat arrived only every so often and people had to wait for weeks for news from 'home'. The time between sending a message and receiving an answer could amount to 10 weeks so one can only imagine the disappointment when the boat failed to bring a letter or a postcard from loved ones.

Because it was so important, the author pays some attention to the way the mail services operated in French Indochina. Chapter two is devoted to picture postcards from Cambodia, their history, categorization, photographers, editors and publishers and other useful information to place these cards in the right setting. The chapters then continue, as they always seem to do in this kind of books, with the monarchy, palaces etc. Interestingly, they never seem to start with rural life and the ordinary people even though cards devoted to their existence and ways of life are no less in number than those of the people in higher positions in society.

The book pays some attention to the content of the messages sent on these picture postcards. Apparently the messages were rather banal and simply wanted to say that things were alright and to pass on greetings. Especially simple family matters were delivered this way and only occasionally other, more important messages may be

found on them. One of the reasons for this may have been that, as now, these cards could be read by anyone and they were and still are therefore less convenient for intimate or other important messages people liked to keep to themselves. However, I feel that some more in-depth research on these messages may also add to our knowledge of the everyday experience of colonial life.

In conclusion, this is a delightful book that opens up a whole new world of the colonial presence in mainland Southeast Asia. Although the book's title would lead us to think that only postcards of Cambodia are discussed, this is not the case. Other cards from French Indochina are portrayed and discussed as well. It is to be hoped that more of these works would be published to enable a different sort of comparison between the various colonial presences in Southeast Asia.

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The international nature of modernity

This fine contribution to the history of Japanese architecture provides a detailed analysis of the work of three influential architects of the interwar period. The book, however, achieves more than this: it presents the reader with a broad framework for understanding the nature of the cultural and intellectual links that flowed between Japan and the West at the apex of the imperial era. Arguably, this was the high point of what is generally defined as 'modernity', and the theoretical premises upon which author, Ken Tadashi Oshima, bases his discussion certainly has relevance beyond the arena of Japanese architecture. Indeed, Oshima places the question of the international nature of modernity at the very centre of this book in a way that enhances his forensic detailing of uniquely Japanese response to the intellectual currents in these decades.

Natsuko Akagawa

WHAT OSHIMA EMPHASISES HERE is that the 'international-ism' of Japan's architecture is not a matter of these architects' (or indeed, of Japan's) dependence on, or appropriation of, Western modernity. Rather, the issue here is the resultant development of a specific Japanese genre of 'internationalism', the *kokusai kenchiku* (international architecture), in the field of architecture, which formed as the response to the encounter with both the West and the region. This discussion, then, points to new perspectives on an understanding of the nature of 'international' that has relevance beyond the field of architecture and the era, to have wider relevance to current debates about globalisation/glocalisation.

Internationalism

Oshima's account of International Architecture in Interwar Japan is based on an analysis of the work of Yamada Mamoru (1894-1966), Horiguchi Sutemi (1895-1984) and Antonin Raymond (1888-1976). The selection of these three architects is strategic – as well as sensible – as an appendix lists a further 50 architects, not all Japanese, who were prominent in Japan in this period. Focusing on the biographies of these architects allows the writer to demonstrate more clearly what he sees as the significance of "the lived experience of international architectural design". Although Oshima struggles somewhat to articulate it, internationalism was constituted through the lives of these three architects who were both individuals with specific biographies who "exist[ed] in a fabric of relations" and formed "parts of larger constellations –generational, national, international, and transnational"; who were distinct selves existing and "exist[ed] as an interconnected nexus of ideas, buildings practices and forms" (p. 9).

In confronting the question, what is and what makes Japanese architecture, Oshima specifically challenges "a simple dichotomy between Japan and the West and a romantic notion of a 'pure' Japan (or West) based on ethnic and racial characteristics". The inclusion of Raymond already makes clear that a study of international architecture in Japan need not be confined to the work of Japanese architects, nor situated in Japan. The fundamental inspiration for the 'international architecture' the title refers to was the experience of modernity made possible by them travelling to Europe and America. The journey of the Japanese architects, Yamada and Horiguchi, to Europe and America and the integration into this discussion of Raymond, a Czech, who spent much of his life in Japan, underpins the perspective that the book's title points to. The architecture that evolved drew on a shared cultural inspiration in an era when architects "were all grounded in the same artistic milieu ... were part of the same historical movement [and] ... inspired by the same painters" and which was made possible by the technologies of modernity. At the same time, this experience found its expression in a particular intellectual context, "a space between nationalities and between nations east and west". Executed in the certain political context in Japan during the interwar period, its particular forms and meaning, Oshima insists, requires it to be referred to by its Japanese reference, kokusai kenchiku, the term also used as the title of the influential journal that promoted the concept of international modernism.

Modernist agenda

This account then, while focusing on the lives, ideas and the work of three architects, is certainly not a set of discrete biographies. From their lives, ideas and work Oshima 'constructs' (a term he sees as a metaphor for his approach to research and writing) a broad discussion on the dynamics of a historical period in Japanese architecture. The book is divided into four chapters, which gradually lead the reader into the heart of kokusai kenchiku. The first chapter establishes a concise historical account of the origins and early development of modern architecture in Japan, specifically linking this to the nation building project of the Meiji Restoration. Initially tied to service the requirements of "the Westernising Meiji government", architects in Japan were only gradually able to "offer their independent, social, economic and design positions" through private practice.

Widespread dissemination through journals of develop-ments in Europe inspired the discourse on a Japanese 'future architectural style' that emerged at the end of World War One. By the 1920s Japanese architects began to employ the term 'international' [kokusai] as "a pervasive signifier of an ideology that reflected the war's national sentiments". In a crucial and perhaps contentious pivotal point in this chapter that is not further developed, Oshima argues that "[e]ven Japanese imperialism in Asia, while clearly nationalistic, could be construed as internationalism of another sort" in the sense of "establishing a pan-Asian unity".

Against this background, the second chapter, 'Construction for practice', introduces architects Oshima has selected for examination. As already indicated, biography plays an important role in Oshima's argument – all three architects were formed by their location as younger children of rural families. Although each gave early evidence of an artistic tal-ent "[p]aramount to this generation's formation as architects and individuals was their experience of the urban capital city as a displacement from the environmental harmony of their provincial origins". Crucial in providing the context for Japanese architects to develop their ideas of a 'new architec-ture' independent of government, was the modernist agenda of the *Bunriha* (Japanese secessionist group) of which Yamada and Horiguchi became leading members. The debates within this movement encouraged Japanese architects to travel abroad to seek inspiration while, in reverse, foreign architects, inspired by the same aesthetic principals, travelled East.

In this chapter Oshima briefly elucidates the key elements of 'East' and 'West' which inspired the respective travellers. Raymond, for instance, after moving to the United States, travelled on to Japan to work on Frank Lloyd Wright's Imperial Hotel project, while Yamada and Horiguchi travelled to Europe, to see for themselves the work inspired by the Vienna Secessionists and the Dutch 'De Stijl' school. The latter in particular "resonated with Horiguchi's artistic sensibilities and those of Japanese in general". Yamada found inspiration in the work of Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) founded in 1928, and later by his visit to the United States.

Domestic and public

After these two background chapters, the book then examines how these ideas were reflected in architectural practice in the domains of domestic and public architecture in Japan, chapters which he entitles respectively, 'Structures of Modern Living' and 'Building a modern infrastructure'. Documented by copious black and white photographs and a small folio of colour plates, these chapters are as fine an example of architectural history as one would wish. The detail is specifically valuable since, most of the buildings designed by these three architects have disappeared. Oshima has rescued them and their associated history from oblivion
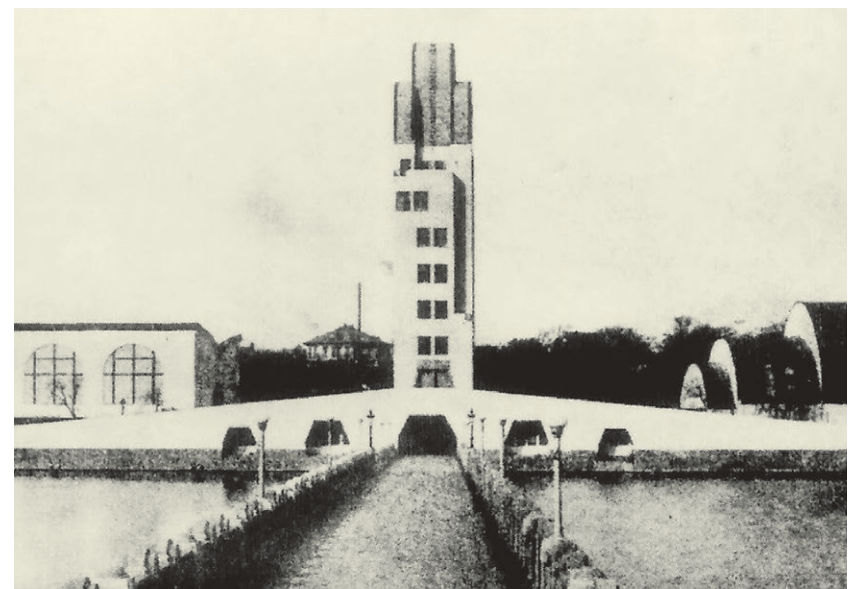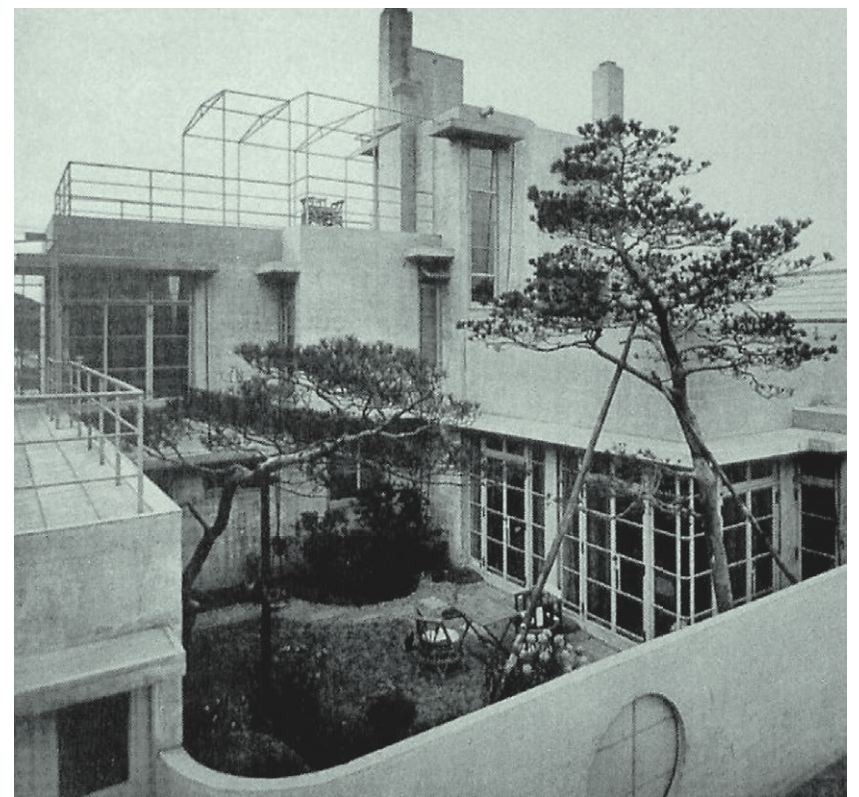
Top:
Antonin Raymond:
Reinanzaka House.
Tokyo, 1924.

Middle:
Horiguchi Sutemi:
memorial Tower,
Peace Exhibition,
Tokyo, 1922.

Right:
Yamada Mamoru:
Central Telegraph
Office, Tokyo, 1925.
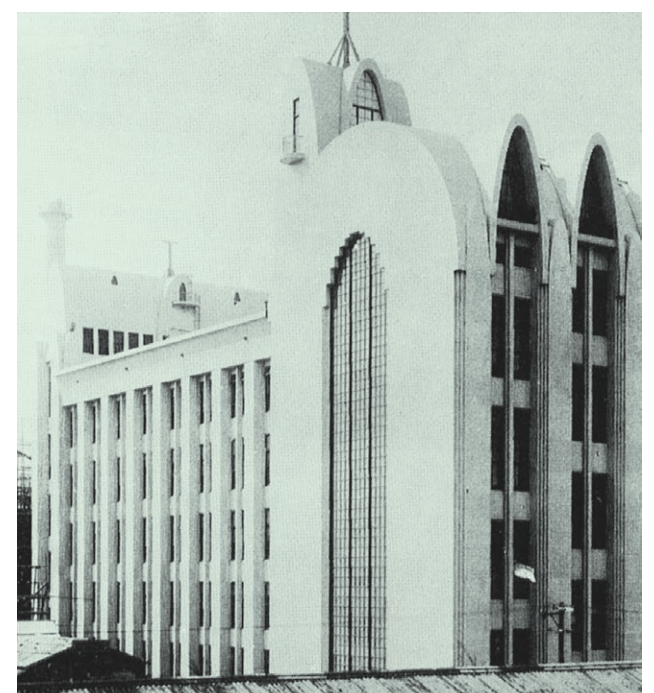
by careful analysis "principally [from] black and white photographs … architectural journals and other media" – sources that are listed in almost 30 pages of bibliography.

The form of and debates concerning the Japanese houses of the kokusai kenchiku era evolved from "the creative tensions between international and regional culture". This introduced physical and practical issues concerning the incorporation of new materials, such as reinforced concrete, new forms of construction, such as Western wood-frame technology and even furnishings. These issues in turn raised fundamental questions about the accommodation of the duality of Western and Japanese traditions and whether "Japanese tradition could be reconceived to form a new synthesis that transcended dichotomies to form a new modern Japanese house".

Having raised these questions, the chapter then examines how each of the three architects attempted to resolve them. In material terms, the chapter reveals the importance of the introduction of concrete to bridge the East-West dichotomy:

**Above:
Antonin Raymond:
Akaboshi Kisuke
house, 1932.**

**Below:
Yamada Mamoru:
Tefonic Offices,
1933 Tokyo.**

"Reinforced concrete had the ability to replicate the order of timber frame construction yet transform the scale of interior spaces to suit the needs of both Western and Japanese lifestyles", while traditional values of countryside and the use of natural materials were fused in modern designs that reconnected "modern life both to the region and to the international sphere". Rather than being anti-modern or anti-international, the architects' renewed interest in the country house in this period was justified on the grounds that "the house in the country is universal". As might be expected from this publisher, the argument of this chapter is lavishly illustrated with photos and designs exemplifying the domestic architecture of these three architects.

The long chapter on domestic architecture is balanced by a chapter of similar length on public architecture. The subject of this chapter perhaps more immediately addresses the question of modernity and internationalisation in focusing on the city. But it also throws into even greater relief the dichotomies of the 'international cityscapes' associated with

the 'West and Japanese tradition' and, following the 1923 Tokyo earthquake, the question of materials. Oshima selects six projects for detailed discussion of both discourse and construction which, despite their diversity – the post 1923 buildings include a sports pavilion, a weather station and a healthcare centre – and despite "appear[ing] to represent functionalist, international-style architecture unified by a common language of modern materials", "still articulated the personal inflections of the respective designers", while also "express[ing] the architecture of a new age as part of an on-going tradition".

A different regional context
A brief conclusion underlines the initial assertion of the book that the kokusai kenchiku of the between wars era was a time when "Japanese architectural practice [was] an open-ended process of construction and composition" in which "architects interpreted both Western and Japanese forms and ideas". This was not, however, a one-way dialogue with the West: in the course of the nineteen thirties, Japanese architects also began to direct their attention to Japan's imperial project beyond its national borders. Here "they did not intend simply to export Japanese modernism but rather, once again to translate principles for a different regional context". Although indicating that Yamada and Horiguchi were involved in this later development, Oshima unfortunately does not award it with what could have been one further chapter; the development, he notes, although only in the conclusion, can be seen as a significant extension of both the era's architectural history and his own argument.

This last critical comment aside, this is a work of great elegance and substance. As well as being an important contribution to the understanding of Japanese architecture and national history, it takes its place alongside a growing literature that is reinterpreting the important cultural dynamics and global developments of the first half of the twentieth century. It lifts the blanket of war and imperial histories that for so long have dominated the exploration of the between-wars period to investigate the alternative efforts for international understanding.

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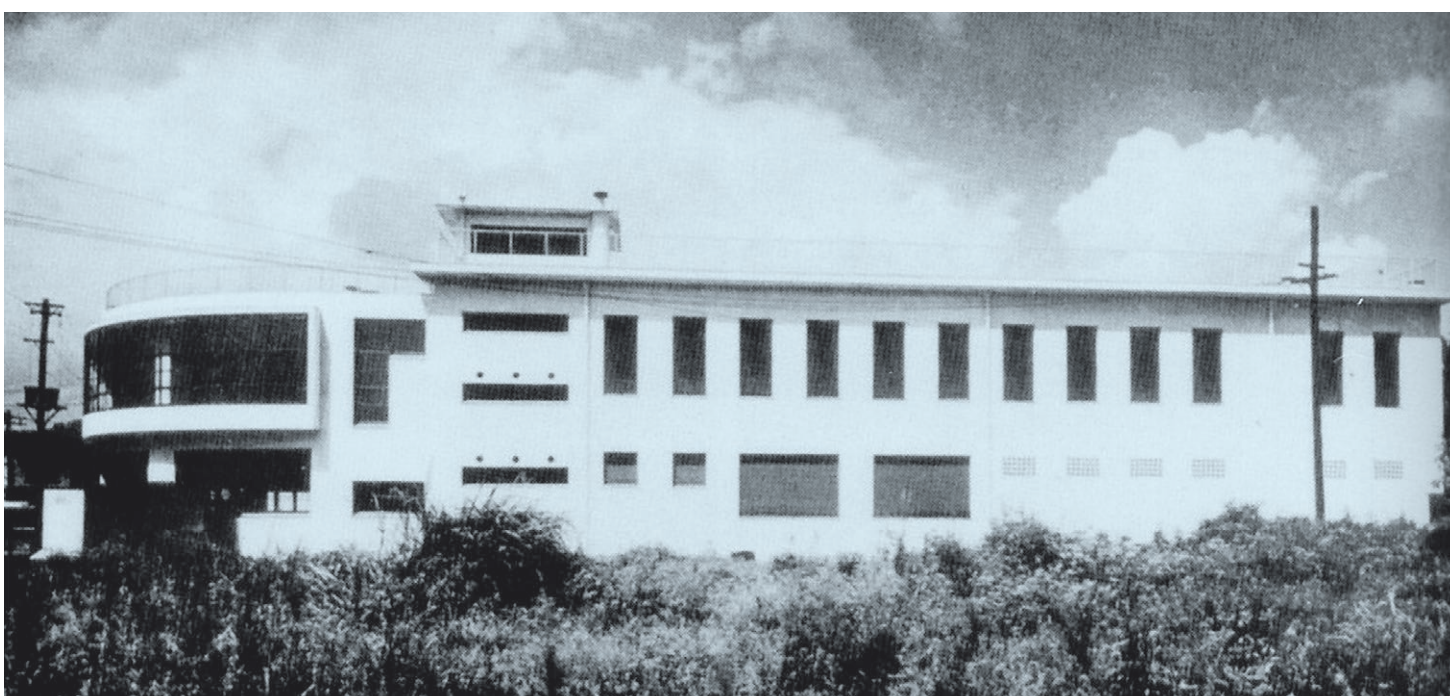
Cross border communities

In *At the edges of states,* Michael Eilenberg offers a tantalizing contribution to the field of borderlands studies, which he argues, center on the idea that the study of borderlands is critical to state formation. Thus, in the examination of the cross border Iban community stretched along the borderlands of Kalimantan and Sarawak on the Indonesian-Malay state border on the island of Borneo he has two stated goals. The first goal is to situate state formation at the borderlands in a historical context. The second is to demonstrate process of local agency at the borderlands.

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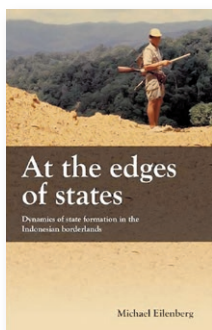
On Iban history across borders

The process of local agency is in and of itself entangled in history as borderlands arose from an eighteenth century European construct. The historical period of this study stretches from the 1850s till the end of the New Order of President Suharto (1998), which demonstrates a link between colonial policy and post-colonial relations as the recollection of history contributes to the consolidation of a community. In the mid-nineteenth century in Boeven-Kapuas, the Iban rebel leaders played both sides of the colonial settlement against each other, negotiating with both in an attempt to maintain sovereignty. Early in the 20th century forced resettlement (at the hands of the Dutch) turned the border-land from 'untouched' forests to a viscous battleground. Border elites 'repositioned themselves' as both 'clients' and 'brokers'. 'Betting on both sides' of the border often meant comprises, certain threats, a certain gamble. However, this was also a certain insurance as well. Thus, this did not limit the concept of the border to only 'Iban'-'Iban' relations, as the Iban themselves formed 'blood brothers' amongst Indonesian military officers in the 1970s and amongst 'timber barons' from Malaysia decades later.

Attempts at 'cross communal' relations were not unique to the Iban alone. In the 1950s and 1960s the Indonesia military used food rations and medical supplies in order to 'court' the Iban populations. Meanwhile, the policy of *pancasila* created a major problem for 'non-religious' and, ironically, more conservative Iban living deeper in the hinterlands. Meanwhile, policy over forest right began to shift with the assertion of the 1967 Basic Forestry Law No 5, which granted state authority over all forestland regardless of local claims. In reaction to protests, 'Iban concessions' were granted. These concessions predominantly relied on Chinese and Iban connections in Malaysia to funnel wealth into the hands of a few headmen. Certain Iban authorities did not appear to be cooperative with the state. Occasionally, raids were carried out to exact revenge upon individuals who did not abide by local practice. In one case, when a defendant refused to pay a blood price, the Iban raided the courthouse, as local police retreated, and executed him point blank. This brings us roughly to the period of Eileberg's study.

In Eilenberg's study he found that local agents in Indonesia amongst the highland populations did not recognize the border on the island of Borneo. The border was thought archaic. Rather friendship and kinship tied them to neighbors in Sarawak. The Iban exploitation of borderlands was a history that was as deep as the beginning of the creation of the borderlands themselves. The author himself records a certain realization that many in the community, using two time zones, official languages and currencies had become aware of 'the prospect of instant riches along the frontier'. Local schools in the Indonesian side tend to use Malay time (GMT + 8). Many of the border elite had two houses. One in Kalimantan and one in Pantiak. Meanwhile the rest of the population did not have the education to deal with the bureaucracy. Furthermore, since most logging stopped in 2005, an economic depression has set in. Hence, there was a need to stress cross border relations again and it is not surprising that by the end of the period in question one of Eilenberg's informants emphasized that on both sides of the borderlands the people 'are all Iban', as the territory in Sarawak was still considered part of the Iban territory in Kalimantan.

Reconsidering the borderlands

Amongst the fascinating historical contributions to the knowledge of Borneo and the study of cross border relations between Indonesia and Malaysia, one also finds a phenomenal review of borderlands literature and considerations of methodological problems facing the study of borderlands from both a historical and an anthropological perspective. For example, Eilenberg's discussion of methodology highlights some of the theoretical problems created by the imposition of cross disciplinary standards for carrying out research amongst human subjects. While such standards naturally need to be in place, Eilenberg demonstrates that, as is particularly the case with Southeast Asian borderlands, 'formal interviews' are 'never very successful' and the best information is gathered 'hitchhiking in a logging truck, joining ritual and family celebrations' and 'hanging out in coffee shops', while at the same time struggling to negotiate the blatantly obvious 'government agendas' that place constraints upon scholars of the borderlands. Furthermore, his review of borderlands literature is not only well versed in Southeast Asian scholars such as Alfred McCoy, James Scott, Eric Tagliacozzo, Reed Wadley and Andrew Walker, but also draws from a global perspective, utilizing such scholarly studies as those of Robert Alvarez, Oscar Martinez, and anthropologist of Tanzania: Sally Folk Moore, to shine light on the universality of borderlands.

Utilizing this theoretical background Eilenberg brings the anthropological discussion of the borderlands back to the theoretical territory of historical studies as, drawing from Moore, his study suggests that change should be the emphasis of borderlands studies as Moore's 'semi-autonomous social fields' ought to be the primary unit of analysis. Thus, the local practice of Iban often led to a decentralization of state authority and have the weakest connection to the state. Thus, as Eilenberg offers his greatest theoretical discussion to this study he relies upon the assertion of three types of peoples in relations to the study of the borderlands. The first both reside in their state and share-cross border ties. The second are differentiated by cross border ties. The third are identified only within their state. As Eilenberg asserts, the Iban, like many 'stateless' peoples of Southeast Asia, fall into the second category. Thus, one wonders if it is the case that Eilenberg's own evidence and argument tends to undermine this assertion of three distinct categories. By asserting that there has been an overemphasis on 'narratives of resistance', while at the same time not giving much attention to 'collusions' combined with the narratives that Eilenberg summarizes in this study it becomes apparent that the Iban, yes are differentiated from the state by cross border relations, but also, at the same time, have relied on relations within both of their states, that is, now Indonesia and Malaysia. As such, it may be possible to view the Iban as both a type I and type II borderlands population. Meanwhile, one wonders if in fact there are any populations in the world that are solely defined by their state. Thus, the question is, based upon this theoretical framework, are there any true type III populations?

In addition to the above, fascinating, theoretical discussion of the borderlands, Eilenberg's conclusion offers what may be the greatest theoretical contributions noting that within the study of the borderlands, the notions of illegality and legality are often seen as too rigid. When in fact, as demonstrated by certain cases amongst the Iban community, the notion of what is not only acceptably 'legal' but also the 'laws' that should be followed, can differ substantially from pre-existing state oriented conceptions. Thus, Eilenberg closes with a provocative call to re-examine the blurred notions between what is 'legal' and 'illegal' practice amongst the Iban borderlands of Kalimantan and Sarawak that stretch along the Indo-Malay state border on the island of Borneo.

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Pull-out supplement

theFocus

Traditional Indian Medicine: heritage, health security, ontology

In 2012 the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) offered institutional and logistic support to build, strengthen and consolidate a research network on the contemporary relevance of Indian Medical Heritage (InMerit_RN). This network offers a virtual space for collating research findings and other information about India's medical heritage, covering diverse perspectives, interests and backgrounds (www.iias.nl/research/indian-medical-heritage-research-network).

Besides offering a platform to researchers, InMerit_RN also wants to inform the larger public about the outcomes of social-cultural and historical research on Indian medicine. The network especially wishes to link initiatives and people who work on the contemporary relevance of these traditions both in India and in Europe. Of special interest is the integration of Indian medicine in India's public health system and its role as a second resort for middle class Indians and Europeans: the 'CAMinisation' of Indian medicine. Since the 1980s āyurveda in particular, the largest and best known among India's medical traditions, has been exported to the West and taken its place as a form of 'complementary and alternative medicine' (CAM). This makes Indian medicine, in addition to being a local and national phenomenon for which there is a department in the Indian Ministry of Health, a global affair.

Maarten Bode

Photos courtesy of I-AIM Health Care Center, Bangalore

Traditional Indian Medicine: heritage, health security, ontology

IN THESE FOCUS PAGES on Indian medicine ten scholars write on current and related topics such as providers of Indian medicine, their practices and their status, different local forms of Traditional Indian Medicine (TIM), consequences of the commercialisation of Indian medicine, Indian medicine and the state, and positivist research.

Many medical systems, one health culture

There is no lack of healthcare providers in India. India has about 1.4 million physicians who have a Bachelors or Masters degree in western biomedicine – in India also known as modern medicine or allopathy – or in one of the Indian medical systems currently governed by AYUSH, the department for Indian medicine within the Ministry of Health & Family Welfare. AYUSH stands for āyurveda, yoga, unani, siddha and homeo-pathy (from German origin, but well established in India). The Tibetan medicine known in India as Sowa Rigpa has relatively recently been added to AYUSH. Most of these government sanctioned biomedical and AYUSH doctors, as they are sometimes called, live and practise in urban areas, where 30% of India's population (of over 1200 million) lives.

Seventy percent of the 700,000 AYUSH doctors practise a hybrid form of medicine, whereby they combine biomedical pharmaceuticals, biomedical diagnostics and industrially produced 'traditional' medicines. For many of them their training in one of the AYUSH systems gives them backdoor entry into private biomedical practice, because half of the subjects they were taught are biomedical in nature. One fifth of AYUSH doctors work in public health facilities such as Primary Health Centres and District Hospitals, where they mainly substitute for biomedical physicians. A small majority of the AYUSH degree holders – probably no more than ten percent – practise a form of Indian medicine that is relatively in tune with traditional notions, concepts, aetiologies and practices.[1]

Apart from these 1.4 million medical practitioners with a government sanctioned degree there are around two million health practitioners who belong to what can be called the 'folk stream of Indian medicine'. They are not officially registered and their practices differ strongly. Some have mainly a somatic (physical) focus while others treat mental problems within a religious context. There are general herbal healers who minister to a range of common ailments and chronic conditions, as well as specialists belonging to families who have been treating ailments of the eyes, ears, and skin as well as muscular and nervous disorders for generations. Others attend to emergencies such as snakebites and other cases of poisoning, or manage broken bones and deformities of the legs, ankles and feet (fig 1.) A number of them limit their activities to providing healthcare in the form of herbs, special foods and regimental advice to family members and neighbours, while others run a family clinic, treat hundreds of patients per day and attract patients from far away. Some are illiterate, while others belong to scholarly families of physicians. Our knowledge about these folk practitioners is growing but still scarce and scattered. A recent work claims that there is one folk practitioner for every 700 Indians, compared to one biomedical or AYUSH physician for every 1500 people.[2]

To put all this into perspective we need to know that a large section of the Indian population has no access to good quality professional medical care. This is probably true for the 40% of the Indian population living below or on the poverty line. According to the WHO, 50% of the Indian population has no access to essential drugs. One of the reasons is under-investment in medicine and health. The Indian government only spends 1% of its BNP on health, of which a meagre 3% is allocated to the AYUSH systems. Public health facilities frequently go without basic necessities such as life saving drugs. Doctors, especially in rural areas, are often not at their posts, and patients who are poor and of a disadvantaged caste and class are routinely not taken seriously and are regularly exploited by physicians who do not listen but who just sell them unnecessary drugs and medical tests.

Recently there has been an upsurge in efforts to integrate Indian medicine into public healthcare, which is good for 25% of healthcare delivery in India. Though these efforts mainly concern AYUSH doctors, and folk practitioners are largely excluded, there are attempts to give these practitioners of Local Health Traditions (LHT) a place in public health as well (see Focus articles by Priya and Shankar). Undeniably the largest group among these folk practitioners are *dais* [traditional birth attendants] who, apart from managing deliveries, also treat newborns and their mothers (see Focus article by Sadgopal). AYUSH graduates look at these develop-ments with a certain suspicion. They probably want to defend their professional status and perhaps their purses too.

Instead of focussing on medical pluralism – India's diverse range of medical systems and the many combinations in which patients seek them and healers practise them – with its connotation of equality and democratic access it makes more sense to speak of one Indian health culture. Though it is common to contrast (western) biomedicine with Indian medicine, a more fruitful dichotomy for analysing the contemporary state of Indian medicine is the differentiation between government sanctioned medicine (including the pan-Indian AYUSH systems) on the one hand, and the many forms of folk medicine, or Traditional Systems of Medicine (TSM), which are locally situated, on the other.[3]

Indian medical traditions are certainly not static. They are constantly evolving, changing, and in process. The state, the market, and modern science are important transformers of Indian medicine. The state is the central point of four articles in this Focus section. Ritu Priya pleads for a policy change and argues for democratic medical pluralism and medical services in tune with the realities of people's lives; Darshan Shankar argues that India's folk medical streams offer health security to the poor and therefore deserve government support; Brigitte Sébastia and Sharmistha Mallick make us aware that contempo-rary government policies towards Indian medicine can leave us with truncated and biomedicalised forms of Indian medicine; and Mira Sadgopal pleads for integrating traditional birth attendants, who are currently marginalised, in public health.

Leena Abraham and Harilal Madhavan concentrate on āyurveda in Kerala, the South-western Indian state often seen as the Mecca of Indian medicine. According to them, and many others in India, commercialisation of āyurveda in the form of corporatisation, commoditisation, and pharmaceuticalisation, threatens the availability of Indian medicine for the poor because it makes medical ingredients more expensive, aligns āyurveda to elite sensibilities, and makes āyurvedic training and treatments unaffordable. This point of increasing medical communalism is taken up by Neshat Quaiser who argues that the essentialisation of unani's body of knowledge, as well as unani's representation of the human body, which started in the colonial period, is due to political communalism that leads to medical communalism, e.g., animosity within Indian medicine. Medical systems emit both medical messages and meta medical messages. They treat ailments and express identities. Though on the system level there are many similarities between Indian medical traditions, on the social-cultural and political level relationships are not always that cosy (see Focus articles by Quaiser, Priya, Sébastia and Sadgopal).

Modern science is also an important reviser of Indian medicine. In their articles, Darshan Shankar and Ram Manohar discuss and illustrate the use of modern medical research to make āyurveda part of the global project of Evidence Based Medicine and Integrative Medicine. Like the promoters of Chinese medicine they are looking for common ground with modern biology and biomedicine.[4] They want āyurveda to hook onto new developments in medicine, such as personalised medicine and systems biology. Eventually, the goal is the institutionalisation of scientific scepticism by building an āyurvedic research community. According to them, āyurveda not only contributes to better health but can also offer medical science new treatments and concepts. The latter is the topic of the article by V. Sujatha, who shows that Indian medicine could break the deadlock created by Descartes' dualism of body and mind.

Biosocialities and the ontological power of (western) biomedicine

In our times of Evidence Based Medicine (EBM) it is reasonable to ask for scientific proof. In general we must conclude that there is not much modern scientific proof for āyurveda, India's best researched medical tradition.[5] On the other hand, there is no research that shows that āyurvedic treatments *do not* work and, in fact, only thirty percent of biomedical treatments performed in the West under conditions of reasonably affluence are Evidence Based. Indeed, the propagators of EBM do not always shun rhetoric to advance their cause.

There are at least three reasons for a lack of scientific proof for the validity of Indian medical traditions: heavy underinvestment in research on the safety and efficacy of substances and treatments; a lack of organised scepticism in the form of a research community; and the absence of treatment and research protocols that do justice to the logics of Indian medicine. Because of the ontological power of western biomedicine it is tempting to reproduce its categories and associated logics. However, we best realise that ontologies are never given in the order of things. They offer a perspective and construct 'natural' categories that are made 'real' in processes of cultural and scientific socialisation. Biologies and representations of the body are in culture, not beyond. Annemarie Mol is right when she argues that medical ontologies are brought into being, sustained, or allowed to wither away in common day to day socio-material practices.

According to her, ontologies "(…) are informed by our bodies, the organization of the healthcare systems, the rhythms and pain of our diseases, the shape of our techno-logies all of these all at once all intertwined all in tension".[6]

Those who study Indian forms of medicine must critically analyse how the body and its diseases are enacted. We must dare to question the rhetoric of Indian medicines. In practice, Indian medicine can also be reductionist when patients' individualities are ignored (see Focus article by Mallick), or commercial when Indian medicines and treatments become commodified (see Focus articles by Harilal and Abraham).[7] However, Indian medicine offers us a unique perspective when it explains and treats ill health and disease as imbalances of and between somatic, psychological, spiritual and environmental levels of being.

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Notes

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2 Sheikh, K. & A. George (eds.) 2010. *Health Providers in India. On the Frontlines of Change.* London, etc.: Routledge.
3 Hardiman, D. & B.P. Mukharji (eds.) 2012. *Medical Marginality in South Asian: Situating subaltern therapeutics.* London, etc.: Routledge.
4 Verpoorte, R. 2012. 'Good practices: The basis for evidence-based medicines', *Journal of Ethnopharmacology* 140:455-457. This article refers to the EU-FP7 project on Good Practices in Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM).
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6 Mol, A. 2002. *The Body Multiple. Ontology in Medical Practice.* Durham & London: Duke University Press, p.6.
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Fig. 1: Traditional bone setting clinic in South India. (photo by author).

Directions for the revitalization of Ayurveda in the 21st century

Why is Ayurveda, the Indian Health Science, not taking off on a scale that makes it much more visible on the national and global stage? One of the chief reasons for the subdued status of Ayurveda – though certainly not the sole reason – appears to be that Indian State and Central governments have put it on a starvation diet for more than 60 years (since independence), and before that, India's colonial rulers treated Ayurveda even worse. Thus for more than 150 years Ayurveda has survived largely through *community* (not state) *support* for its health services with subcritical public investment in research, education, clinical services, public health, development of standards and industrial production. In 2012, Ayurveda received only around 1.5% of the national health budget; at state levels, except in the state of Kerala, Ayurveda received only around 0.5% of the health budgets of the Indian states (provinces). Thus all of Ayurveda's achievements in research, product development, education and clinical practice are of an insufficient scale, which is unfortunately only noticed by the most discerning of observers. To the majority of people in India and the West the potential of Ayurveda goes unnoticed. Today, however, the time has come for the growth of Ayurveda. This is not due to a sudden upsurge of creative energy within the Ayurvedic community, but essentially because of the limitations of western biomedicine and the inevitable and serious search for alternatives.

Darshan Shankar

THE WORLD OF MEDICINE is no longer looking for blockbuster drugs aimed at single targets, it is looking for drugs that correct underlying physiological mechanisms that manifest as syndromes. Biomedical scientists are no longer looking for single molecules for infectious diseases, but rather for combinatorial drugs that may be akin to the aqueous extracts known as *kashāyams* used in classical Ayurveda. Medicine today is looking for solutions for dealing with non-communicable diseases and metabolic disorders, for enhancing immunity, for prevention and for positive health. At another social level, the huge investments in biomedicine-based strategies for primary healthcare in rural and urban communities, despite six decades of increasing investments in infrastructure, drugs and human resources – including the flagship National Rural Health Mission program launched in the 10th five year plan – still requires the majority of the population to spend around 70% of their annual health expenditure out of pocket, thus demonstrating an unsatisfactory state of health security.

This is the default situation that has brought Ayurveda to the center stage. The science of Ayurveda embodies a sophisticated theory of homeostasis and bio-regulation, and an incredible knowledge of natural products for correcting complex physiological imbalances. It possesses a wide range of dietary supplements and health practices for securing public health. It has unique detoxification procedures *(pancakarmas)* that are assumed to correct metabolism and immune functions. It has strength in geriatrics, in preventive healthcare and in strategies for enhancing wellbeing *(swasthya)*. In the context of rural health, Ayurveda has an intimate knowledge of approx-imately 6500 ecosystem-specific plant species that can provide low cost solutions for innovative 'green health' programs that can enhance both self-reliance and the health security of rural households.[1]

Can India harness Ayurveda to fulfill the two promises that it holds?
Firstly, Ayurveda promises health security for millions of rural and urban households, by promoting the reliable use of ecosystem-specific plants, elements of *ritucharya* and *dincharya* (seasonal and daily regimens) and ethnic diets. Secondly, it promises original contributions to the world of medicine and life sciences through R&D on strategic problems in the new emerging field of 'Ayurvedic biology', which bridges concepts and theories of Ayurveda with high end science in modern bio-logy. The short answer is yes – on the condition that substantial and focused investments are made in building world-class institutions, preferably in the not-for-profit and private sectors, for translational research, integrative education, drug develop-ment and integrative healthcare services, including public

health. Thus, far from the beginning of the 1st five year national plan, to date, support for Ayurveda has been mere lip service and most of the limited taxpayers' money invested in Ayurveda has gone down the drain – with rare exceptions – into inefficient and ineffective government sector institutions. If the same scale and skew in investments in Ayurveda continue into the 12th and 13th five year plans, Ayurveda and India will miss the opportunity to become a world leader in the new era of complementary, integrative and pluralistic healthcare, which is firmly slated on the agenda of global healthcare in the 21st century.

There are huge challenges in translational research and therefore Ayurveda research institutions need the best of minds, who possess both traditional knowledge and scientific knowledge. When translational research is being attempted on a sophisticated knowledge system like Ayurveda, reliable interpretation of *slokas* [medical verses in the canons of Ayurveda] and traditional practices into science becomes crucial. Even translating poetry from one language to another involves much more than literal word for word translation. Translating a knowledge system that has fundamentally different perspectives, principles, concepts and categories, involves complexities that must be reckoned with and therefore needs very high quality human resources and relevant clinical and basic science infrastructure. The fact that Ayurveda is an evolving, living and functional knowledge system suggests that the knowledge of Ayurveda is already evidence based in its own theoretical framework. Due to the domination of western cultural and intellectual traditions in modern education, today the requirement is to revalidate Ayurveda in terms of the parameters of a globally accepted western science. This involves its translation into a new science that has a very different paradigm from its own. This is a complex task.

The first and most important step is to correlate Ayurveda concepts with those of modern biology and then develop appropriate experimental models to test Ayurvedic propositions in a rigorous fashion. This needs collaboration of the best Ayurvedic physicians and theoreticians, with the best scientists from western life- and physical sciences in order to do epistemologically informed translation and experimentation. The task calls for interpreting the systemic theories of Ayurveda into the structural frameworks of science. This program needs critical and sustained support for trans-lational and trans-disciplinary research on strategic problems. It needs to be executed in a coordinated way by visionary and missionary leadership located in a network of institutions. Today, India has not yet created a single world-class research institution for translational research that bridges Ayurveda and modern biology, but needs at least half a dozen of them in order to make a national and global impact.

Ayurvedic biology, Ayurvedic products, and clinical efficacy
This national and global impact could come from innovative research results obtained from the new emerging trans-disciplinary field called 'Ayurvedic biology', which bridges concepts and systemic theories of Ayurveda with structural theories of biology.[2] It also could come from the development of premium pharmaceutical, nutraceutical and cosmeticeutical products derived from revalidations of high priority products selected from the vast repository of over 200,000 herbal formulations documented in Ayurvedic classical literature; or from a global appreciation for the sophisticated systemic theories embodied in traditional medical knowledge currently being imparted in over two hundred fifty Ayurvedic medical colleges in India; or from the reputation of its clinical efficacy demonstrated in the management of chronic diseases and metabolic disorders.[3]

There are similar opportunities waiting to be fulfilled in other areas, like clinical practice and clinical research, where India can create new models of secondary and tertiary hospitals based on integrative healthcare – with Ayurveda and yoga as the pivot – integrated with modern surgery and emergency medicine (fig. 1). In medical education there is a huge opportunity to establish world-class universities for Ayurveda with strong research, outreach and teaching programs developed in a contemporary integrative frame-work. The Indian Ayurvedic industry can develop blockbuster products for correcting systemic disorders if it revalidates and standardizes prioritized herbal formulations with modern tools. In primary healthcare Ayurveda can also make significant contributions for self reliance of rural communities through its knowledge base of the pharmacology of thousands of ecosystem specific species of plants. In public health Ayurveda can provide the world's cheapest solution for microbial purification of drinking water by reintroducing the traditional practice of storing drinking water in copper vessels, which results in the total eradication of all pathogenic bacteria and some viruses. These are the directions for revitalization of Ayurveda in the 21st century, which would benefit both India and the global community.

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Notes
1 'Green health' refers to community integrated self-help strategies based on local plants and local knowledge.
2 In the 12th 5 year plan, the Indian Dept of Science & Technology has a specific research program in 'Ayurvedic biology'.
3 See the Focus article by Ram Manohar in this issue.

The status and role of AYUSH and local health traditions in public health[1]

India is a land of great ecological, cultural, political and economic diversity. Its healthcare system reflects this diversity, both in its plural systems of health knowledge and practice and in its range of healthcare that begins from a host of basic home remedies and culminates in the most recently developed technologies of modern tertiary care through a vast array of hospitals. Eight officially recognized medical systems make India unique. AYUSH is the current official acronym (Ayurveda, Yoga and Naturopathy, Unani, Siddha, Sowa Rigpa and Homeopathy) for what was earlier called Indian Systems of Medicine and Homeopathy (ISM&H), representing all except the eighth official system: 'western medicine', 'modern medicine' or biomedicine. Each of the AYUSH systems has its empirical base of codified knowledge, often textual, and has endured as a living tradition during a century-long dominance of western biomedicine.

Ritu Priya

The public health system in India: undemocratic pluralism
The present public health system in India is rooted in its development during British rule. The first medical college was set up in 1822 in Calcutta, with a curriculum that was a mix of Ayurveda, Unani and 'modern medicine'. However, with claims of scientific supremacy justifying the establishment of an empire, the Ayurveda-Unani component was soon removed so that in 1935 it became an entirely British-style medical college. This was the beginning of the western biomedicine dominance that took over a century to become evident in the everyday lives of large sections of the Indian population. However, the marginalization of the existing Indian medical systems was contested by their practitioners in various ways. By the time independence from British rule came in 1947, the educated elite who became the decision makers, had imbibed the idea of modern scientific supremacy. Yet there was organized opposition to its hegemony, both as a nationalist assertion and as a struggle to preserve what was indigenous and useful, and there was a continued use of Indian medical systems by a vast majority of the population. In an attempt to 'modernise' Indian medicine from within, pre-cursors of colleges, i.e., the 'schools' that created licentiates of Indian medicine or that gave diplomas, *pathshalas* for Ayurveda and *madarasas* for Unani, were initiated at the end of the 19th century and grew in number over the next three decades, to be transformed into full-fledged degree-awarding institutions in the post-independence period. The production of medicines, which was generally done by the practitioners themselves for their patients, responded to the challenge of modern medicine by a 'pharmaceuticalisation', i.e., the emergence of a mass production industry. Along with these trends outside the government system, in several parts of the country dispensaries and hospitals of indigenous systems were set up by the local urban governments, which had elected representatives. These were in addition to the vast number of private practitioners of each system.

Thus, the spectrum of indigenous medicine included a large number of practitioners who were literate in the textual languages: Sanskrit, Arabic, Tamil. However, a larger number included those who had learned not from texts, but by

serving and practising with a *guru* [teacher]. In an organic association with these codified systems were a vast array of 'folk healers' who treated all problems as general practitioners, or who had specialized as herbalists, bone-setters, snakebite healers, traditional birth attendants and so on. Overlapping with the naturalist category of folk healers were the faith healers or shamans and mystics. Many combined the chanting of *mantras* and other rituals with the herbs and animal products that were used for medicines. (fig. 1)

With India's independence, in keeping with the general political streams, there was a contestation along the lines of the Gandhi-Nehru debate, that represents, respectively, the bottom-up and top-down approaches to planned development. The Bhore Committee that was set up by the British imperial government in 1942 designed a blueprint entirely based on modern biomedicine, and this was adopted as the guide for the development of health services in post-independence India. Soon after independence, the Chopra committee was set up in 1948 to supplement the Bhore committee and recommend the role of Indian Systems of Medicine & Homeopathy (ISM&H). It suggested moving towards a 'synthesis' of all the systems to formulate one Indian system. There has been a reiteration of 'integration' by several subsequent documents over the six decades since then, including the Twelfth Five Year Plan for the period 2012-17.

However, what has developed instead is a parallel structure of institutions for each system. The growth of AYUSH institutions has mirrored that of modern biomedicine, but at a lower scale and quality. One major reason has been the imbalance in budgetary allocations that reflects this 'undemocratic pluralism'; a mere 3% of the government's health budget goes to the Department of AYUSH. Despite this there are today over a hundred AYUSH colleges administered by the government, among a total of 508 AYUSH colleges with an intake capacity of 25,586 undergraduate and 2493 postgraduate students annually. Over 3277 AYUSH hospitals and 24,289 dispensaries are administered by the central and various state governments. Since each state government is

constitutionally mandated to provide for the general health services within their own state, there is great variation in these services between the states, but all have a growing institutional structure for the delivery of AYUSH services almost free of cost. The choice of one particular AYUSH system that is given prime place in a state's health services is based on the local population's characteristics that are related to the socio-political history of the area: Siddha in states with a Tamil speaking population; Unani in states with a sizable Muslim population; and Homeopathy in the northern and eastern states where it has established a strong base. While the public health system seems to have given consideration to the local cultural context in this regard, it has ignored the traditional framework of syncretic cultural responses that can be traced in the histories of the Indian medical systems. Unfortunately, the situation more resembles a Huntingtonion 'clash of civilisations', in which the AYUSH systems are inextricably linked to a particular cultural identity and are pitted against each other rather than brought into a conversation.

Expert versus folk knowledge
In today's world of formal professionals emerging from recognized courses validated by expert committees, there exists the dichotomy that there are well-known practitioners without degrees whom the formal institutions will not employ. This builds a hierarchy between the expert and non-expert (or folk practitioners), since *all* the technical decision makers are degree holders and they generally view all others, especially the folk practitioners, with contempt and insist that the folk healers' knowledge has already been codified in the texts. However, a count of the plants used for medicinal purposes shows that the Ayurvedic texts cite some 400, while the documentation of folk practice and ethno-botany reveals about 6000 species in use across the country! (fig. 2)

So, in this version of the biomedicine-AYUSH hierarchy the two stand together as the 'expert systems', opposite the folk practitioners and home remedies: the collectively-labelled 'local health traditions' (LHT). The public system has taken note of the value of the LHT in its recent formulation of the National Rural Health Mission and the Indian Public Health

Fig. 1 (above):
Patients standing in line for a consultation with a popular folk healer.

Standards. Yet, none of these plans or standards have been implemented by any state. The expert versus folk dichotomy has in fact been reinforced as a result of mimicking the modern system's notion of standards, and the folk are often thought of as quacks. Even if AYUSH is to learn from the modern system, it should recognise the folk practitioners as the 'paramedics' of AYUSH, as they are often the first contact point for patients and the messengers of the AYUSH worldview. While some AYUSH practitioners do see the value of LHT as proponents of the epistemology of systems other than modern medicine, the official public system by and large only attempts to minimize their role. A Task Force on Traditional Health Practices and Practitioners, set up by the Department of AYUSH in 2009, did give its recommendations for an organized effort to validate and certify the local traditional health practitioners, but no action has been taken in this regard. This is despite there being an excellent model for undertaking the accreditation and certification of the 'learned knowledge', already piloted by the public Indira Gandhi National Open University through its Centre for Traditional Knowledge Systems in collaboration with the Quality Council of India and the Foundation for Revitalisation of Local Health Traditions, and financially supported by the Department of AYUSH. A large number of non-governmental organizations have documented and validated the LHT in communities they work with.

Parallel growth or incorporation into modern medicine?
'Integration' of systems has meant that the curriculum for AYUSH graduates mandated by the Central Council for Indian Medicine includes modern anatomy, physiology and pharmacology; a one-way integration of knowledge that, given the prevailing power equations, undermines the view of the body, the human being and human health as espoused, in somewhat different ways, by Ayurveda, Siddha, Unani and Yoga. Using traditional knowledge of medicinal plants to develop new pharmaceutical products has been the only form of integration of AYUSH by western biomedicine. This amounts to commercial exploitation without giving credence to the knowledge system.

Within the public system, integration has been in the form of co-location of services of AYUSH in biomedical health centres and hospitals. This results in AYUSH services being brought under one roof with biomedicine, thereby giving patients a choice. It also provides rural health centres with a 'doctor', when biomedical physicians do not want to work in rural areas. The latter has been the major source of interest among health administrators in what is officially labelled by the National Rural Health Mission (NRHM) as 'mainstreaming AYUSH'. Those who see the value of the knowledge and practice of these systems, view co-location as an opportunity for interaction between medical knowledge systems. AYUSH facilities have been co-located in 468 (76%) District Hospitals, 2483 (52%) Community Health Centres and 8520 (36%) Primary Health Centres. However, again, given the power equation, AYUSH doctors are under the charge of biomedical doctors and can generally not become in-charge of the health centre, whatever their seniority in service.

Ample studies show that people use various medical systems and practitioners, based on their collective experiences over decades. For instance, people use home remedies as a first resort for common ailments such as diarrhoea and fevers, for antenatal and postnatal health problems, etc. It has been suggested that the public health system should evolve Standard Treatment Guidelines (STG): starting at home remedies, then a move to a folk healer, then to an AYUSH practitioner or a modern medicine paramedic –all of which are at the primary level of care. The STG should indicate whether patients need higher level diagnostic testing, and whether biomedical doctors and AYUSH specialists at the secondary level should be consulted, and finally whether

patients need to go to the tertiary care of any of the medical systems that are available. This can potentially provide rational guidelines to practitioners of all systems as well as to the users. There is some documentation, but even more anecdotal evidence, that a large segment of the practitioners of biomedicine in India do indeed combine home remedies and other forms of 'traditional medicine' in their own prescriptions to patients, or informally refer them to AYUSH practitioners or even folk healers. It is also well known that they themselves use AYUSH/folk healers for many of their own and family members' illnesses. In a survey conducted in 2008-09 in the public services, 77% of biomedical doctors said that they saw some value in the other systems and 55% even acknowledged prescribing or referring patients.[2] However, the advice is rarely put on paper, since there is no official legitimacy for the cross-referral. There is, in fact, a legal injunction against cross-practice (a practitioner of one system prescribing another). Nevertheless, the NRHM does expect AYUSH doctors in the co-located health centres to prescribe biomedical regimens designed by specific national disease control programs, such as those against malaria, leprosy, anaemia, vitamin A deficiency, and for immunisations.

Obviously this is an opportunistic and arbitrary use of AYUSH practitioners; mainstreaming them as practising physicians but not fully valuing their knowledge systems. Two states have even created legislation to enable AYUSH practitioners to prescribe modern medicine for all problems at primary and secondary levels. No wonder that the advocates of the AYUSH systems are wary of the ideas of 'integration' and 'mainstreaming'. What we should be looking for is a way to generate an 'interactive pluralism'. How can each system learn from a dialogue with the others? How can they be combined for maximum benefit to patients and population health?

The commercialisation of AYUSH, and LHT as non-commercial healthcare
Traditionally, Ayurveda, Unani and Siddha (AUS) used medicines made by the practitioners; but in an attempt to ensure the survival of these systems, the production and marketing of their medicines now take place on a commercial scale. This 'pharmaceuticalisation' of AUS has changed the character of the systems. The Department of AYUSH seems to be greatly influenced as well; its major focus of activities is now on promoting the manufacturing and international promotion of AUS medicines. The National Medicinal Plants Board, under the Department of AYUSH, has also become more interested in supplying the industry than the local users. A 2008-09 study among public institutions in 18 states found that none of the AYUSH doctors used raw herbs or prepared their own medicines anymore.[3]

Only LHT still represent the non-commercial dimension of traditional medicines in present times. The Department of AYUSH gladly supports LHT projects only if they are likely to uncover some practices not known in the AYUSH texts, which could be validated and added to the existing texts and AUS pharmaceuticals. However, the promotion of local uses, or people's empowerment through the legitimisation of their knowledge, is generally not considered a meaningful objective. The Indian Public Health Standards has determined that all Health sub-Centres (ideally available in villages with a population of 5000 and run by paramedics) and Primary Health Centres (PHC; ideally available for a rural population of 30,000 and run by 1 or 2 doctors, including one from AYUSH) should have herbal gardens in their compounds. With the AYUSH doctor co-located at the PHC, this could be a pioneering step towards linking LHT with AYUSH, and re-legitimising the use of local herbal medicine. (fig. 3) Unfortunately, the implementation of this activity had not yet begun in any of the 18 states surveyed in 2008-09.

The commercialization of healthcare hinders a perspective on medicine as a non-commercial service that can be non-iatrogenic, of good quality and affordable for all.

Interactive pluralism: the possibilities
There is an emerging body of research that attempts to bring the knowledge systems together in terms of their principles. For instance, there is the study by a public institution that has attempted to verify whether the concept of individual *prakriti,* defined by Ayurveda (loosely translated as individual 'constitution'), correlates with an individual's genomic markers.[4] A study undertaken by a private trust institution, together with the United States National Institute of Health, pioneered a clinical trial on modern lines without compromising the principles of Ayurveda.[5] The Central Council for Research in Ayurvedic Sciences has undertaken several clinical studies, but they do not stand up to the scrutiny of modern trials; the council needs to strengthen its methodology based on what it learned from the aforementioned study.

Documenting the use of more than one system by practitioners of modern and traditional medicine and learning from their practices can be revealing. In fact, if we can revive the composite culture that existed in the past when, as documented for Punjab, the Hindu upper caste and Sikhs practised Unani as much as the Muslim Hakims, and the Sikhs translated Ayurveda and Unani texts into Gurmukhi so that the less scholarly could read them.[6] Ayurvedic texts were translated from Sanskrit to Arabic or Persian (the language of the Muslim courts) and Unani texts from Arabic to Sanskrit.

The Tibbia College, started in 1916 in Delhi by Hakim Ajmal Khan, combined the teaching of Ayurveda and Unani. This activity would rejuvenate the AYUSH systems, their teaching and the confidence of their practitioners. It would also provide the world with a different vision of what health-care could mean to human civilization even in contemporary times, contributing to democratic pluralism and sustainable healthcare. The commercialization of healthcare hinders a perspective on medicine as a non-commercial service that can be non-iatrogenic, of good quality and affordable for all. Layperson worldviews, the ethical codes of LHT and principles of AYUSH provide resources for that imagination.[7] If Indian public health picks up this challenge it will move towards right-ing many historical wrongs and healing the physical, social and cultural iatrogenesis of contemporary health service systems.

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Fig. 2 (below left): Folk healer who is a farmer too.

Fig. 3 (below right): AYUSH section in a Public Health Center.

Notes
1 This paper traces the growth of services of diverse systems of health and healing within Indian public health, drawing upon findings of a study conducted by the author across eighteen states (provinces) in 2008-09.
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3 ibid.
4 Prasher, B., et al. 2008. 'Whole genome expression and biochemical correlates of extreme constitutional types defined in Ayurveda', *Journal of Translational Medicine* 6:48 (http://tinyurl.com/n7mt9sz)
5 Furst, D.E., et al. 2011. 'Double-blind, randomized, controlled, pilot study comparing classical ayurvedic medicine, metho-trexate, and their combination in rheumatoid arthritis', *Journal of Clinical Rheumatology* 17(4):185-192.
6 Sivaramakrishnan, K. 2006. *Old Potions, New Bottles: Recasting Indigenous Medicine in Colonial Punjab (1850-1945).* Hyderabad: Orient Longman.
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Towards recognition of traditional midwives (Dais): The Jeeva Study

In 2005 the Indian government, under the National Rural Health Mission (NRHM), launched an initiative to reduce the number of child deaths by 67 per cent and maternal deaths by 75 per cent, in accordance with the Millennium Development Goals #4 and #5. Under its Safe Motherhood Scheme the NRHM has declared the practices of Dais [traditional midwives] and homebirths to be 'unsafe', and hospital deliveries 'safe'. Many in public health, both outside and within the formal system, do not agree with this policy. The Jeeva Study looks at the actual role of the Dais, from a dual 'public health' and 'indigenous knowledge' perspective. The study aims to build the evidence base on the Dais' contribution to the wellbeing of mothers and newborns. It also explores their critical points of interaction with other maternity care providers, the families of the women they help, and the varied communities around them.

Mira Sadgopal

The need for including Dais

Despite rapid economic growth in recent times, India ranks low as far as maternal and child health is concerned. Under the Janani Suraksha Yojana [Safe Motherhood Scheme] public health personnel and local communities are now instructed to have women give birth only in 'institutional' (hospital) settings. A young cadre of female community health workers (ASHAs) has been created to transport women to hospitals for childbirth. The Dais, however, are considered unskilled, ill-equipped and are therefore excluded. Most of the change has taken place in the last five years, with almost a 30% overall shift towards hospital births in India. But many women complain of poor quality services and delays in cost reimbursement, and still prefer homebirths. Up to now the NRHM has dismissed an alternative solution: to improve the safety of homebirths and strengthen two-way linkages between home, community and hospital through the Dais.

After Indian independence there was just limited support for the training of Dais; after 2000, the little support was withdrawn entirely. Dais were declared hazardous, despite there being no solid evidence to hold them responsible for high maternal and neonatal mortalities. Since 2005 changes have taken place in the name of making the health system more effective and accountable, but many of the benefits are questionable and, so far, no data shows that the mortality declines post-NRHM are sharper than those that occurred prior to 2005. The Government depends upon a splintered strategy of cash transfers for the poor, public-private partnerships to provide healthcare coverage, and user-fee exemption for a small number of poor families. The family debt burden, from resorting to private medical services, is high.

In Indian rural contexts, where homebirth is still largely the norm, it has recently been questioned whether removing a woman in labour to an unfamiliar hospital, and medicalising her childbirth, is really the best idea. Elsewhere, unnecessary hospitalisation during childbirth has been debated, and there is growing support for midwives rather than doctors in normal birth. Developed countries, by and large, have lost their traditional midwives; but some, like Sweden, the Netherlands and Malaysia, have developed a cadre of modern professional midwives. India has failed to do this, to which their low mortality rates are attributed.

In recent years in the West the effectiveness of some traditional childbirth practices has been acknowledged and to some extent even absorbed by modern practice, but in India the health services give the Dais little praise. The recent exclusion of Dais, along with their traditional skills and understanding in childbirth, has had deep effects. At the community level it has devalued and denied an age-old skilled tradition that is a part of community life. Very few young women still wish to learn through apprenticeship with experienced Dais. The health system itself, which could benefit from the Dais' skills and outlook, is deprived of input to develop childbirth care in a more positive and natural way. Where there is no doctor, the Dais' close contact with women and their shared social space provides innumerable opportunities for her to extend the best advice. It is something a system geared to emergency care and hospital delivery cannot provide. The cultural closeness of a birthing woman and her Dai is able to create a comfort zone that hospitals cannot.

The Jeeva Study

The Jeeva Study covers a total population of around 40000, distributed between four sites in the Indian states (provinces) Jharkhand, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Himachal Pradesh. It encompasses both qualitative and quantitative dimensions, looking at the Dais in their local contexts, their traditional practices in normal and complicated situations, and at the utilisation of their care (especially by the poorest). It also takes into consideration the other providers of maternity care, both formal and informal, and how they make use of Dais. Through surveys of the households and the various other care providers, and with follow-up of pregnant women, and direct birth observation when possible, the study assesses the prevalence and outcomes of 'key' practices. It also compares women's experiences of homebirth and institutional birth. It tackles issues of contrasting knowledge frameworks to bridge the gap between the Dais' traditional community-based perspective and the Indian public health services system's outlook, which is framed by modern biomedicine. Hence, through this multidisciplinary study the researchers look into the role of Dais from both public health and indigenous knowledge viewpoints, considering the Dais' multiple contributions to maternal and newborn wellbeing, the social-economic and health system dynamics surrounding them, the dependence of the poor upon them, and potentials for their formal recognition to strengthen the provision of childbirth care. While the fieldwork is still in progress, here we offer some preliminary impressions.

Household visits reveal just how reliant families are on Dais and how they are aware of the strict government policy against homebirths. They say the Dais are the only providers of such care who come when needed, and at a very low cost. They explain how much the formal provisioning of antenatal, childbirth and postpartum care lags behind the Government's claims. So usually the first choice even today is care by a Dai. Those who opt for a hospital birth say that any serious difficulty can be handled there, blood can be given if needed and so on. But the Dai stays in touch with the family and reliably reaches the home when the woman goes into labour. If the woman

Jeeva researchers at the Himachal Pradesh site, performing 'social mapping' with a group of women in Nalota Village, including a Dai.

goes to hospital, the Dai often goes along. During in-depth interviews with the Dais they explain that they do this work out of a sense of responsibility towards the community and with a kind of spiritual commitment to the women in their time of need. Their long practical training and learning by observation is critical. By living in the communities they serve, their social interaction across caste barriers is a rare example of female mobility in a patriarchal culture.

Complications faced by Dais include amniotic fluid leaks, a small birth passage, eclampsia, breech presentation and transverse lie, the umbilical cord around the neck, delayed or retained placenta, bleeding before and after birth, baby not breathing, and so on. Experienced Dais tell of how they have handled complications when medical backup was nowhere to be seen. Depending on accessibility, the Dais now do refer to institutions in accordance with the law, but it is sobering and significant to consider what risks are involved for women on the way to, at and beyond the first institution reached.

The Jeeva study also looks at local medicines and dietary elements as they affect pregnancy, childbirth and postpartum and other conditions of women and babies. The remedies include herbal, animal and mineral ingredients, many but not all finding resonance in the therapeutic principles of Indian systems of medicine (Ayurveda, Unani and Siddha). Sometimes their use includes reciting a mantra. Some blend seamlessly into hands-on procedures and manoeuvres. At one site, the Dais sum up their skills simply as "holding the belly", but we find that they subtly and rhythmically coordinate their hold with womb contractions. They perform oil-massages at various stages, simultaneously to diagnose and to heal. There are various uses of heat, different positions adopted, and many ways a Dai puts the woman at ease or urges her to exert her strength in giving birth.

The study of local terminology is also helping to enter deeper into the Dais' world. Many words related to the woman's body, conception, pregnancy, childbirth and post-birth, reflect nature and farming. For example, words for the vulva or perineum evoke land, growing plants, flowers and seeds. Rituals that accompany these events typically utilise seeds or grains, and so on. Exploiting the potential of inter-relations between the existing local health services –government, private and traditional, including Dais–demands such epistemological engagement and acknowledgement.

Linking Dais with the formal health system

The Jeeva study acknowledges an important traditional resource –the skills of popular Dais–in a context of acute shortage of personnel, especially in backward areas. It argues for letting the Dais continue their work in co-ordination with the formal care providers and envisions safer childbirth through strengthened community-based birth attendance with appropriate support from the formal health care system. The inclusion of Dais in public health can strengthen the services and contribute to the survival and wellbeing of mothers and newborns. The Dais should be recognised, their ways respected, their reporting taken seriously, their advice heeded –in short, the responsibility of caring for childbearing women should be shared with them, to ensure a seamless continuum of care between home and hospital.

Including Dais and their traditions in the expansion of formal childbirth care not only addresses the important concerns behind Millennium Development Goals #4 and #5 with their focus on survival and wellbeing of mothers and newborns, but also advances Millennium Development Goal #3 (women's empowerment) as the female Dais negotiate space within the healthcare system. This will be possible only when the other female health workers at the bottom of the formal system learn to respect and relate to the Dais as equal partners –a simple word, but a huge social and epistemological challenge to the Public Health Services in India today.

The Jeeva Shepherds: Mira Sadgopal (miradakin@gmail.com), Imrana Qadeer, Janet Chawla, Leila Caleb Varkey, Anuradha Singh, Sandhya Gautam.[1]

From heritage to practice: Ayurveda in Delhi's public healthcare system

In recent years, the Department of AYUSH[1] has taken initiatives at various levels to promote and 'mainstream' Ayurveda and other Indian systems of medicine. With this 'mainstreaming' the representations and practices of Ayurveda have changed drastically. Various agents, such as the market and the state, are involved in reconfiguring and redefining Ayurveda as a medical tradition and a field of practice. This has undermined Ayurveda's holistic approach, the role of the Ayurvedic practitioner, and the authority of the Ayurvedic canons. Here, 'Heritage Ayurveda' is compared to contemporary Ayurvedic public health practices, whereby the term 'Heritage Ayurveda' refers to the current interpretation of Ayurveda's history.

Sharmistha Mallick

THE COMMENTS MADE HERE are based on my recent study that dealt with the broader issues of mainstreaming traditional Indian medicine and medical pluralism in Delhi's public healthcare system. Ethnographic fieldwork was carried out in eight Ayurvedic public hospitals and dispensaries belonging to the Central, State and Municipal Governments. This multi-sited approach reflects the changes these institutions have gone through in fields such as bureaucratic structure, patient flows, infrastructure, day to day affairs, medicine supply, diagnosis, treatments and representations. This article focuses on two of the institutions I visited: the Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbia Hospital (a so-called standalone facility), and the Safdarjung Ayurvedic dispensary (part of the Safdarjung Hospital, a biomedical facility in which Ayurveda is co-located).

Ayurveda in Delhi's public health

'Heritage Ayurveda' is believed to have a unique holistic approach. This heritage notion of Ayurveda is part of nationalist assertions, with a relatively recent global appeal, as a form of holistic treatment that includes body, mind and soul. Ayurveda's holistic notion and biomedicine's assumed reductionist approach, renders the two systems opposites. But Ayurveda's holistic claim does not hold true in practice. In Delhi's public health facilities the focus of Ayurvedic doctors is neither on holistic diagnosis and medication nor on other holistic aspects of treatment. For instance, in the Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbia hospital pulse-examination and elaborate illness histories are not performed. Patients are not prescribed dietary regimens based on their condition; instead, all patients are advised to avoid spicy and oily foods. Ayurvedic doctors do not probe into histories, backgrounds and origins of the ailments. In addition, doctors do not prescribe fermentations, fresh herbs, or herbal decoctions; modern Ayurvedic medicines, now in the form of tablets and capsules, closely resemble biomedical pharmaceuticals. The situation results in patients being unable to differentiate between Ayurvedic and biomedical treatments, and Ayurveda has been reduced to an adjunct therapy.

The situation shows how Ayurveda (at least in Delhi's public health system) has deviated from its own logic of holism and follows the logic of biomedicine, where diagnosis is based on test results and patients are prescribed medicines after a consultation of just one or two minutes. In this context, the mainstreaming of Ayurveda comprises of Ayurvedic college-educated doctors and Ayurvedic industrial medicines filling the gaps in public health. The objective is to reduce the patient load irrespective of the form of medicine practiced. The system makes it impossible to treat a disease the Ayurvedic way – through the manipulation of diet, lifestyle advice, external treatments, internal cleansing, and the use of medications made from fresh herbs. The patients in the Tibbia hospital said they had selected the Ayurveda clinic only because Delhi's public biomedical facilities had an insufficient number of beds and long queues for medicines; they hadn't really noticed a difference between Ayurvedic and western biomedical treatments.

Ayurvedic practitioners

The second notion typically associated with 'Heritage Ayurveda' is the *vaidya* – the glorified health provider claiming his expertise by quoting the classic Sanskrit *slokas,* such as *yatha pinde tat brahmande* [whatever is in the body, is in the universe]. Ayurvedic doctors in Delhi's

public health facilities distance themselves from, what they see as, Ayurveda's ritualistic past and claim a more scientific, and therefore pure, approach to medicine. They distinguish themselves from traditional *vaidyas* by emphasizing their own college degrees; *vaidyas,* without government sanctioned degrees, supposedly have little Ayurvedic knowledge. This attitude held by college-educated doctors stems from their rivalry and self assertion against *shuddha* [pure] Ayurveda, i.e., traditional practitioners who are against integrating and synthesizing Ayurveda with western biomedicine. Unlike traditional *vaidyas,* Ayurvedic college educated doctors depend on biomedical tests (and to a lesser extent on their patients' own accounts), instead of pulse examinations and other traditional diagnostic tools. They ignore patient agency, which is evidently a crucial aspect of 'Heritage Ayurveda'. This modern development has led to a hierarchical relationship between doctor and patient, in which the former neither explains diagnosis and treatment, nor probes into the patient's diet, occupation and lifestyle. Ayurvedic doctors working in Delhi's public health system respond to this criticism by referring to their heavy caseload, which makes it practically impossible for them to adhere to traditional Ayurvedic notions of diagnosis and treatment.

On the whole, Ayurvedic doctors in government institutions in Delhi are not able to apply their Ayurvedic diagnostic and curative knowledge. In other words, they cannot translate their clinical knowledge into medical practice. Reasons for this include the fact that college educated Ayurvedic practitioners are not fully trained in Ayurveda: their curriculum is made up of at least fifty percent biomedical courses. They are generally unaware of current Ayurvedic research and the existence of Ayurvedic research journals. Their training only exposes them to industrially made Ayurvedic medicines, and they receive no knowledge about the use of fresh herbs and other forms of Ayurvedic treatment. Nevertheless, they maintain that their knowledge is superior to that of *vaidyas* because theirs is scientific in nature. They take pride in the biomedical content of their Ayurvedic college education and are not concerned with maintaining the integrity of 'Heritage Ayurveda'.

Surprisingly though, Ayurvedic doctors in Delhi's public health system tend to show greater concern and politeness towards their patients, compared to biomedical physicians working on the same premises. It is not clear if this is due to training or because they see relatively fewer patients than their biomedical colleagues. The Ayurvedic doctors working in Safdarjung Hospital's Ayurvedic dispensary only see ten to fifteen patients a day. Though they fail to adopt a holistic approach to diagnosis

and treatment, they do generally listen to their patients and are sensitive to their patients' satisfaction with the treatment. This approach, which is in line with 'Heritage Ayurveda', does not seem to be institution-specific, but rather doctor-specific or sometimes even case-specific.

My research also revealed that, in its public health embodiment, Ayurveda has changed in terms of medical theory, the use of modern surgical equipment and the preparation of medicines. Traditionally speaking Ayurveda recognizes *three morbid factors,* the three *doshas: vata* (wind), *pitta* (choler) and *kapha* (mucous). A harmonious state of the doshas creates balance and health; while an imbalance, which might be an excess *(vriddhi)* or deficiency *(kshaya),* manifests as symptoms and ailments. However, the Ayurvedic doctors I encountered did not classify diseases on the basis of the doshas. On the whole these Ayurvedic doctors in Delhi's public health system did not have much knowledge about disease classifications mentioned in the Ayurvedic canons.

Ayurvedic surgery

According to the surgeons at the public health hospitals I visited, there is presently no clear cut distinction between Ayurvedic and biomedical surgical procedures. They said that having decided in favor of surgical treatment, every surgeon has a choice to adopt any 'proven' surgical technique, either Ayurvedic or biomedical. Ayurvedic surgery is typically applied for ailments concerning the appendix or gallbladder, hernia, hydrocele, anal-rectal disorders, etc. *Ksharsutra,*[2] for example, is a special surgical procedure that is unique to Ayurveda and which is applied to treat chronic and acute anal-rectal problems, including piles and fistula. The *ksharsutra* method is known for reducing the chance of recurrence and does not require anesthesia.

However, the surgeons also referred to *Sushruta,* author of the almost two thousand year old Ayurvedic canon *Sushruta Samhita,* who is considered to be the father of surgery by many people in India. They told me that as modern anesthesia was not available during *Sushruta's* time strong alcohols were used for surgeries of the brain, abdomen and limbs. Some doctors I interviewed claimed to have adopted procedures of the *Sushruta Samhita,* while those who are more realistic admitted to use an improvised version learned at medical college, in which anesthesia and antibiotics are used.

At the two hospitals I observed firsthand how Ayurvedic surgeons adapt ancient surgical methods by drawing on biomedical expertise. For instance, the exact surgical procedure for hernia is not mentioned in *Sushruta Samhita.* According to my informants, *Sushruta's* technique *agnikarma* is only helpful for a hernia in its initial stages.[3] The standard biomedical procedure for hernia surgery involves administering sutures and hernia patients often get what is known as 'plastic mesh repair'. But Ayurvedic surgeons adopt a different approach and use a double breasting procedure under local anesthesia. It was difficult for the surgeons to say if this is a purely Ayurvedic procedure, in terms of being mentioned in the Ayurvedic canons. However, they claimed that this technique is inspired by traditional Ayurvedic approaches to specific medical problems. The question arises if, in the present situation, it is even possible to do surgery the Ayurvedic way. Ayurvedic doctors in the Tibbia hospital mentioned a heavy patient load and a poor quality medical education as the main reasons for not following classical textual guidelines. They said that maintaining Ayurveda's integrity by following the classics is not as important as meeting patients' needs: *"unka kaam yeh hai ki woh pehle patients ke need ko dekhein aur na ki Ayurvedic protocol ko"* [the priority is to give heed to the need of the patient above giving attention to the textual protocol].

Ballimaran public Ayurvedic hospital in Delhi. Photo Mallick.

The factors discussed above show the reconfiguring of 'Heritage Ayurveda' in Delhi's public healthcare system, and beyond. They should not be read as merely a deviation from the canons of Ayurvedic medicine, but as modifications to Ayurvedic practices due to the realities of its mainstreaming into Delhi's public healthcare system.

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Notes
1 AYUSH: Ayurveda, Yoga and Naturopathy, Unani, Siddha and Homeopathy.
2 In this procedure a medicated cotton thread is prepared by soaking it in a herbal preparation. Then the thread is tied to or inserted into the affected body part, such as the fistulous track.
3 *Agni karma,* also known as *dahan karma,* is a treatment used in Ayurveda for various benign diseases that are characterized by pain or bleeding. In this process, heated rods of gold, silver, iron, copper and other metals are applied directly to the skin at the affected site.

A medicine in loss of identity

The association of the term siddha with medicine seems a relatively recent phenomenon. The Sanskrit word *siddha* means 'realised' and refers to yogis endowed with supernatural powers called *siddhi*. In the reports of committees appointed by the British colonial government to evaluate the relevance of traditional medicines, the term siddha was first used to refer to traditional medical practices in South India in the Usman report of 1923. Previously, committees' reports, travellers' accounts and old Tamil medical books used terms such as 'Tamil medicine' or 'Tamil Ayurveda'. The word siddha, introduced in the 1920s, could result from the Dravidian movement that opposed brahmanical cultural hegemony in South India. Siddha medicine was and is considered to be a glorious achievement and symbol of Tamil culture. This is mirrored today in the discourses of siddha practitioners and the promoters of siddha medicine.[2]

Brigitte Sébastia

The identity of siddha medicine

The expression 'Tamil Ayurveda' suggests that siddha medicine is similar to ayurveda. However, the textual corpus of siddha is mostly in the Tamil language –though some texts are in Malayalam, the language of neighbouring Kerala –while the texts of ayurveda are written in Sanskrit. Both medical traditions share physiological, diagnostic, etiological and therapeutic practices and concepts, and a large part of the *material medica*. But there are some differences that give siddha its own identity. Firstly, its pharmacopoeia includes many more organic and mineral products, especially heavy metals such as lead, arsenic and mercury. Secondly, the way siddha was transmitted to humanity differs from ayurvedic medical mythology, which states that people inherited ayurvedic knowledge through a line of gods and deities (Brahma-Prajapati-Ashvin-Indra), who passed it on to Dhanvantari, the God of ayurveda, who gave his knowledge to mythical doctors, in particular Caraka and Sushruta. In contrast, siddha medical knowledge and practice were dispersed by *cittarkaḷ*, a class of South Indian tantric yogis, devotees of the Shiva-Shakti cult, who developed supernatural faculties through severe asceticism and the ingestion of mercury pills made while in deep meditation. Thirdly, compared to ayurveda, siddha is more concerned with rejuvenation and longevity, even immortality.

These three specificities of siddha are linked to the social class of *cittarkaḷ* who were experts in alchemy and developed iatrochemical processes for converting minerals and toxic metals into medicines. In these purification processes known as *cutti* [removing the faults of a medicine] vegetal and organic materials are used to induce chemical transformations and make the substance suitable for human consumption (fig. 1). High potency is ascribed to the resulting products and some called *kaṟpam* [panacea] are applied in the treatment of many ailments. These medicines are said to fight the degeneration of body and mind, and to give immortality.

Four products are particularly emblematic of siddha medicine: *rasamaṇi* (mercury pills made by coagulation of mercury), *navapāśaṇam* ('nine poisons', a stone supposedly made of nine sorts of arsenic salts), *kaṭṭu* (an extremely hard and compact stone made of various metals and minerals) and *muppu* (a medicine prepared from earth salt). *Rasamaṇi* is not specific to siddha as it belongs to the world of alchemy, but it is brandished by traditional siddha practitioners as proof of their medical erudition. *Kaṭṭu* are usually inherited from the ancestors; rare are practitioners who know how to prepare these stones. The two other products –*navapāśaṇam* and *muppu* –are esoteric substances and their composition is said to be secret. This secrecy, which is intrinsic to alchemy, has opened the way for the creative imagination. Nowadays, siddha practitioners (*cittamaruttuvarkaḷ*) who are very fascinated by alchemy, perform experiments attempting to rediscover the formula of these mythic products. Their efforts focus especially on *muppu*, a substance prepared with a salt named *punīr* collected from a specific area at full moon in certain months of the Tamil calendar. This substance is said to act as catalyser and enhances the potency of other medicaments. The practitioners involved in the preparation of *rasamaṇi, navapāśaṇam* and especially *muppu* seek to test their proficiency in siddha.

In general, patients turn to siddha medicine for the treatment of chronic ailments such as skin diseases, digestive disorders, sexual troubles, bone and joint pains, as well as bone dislocations/breaks. More recently and increasingly, they approach them for ailments related to lifestyle diseases, such as diabetes, obesity, cardiovascular disorders, and cancer. While many practitioners are generalists, some have specialised in eye conditions, mother and child ailments, insect and serpent bites, mental illnesses, bone and joint pains, bone setting, and acupressure.

The institutionalisation of siddha medicine

Siddha is not as widespread as ayurveda and has not been institutionalised to the same extent, mainly due to its esoteric nature and because access to it is restricted to Tamil speakers. At the beginning of the twentieth century, āyurvedic practitioners promoted their medicine "on a nationalist platform by arguing its unique connection to Indian cultural identity".[3] Like the propagators of āyurveda and unani, siddha practitioners protested against British imperialism and demanded recognition and support for their medicine. This was partly successful as the creation of siddha, unani and āyurvedic schools and colleges, shows. In South India, the first traditional medical college was established in Madras Presidency in 1925, but only after heavy debates by committees appointed to look into the worth of traditional medicine. An important objection against the recognition of Indian medicine was that these traditions were considered to be unscientific compared with the medicine of the British.

Siddha medicine was taught as a branch of ayurveda in this first traditional medical college in South India. There were three reasons for this; firstly, the conceptual similarities between ayurveda and siddha; secondly, the existence of ayurvedic textbooks –opposed to the medical corpus of siddha that was still in the form of palm leaf manuscripts (*ōlaiccuvāṭi*) (fig. 2); thirdly, the predominance of ayurveda in the Madras Presidency, which included parts of the present states of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka where Tamil is not spoken. The fact that siddha has metals in its pharmacopoeia and that its reputation is engrained in magic and esotericism, also impeded its recognition.

The first college of Indian medicine, in what is now known as the Indian state of Tamil Nadu, was several times renamed and transformed and did not have a long existence. It was only later, under the pressure of Muttukaruppa Pillai, a traditional practitioner who dedicated his life to the enhancement and spread of traditional medical knowledge, that siddha was given more recognition. A new college cum hospital for Indian medicines in Tamil Nadu was established in 1965 at Palayamkottai in Tirunelveli district. Because of its location in the southern part of Tamil Nadu –unlike in Madras, currently known as Chennai. Consequently, this institution became entirely devoted to siddha medicine. Then, two other siddha colleges with teaching hospitals were established in Chennai. The one established in 1985 at Arumbakkam also teaches ayurveda and unani and is attached to the Central Research Institute for Siddha; the most recent, the National Institute of Siddha, established in 2005, lies in Tambaram, Chennai. Like biomedical and āyurvedic colleges, these siddha institutes offer two medical degrees: BSMS (Bachelor of Siddha Medicine and Surgery) and MD Siddha (Doctor of Medicine Siddha). Students who opt for the BSMS degree receive no clinical experience as their curriculum is purely theoretical. To complete their education, they must undertake a medical internship, which most of them do in biomedical hospitals and clinics.

The level of institutionalisation differs between siddha and ayurveda. This is due to the late recognition of siddha, the limited number of siddha institutions and available seats in siddha colleges. As a result, there are more traditional siddha practitioners (*cittamaruttuvarkaḷ*) without a college education, than siddha doctors with a BSMS or MD (Siddha) degree. (fig. 3) These *cittamaruttuvarkaḷ* have acquired their knowledge through the *paramparaiya* system (traditional apprenticeship),

Fig. 1 (below left):
Extraction of mercury from cinnabar.

Fig. 2 (below right):
Consulting a siddha palm leaf manuscript.

Regulating and reviving South Indian traditional medical knowledge[1]

which means that they are trained within their extended family or in the *kurukulam* system, i.e., by a *guru* (teacher), who is either an expert in siddha medicine or in related disciplines such as alchemy, botany, pharmacopoeia, yoga, and pulse-reading. Some of these *cittamaruttuvarkaḷ* are highly educated and their knowledge not seldom exceeds that of those with an officially sanctioned degree in siddha (BSMS or MD Siddha). Some of them have also followed medical courses in homeo-pathy, naturopathy or in alternative medicines. These courses allow them to increase their botanical and medical knowledge, but also for some, to use their diplomas to open a siddha hospital or clinic and legitimise their practice, despite the fact that these diplomas are not recognised by the government.

Rivalry among siddha practitioners

Cittamaruttuvarkaḷ are not much appreciated by siddha doctors, who judge them to be quacks, as they have no official degrees and are mostly not registered with the medical board,[4] and therefore strictly speaking, practise medicine illegally. *Cittamaruttuvarkaḷ* admit that BSMS and MD (Siddha) doctors are more educated in the official meaning of the term, but they are also of the opinion that their knowledge is only theoretical, and heavily tainted by biomedical knowledge. They accuse them of mimicking biomedical physicians. Indeed, the officially recognised siddha doctors often speak with great enthusiasm about the immense knowledge of the *cittarkaḷ* in terms of alchemical processes, botany, diagnostic methods, and disease taxonomy – unfortunately their own medical education does not make them competent in preparing complex siddha medicines, or in applying traditional diagnostic methods such as pulse-reading, or in traditional therapies such as *varma* [acupressure], yoga and food prescriptions.

Their strong opposition to the *cittamaruttuvarkaḷ* may be conditioned by disrespect, but also by the Indian context of job scarcity. While *cittamaruttuvarkaḷ* attract a large private clientele because of their link to siddha tradition through many generations, government sanctioned siddha doctors do not. For a job, they depend upon government positions in public hospitals or Primary Health Centres where they have to practise both biomedicine and traditional medicine. In order to gain some legitimacy they sometimes link themselves to the siddha tradition through the use of symbols and icons, such as *ōlaiccuvāṭi*, millstones and mortars, pictures of mythical siddha practitioners, *rasamaṇi*, and *kaṭṭu*. It is quite ironic that these objects are collected from *cittamaruttuvarkaḷ*. Nevertheless, most patients prefer to consult practitioners known for their family medicines. The possession of potent medicines identifies a good practitioner in the eyes of his clients and the general public.[5]

The institutionalisation of siddha medicine has had a homogenising effect. In contrast, the medical knowledge and practice of *cittamaruttuvarkaḷ* is very heterogeneous because it varies according to family tradition, the practitioner's experience, and the extent of a practitioner's additional training. For many *cittamaruttuvarkaḷ*, notably those living and practising in villages, medicine is performed alongside other activities, such as farming. However, there are also *cittamaruttuvarkaḷ* who treat forty to eighty patients a day, or who run hospitals with ten to eighty beds.

Institutionalisation has given siddha a certain level of recog-nition. It offers treatments to patients who have confidence in traditional medicines, and to those who have lost faith in biomedicine after bad experiences (e.g., failed treatments and severe side effects). However, by mixing siddha and biomedical knowledge, and establishing curricula in which certain specificities of siddha medicine are neglected, educational institutions are producing a new form of knowledge and practice that diverts from tradition. This is reinforced by the fact that medicines based on metals and minerals, which are iconic for siddha, are neglected in favour of herbal *material medica*. This reflects the value attributed to the herbal therapies that make ayurveda attractive in the eyes of many, both in India and in the West. To avoid any risk of intoxication by preparations using heavy metals, some *cittamaruttuvarkaḷ* have even ceased their preparation of these medicines. These changes have eroded the identity of siddha and blurred the frontier with ayurveda. This development is resented by *cittamaruttuvarkaḷ* who feel deeply connected to the *cittar* traditions.

Egilane, a traditional practitioner who claims to have developed his knowledge through asceticism under the guidance of a yogi expert in siddha medicine, told me one day while he was anointing earthen pots with crushed leaves for extracting mercury from cinnabar *(liṅkam)*: "Today siddha doctors and even *cittamaruttuvarkaḷ* refuse to prepare medicines with metals. They invoke risks of intoxication. But those who say that do not know how to prepare them. If they had the correct knowledge, they would not have fear. Years and years, my guru taught me and I learned a lot through yoga, so why would I fear to prepare these medicines?" The loss of knowledge not only concerns metal and mineral preparations, but also the neglect of other classical therapeutic techniques. In addition, nosological and aetiological Tamil terminology has been partly replaced by English biomedical terms.

Safeguarding tradition

Confronted by all the changes, the deterioration of traditional siddha medicine, and the increasingly poor reputations of siddha practitioners, some *cittamaruttuvarkaḷ* are undertaking promotional activities. They are working on improving siddha practices and increasing the attractiveness of siddha for patients. The siddha knowledge of the relatively small community of *cittamaruttuvarkaḷ* is gradually disappearing due to the lack of knowledge-sharing inside the community – which is the consequence of both its institutionalisation and the loss of confidence among the Tamil population. Many children of *cittamaruttuvarkaḷ* have not continued the work of their parents. They have turned to other professions or taken a government job that assures regular income. Interestingly,

some Tamils, upon retirement, approach reputed *citta-maruttuvarkaḷ* in their desire to learn the medicine of their forefathers; they are often either motivated by a sense of 'communal identity' (siddha as the great knowledge of Tamil Nadu) or by a sense of *cēvai* [service/duty to the people].

There are existing associations that serve as platforms for *cittamaruttuvarkaḷ* and students (fig. 4). They organise weekly meetings where practitioners are invited to share their knowledge about siddha anatomy and physiology, botany, the composition and preparation of medicines (with a focus on the purification of metals), and siddha diagnoses and treatments. The associations aim to tackle the secrecy of siddha, which in their eyes will eventually lead to the decline of siddha knowledge. Some students of siddha colleges also attend these meetings, to complement their education and to benefit from the knowledge of highly proficient practitioners. These associations seek to improve the image of *cittamaruttuvarkaḷ*, and subsequently stop the decline of siddha knowledge. Some *cittamaruttuvarkaḷ* train others in *varma* [acupressure] and massage, therapies highly neglected in siddha colleges and hospitals, as well as in the art of making traditional siddha medicines. They also see the collection and preservation of *ōlaiccuvāṭi* (siddha medical corpus) as a priority. Some of them are involved in deciphering these abstruse texts, in the hope of developing new formulas. They dream of (re)discovering *muppu, kaṭṭu* or *navapāṣaṇam* that have been swallowed up by the past.

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Fig. 3 (above): Traditional Siddha practice.

Fig. 4 (below): Starting a healers' association.

All images courtesy of Christian Sébastia; except fig. 4 courtesy of Maarten Bode.

Notes

1 This article is based on research on various modalities of transmission of siddha medical knowledge, carried out between 2005-2007 at the French Institute of Pondicherry (IFP), which also financially supported this research. For more information about the outcome of this project, see:

Sébastia, B. 2011. 'Le passage des frontières de médecines pas très douces: prévenir l'innocuité ou préserver l'authenticité? Le problème des formulations iatrochimiques dans la médication siddha', *Revue de l'anthropologie des connaissances* 5(1):71-98

Sébastia, B. 2012. 'Competing for Medical Space. Traditional Practitioners in the Transmission and Promotion of Siddha Medicine', in V. Sujatha & L. Abraham (eds.) *Medicine, state and society. Indigenous medicine and medical pluralism in contemporary India,* 165-185. Delhi, Orient BlackSwan

Hausman, G. 1996. *Siddhars, Alchemy and the Abyss of Tradition: 'Traditional' Tamil Medical Knowledge in 'Modern Practice',* unpublished thesis, University of Michigan.

2 Weiss R.S. 2009. *Recipes for Immortality. Medicine, Religion and Community in South India.* New York: Oxford University Press.

3 Langford, J. 1995. 'Ayurvedic Interiors: Person, Space, and Episteme in Three Medical Practices', *Cultural Anthropology* 10(3):330-366 (see p.333)

4 The notification No. V. 26211/4/1976 dated 10.9.76 added to the IMCC Act of 1970 put an end to the registration of traditional medicine practitioners. Only those with degrees from colleges are now allowed to register and officially practise medicine.

5 Siddha doctors prescribe medications that patients must buy from siddha and ayurveda shops. Most siddha doctors do not know how to make medicines except for those who are knowledgeable about siddha *materia medica* and traditional preparation methods (*kuṇapāṭam* – 'pharmacognosy').

Essentialising the body

Unani refers to the Graeco-Arab system of medicine as it has developed in the Indian subcontinent since the 12th century. Unani responded to the western medical absolutism of the colonial period and the communal machinations of the post-colonial period also by essentialising the body. This is true for Unani's representation of the human body as for its body of knowledge. This was in part 'tactical' in the face of a perceived threat of extermination, domination and denigration by the structures of power; and also to critically foreground the constitutive elements of Unani medicine distinct from other forms of medicine, which acquired specific connotations in the given situation. The body became tension ridden. Unani-Muslim, canonical-local, elite-subaltern, colonialism-nationalism-communalism, Ayurveda-Unani-western medicine, are some of the oppositions that formed the constitutive elements. These categories were manipulated in the process of defining the human body and the body of Unani knowledge.

Neshat Quaiser

HOT   Blood   WET

Yellow Bile   The Unani Humors   Phlegm

DRY   Black Bile   COLD

Inset:
Unani modernizer Hakim Ajmal Khan (1868-1927) who belonged to the Sharifi family.
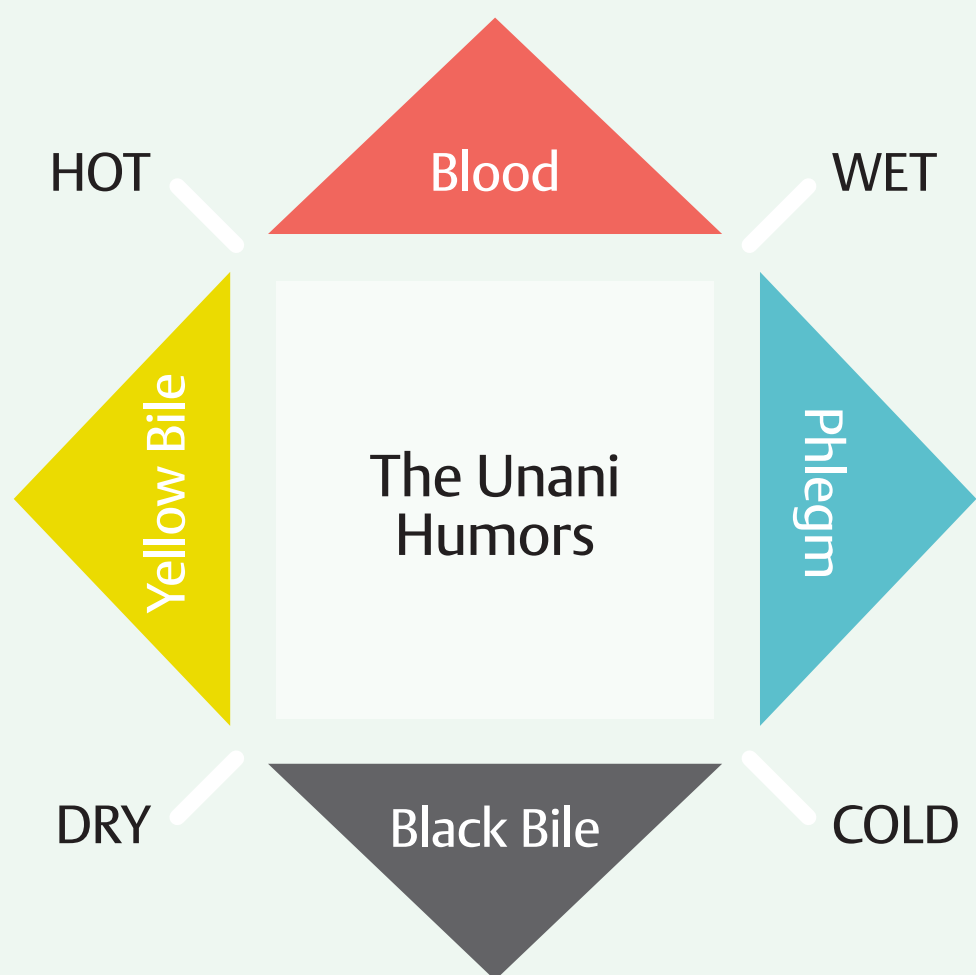
UNANI MEDICINE IN INDIA has always been a dispersed medical practice with broadly two parallel streams – a canonised and elite form and a more relaxed and heterogeneous subaltern form often challenging the elite medical authority. From the dominant literate perspective, in the public, political and professional sphere Unani's canons and its social identity became important tools in essentialising the body in relation to western medicine during the colonial period. Logic was that a deeply canonised western medicine, promoted by the state, was to be countered by an equally authoritatively canonised non-colonial medicine. According to this same rationale, in the post-colonial period it was Ayurveda that was to be similarly countered, but then with regards to its communal politics. Culture, economy and identity formation became organising principles in this process.

Essentialising Unani's history
The origin and history of Unani and its Indian connections emerged as a critical site to essentialise the body to counter the colonial onslaught. The past was deployed to create a space where the battle could be fought for the present. Hippocrates, Greek philosopher-physician and founder of canonised Unani medicine, established that disease was a natural process and that the chief function of the physician was to aid the natural forces of the body. His chief contribution to the medical realm is the humoral theory. Galen (131-210 AD), after Hippocrates, is considered to have consolidated its foundation on which Arab physicians like Abu Bakr Muhammad bin Zakariyya Ar-Razi (Rhazes) (850-925 AD) and Abu 'Ali Husain bin Abdullah bin Sina, popularly known as Ibn Sina, (Avicenna) (980-1036 AD) built the contemporary structure. It was consistently claimed that Ibn Sina's Qanun (Canon Medicinae) was the most authoritative medical work in European medical institutions for five centuries. Thus, western medicine was projected as an extension of Unani.

Improved and systematized by Arab Scholars, Unani medicine arrived in India in the 12th century. Here Unani was further developed and it flourished throughout the Indian subcontinent, becoming immensely popular among the great masses. Even after the advent of western medicine, Unani's popularity continued. Despite its Muslim connection, Unani was never Islamic but inclusive in its nature. Nevertheless, Unani's supposed Islamic identity was strategically employed as a significant component in essentialising its body in the colonial and post-colonial period. Thus, despite Unani's inclusive approach, theoretical openness, and wish to 'renew' itself in the face of theoretical protectionism of western medicine and Ayurveda's claimed nationalistic and indigenous exclusiveness, the body was essentialised both canonically and syncratically.

Essentialising Unani's ontology
Unani's fundamentals also became a potent site to essentialise the body in its resistance to both western medicine and Ayurveda. The fundamentals of Unani are based on humoral theory which emphasizes the body's internal capacity to remain healthy and fight disease. This differs from the germ theory of western biomedicine, where germs threaten the body as external agents. In its opposition to British colonial monopoly on medical know-ledge Unani essentialised the body and used the externality of germs as a metaphor. Like germs attacking the body from the outside, western medicine invaded India's geographical body and the bodies of individual Indians.

Every person is supposed to have a unique humoral constitution that represents his healthy state. To maintain the correct humoral balance the body has the ability of self-preservation and adjustment called Quwwat-e-Mudabbira

[medicatrix naturae]. Medicines and diets are employed to maintain or restore humoral balances. Unani has laid down six essential prerequisites for the prevention of diseases known as Asbab-e-Sitta Zarooriya: air; food and drink; bodily movement and repose; psychic movement and repose; sleep and wake-fulness; and excretion and retention. These fundamentals were crucial and useful as distinct markers to essentialise the body by Unani, in opposition to the colonial and communal politics of western medicine and Ayurveda respectively.

Essentialising Unani as anti-colonial
With the onset of colonialism, medicine became a hotly contested zone and emerged as a crucial colonial tool of domination. We find a twin process of domination of western medical knowledge and resistance to it. However, despite indigenous systems being declared 'static' and 'irrational' by the colonial authorities, it was India's indigenous systems of medicine that treated most medical issues of colonial India. Despite this fact, medicine did not figure crucially on the nationalist agenda, with Indian nationalists displaying a very lukewarm response to the renewal of Unani.

Unani's opposition to western medicine during the colonial period was grounded in a deep sense of injustice – committed by western medical absolutism. The upholders of Unani emphasised characteristics of Unani, such as its belief that knowledge is a shared heritage, its inherent opposition to the logic of the capitalist market, and its anti-colonial signature. In the colonially structured situation of domination and denigration Unani thought it necessary to essentialise its body of knowledge and its conceptual-isation of the human body by delineating its ontological borders, its history and its contribution to the making of western medicine.

Locating medical domination and resistance

The social historian Projit Bihari Mukharji, in his influential work *Nationalizing the Body* (2009/2012), through an excellent exploration of the social world of Indian practitioners of western medicine –the *daktars* –has argued that western medicine was absorbed and vernacularised within society in British Colonial Bengal, and as it was not solely guided by the colonial state it did not remain 'western'. Western medicine was practised by postgraduates of the Calcutta Medical College, as well as by all sorts of people such as dressers, compounders, and quacks, and all were accepted as *daktar*. But this did not suggest any ontological distinction between *daktari* and biomedicine –what they practised was still western medicine. Vernacular forms of the word 'doctor', such as *daktar, dagdar, and daktari, dagdari, angrezi dawa* [English medicine], etc., did not make it local or native. The middleclass Bengali *daktar* constructed his identity in the image of a western doctor, with all the visible signs of authority, and also through the ways in which people, including uneducated ones, imagined doctors and biomedicine, which was certainly not like any other local medicine, but decidedly English medicine. And if *daktar* had a fluid identity as Projit argues, so too did the *hakims* [Unani practitioners]. Along with trained *hakims* there were large numbers of Unani practitioners without any formal training and without a license, such as *a'ttars* [apothecary] and *pansari* [grocer].

When in need, people consider all sorts of medicine and healing practices that are accessible and affordable. Biomedicine was used because it was popularised and made accessible. After all, like the Permanent Settlement, Fort William College, English Education, *babus, sahibs, mems,* new judiciary, or Indians in the army and the police, western medicine became a reality to them. Yet there was almost no scope for reciprocal sharing. Local, traditional medical knowledge and healing practices were declared irrational, unscientific, and inauthentic. Heterogeneity of healing practices was to be replaced by western medicine's absolutism. The process of the absorption of western medicine in Indian society was linked to the colonial ideological state apparatuses where knowledge was intrinsically linked with power.

But to argue that there existed a neatly drawn bipolarity between western medicine and Indian forms of medicine, would not be true. For instance, in the case of Unani we find a 'simultaneity' of resistance-learning-renewal, and contextually propelled issues such as what counts as quackery, and the controversy over medical registration and medical reform. This constituted a complex whole fuelled by the spread of and challenge from western medicine.

Essentialising Unani post-colonially
Unani in the post-colonial situation is intrinsically linked with its colonial contexts. With the defining event of India's first struggle for independence in 1857, colonial India's various social spheres were increasingly communalised, and medicine too did not remain untouched, resulting in Ayurveda and Unani being projected, respectively, as the markers of Hindu and Muslim interests and identities. 1857 also radically altered the social lives of the Muslim high caste elite who later emerged as the visible propagators of Unani. Efforts to bring Unani and Ayurveda together on an anti-colonial platform collapsed soon after the partition of India in 1947.

In post-colonial India, colonial and post-colonial time zones collapsed into one. In both periods the nature and manner of complaints are strikingly similar. However, with a change in contending parties –from Unani vs. western medicine in the colonial period to Unani vs. Ayurveda in the post-colonial state. The past is constantly referred to in a critique of Unani's present

situation. In the post-colonial period Ayurveda was projected as indigenous and as the only Indian medicine representing the spirit of India, whilst Unani became an outsider, inextricably linked with Muslims who partitioned the sacred body of mother India (see Hardiman on indigeneity and global market). However, in addition to communal politics, several other dimensions such as economy, market and new identity came into play in the post-colonial situation.

For the post-colonial health and medicine related state policies the Chopra committee, formed towards the end of colonial rule to address the problems of Indigenous Systems of Medicine, became an important benchmark. State policy in the initial years after 1947 was influenced by the recommendations made by this committee's report (1948), particularly by what it had to say on integration or synthesis of the three systems of medicine –Unani, Ayurveda and western. The Chopra Committee was followed by the C. G. Pandit and D.T. Dave Committees. However, most of their recommendations were concerned with Ayurveda, not so much with Unani. These recommendations were opposed by Unani practitioners as they were seen as a way to ultimately destroy Unani. They were also seen as a testimony of discrimination against Unani in the communally hostile post-colonial atmosphere where the Indian state appeared to be favouring Ayurveda. Once more Unani's independent identity was negated and essentialising Unani became necessary.

In 1969, systematic research in indigenous systems of medicine began with the establishment of the Central Council for Research in Indian Medicine and Homeopathy (CCRIMH) by the Government of India, but in 1979 the Central Council for Research in Unani Medicine (CCRUM) came into existence because votaries of Unani felt subsumed within the CCRIMH structure. In 2009 the CCRUM consisted of twenty-three research centres across thirteen Indian states. Now there are forty-one recognised Unani colleges, spread over twelve states, including the National Institute of Unani Medicine in Bangalore. Unfortunately, compared to India's Ayurvedic infrastructure, the number of Unani institutions is still miniscule.

Essentialising Unani in response to the market
In the given atmosphere of statist and non-statist medical communalism Unani manufacturers complained that the manufacturing and marketing of Unani products became adversely affected causing serious impediments to the growth of Unani as a distinct form of medical knowledge. The Indian state was accused of discriminating against Unani as the following quotes illustrate: "After 1947 unani, its medicine and manufacturing has declined and weakened due to the policies and attitude of the people who hold power", and "ayurveda is making steady progress under the patronage of government" (Quaiser, 2012b).

Notwithstanding, Unani has in recent years made vigorous endeavours, beyond the mode of complaining, and has entered the arena of the competitive market for standardised products and is succeeding in popularizing Unani. This has added market driven demands, particularly since the World Health Organization listed Unani as one of the medical systems to be employed to achieve its goal 'Health for All by 2000'. In its attempts to enter the competitive medicines market, Unani has been reinventing its traditions in post-colonial India. To compete and cope with the adverse situation, Unani traditions of recent origin have been given continuity through the historical past with the objective to establish legitimacy and authenticity in the light of debates on alternative medicine and medical pluralism.

Various strategies such as free Unani camps, the establishment or restructuring of Unani manufactories, new marketing strategies such as newspaper and billboard advertising, television commercials, promotional short films, solicited governmental support, the creation of foreign markets, the establishment of wholesale agencies in different cities –all have been adopted to compete particularly with Ayurveda. Competition among different Unani manufacturing companies has also become a reality. This has clearly caught the public imagination and has attracted users of Unani medicine beyond its traditional constituency.

Survival, protection, prejudice, market and profit, all got mixed up and produced a complex whole. In the present context, market competition and profits occupy a significant space in Unani's imagination and representation. The mass-scale production and marketing demanded a government license, which became a marker of authenticity. However, the government rules regarding the manufacturing of Unani medicines are simultaneously opposed because rules for the production and sale of biomedical pharmaceuticals cannot be applicable to Unani products. This issue continues to be a source of both opposition and solidarity among Unani manufacturers and other stakeholders. This resentment, combined with comparative market strategies, has further advanced the process of essentialising the distinct body of Unani in India.

Interestingly, despite statist and non-statist communal prejudices there is a certain amount of collaboration between Unani and Ayurveda at the popular level of patients and practitioners as both *hakims* [Unani practitioners] and *vaids* [Ayurvedic practitioners] prescribe each others' products –and patients, irrespective of religious affiliations, visit both. The logic behind this is that patients seek a cure and medical practitioners want to make a living.

Essentialising Unani's identity
Medical communalism in post-colonial India resulted in a crucial need to essentialise the body of Unani's self in terms of a new Muslim-Unani identity vis-à-vis the 'other', represented by Ayurveda and the Indian state. Essentialising the body of Unani became a battlefield, but it also produced an enclosure when the adversary could not be combated. In the face of communal prejudices, seemingly strange arguments were marshalled in the process of essentialising the body of Unani. Take for example the 'establishment' of links between religious affiliations and the incidence of certain diseases. At one moment it was argued, with reference to a news item in the press, that if Hindus practised Unani medicine and concurring ways of life they would not be afflicted with stomach and gastric cancer. In the same vein are arguments such as "Profession of *tibb* [practicing Unani] (…) is not just a method of treatment but can become divine worship", and "Christian missionaries all over the world propagate Christianity through schools and hospitals" (Quaiser, 2012b). Now that Unani has become linked with Islam and Muslims, Unani practitioners and the public at large are also forced to accept this reality at least tactically. The obvious rationale is that if Unani is accepted as a Muslim knowledge system then it could be saved and developed in the age of 'competitive electoral politics' and 'assured safeguards for minorities'. There is evidence to corroborate this survival strategy and the ways in which it is linked to economy. Local and global senses of victimhood have also become involved. Thus, references to Christian missionaries take on a meaning in the context of local-global (real or perceived) prejudices against Muslims. Myths, metaphors and symbols are produced out of everyday experiences as palpable mechanisms to essentialise the post-colonial Unani body.

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Below left: Advert and package for Unani brain tonic.

Below right: Hakim Abdul Hameed, the founder of Hamdard, the largest manufacturer of Unani products.

Resources

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From Vaidyam to Kerala Ayurveda

The transformation of āyurveda under the influence of modernity, as it unfolded in the last century in the south western Indian state of Kerala, has been the subject of several studies. These studies focus mainly on the twin processes of institutionalisation and modernization, and stress the exemplary leadership of P.S. Varier and the cultural and political influence of his institution: the Arya Vaidya Sala, situated in Kottakkal in North Kerala. (fig. 1) Varier and his institutions symbolise modernity marked by scientific temper, technological innovation and entrepreneurship. They are emblematic of the cultural transformation of *vaidyam* [medicine], a formation of interrelated indigenous medical knowledge, into a unified regional medicine, currently known as Kerala Ayurveda.

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Leena Abraham

The making of Kerala Ayurveda

Several socio-political conditions that emerged in the wake of colonialism prepared the ground for this transformation. They include spread of modern education and a print culture, introduction of technology, emergence of new governance systems and more importantly, the rise of social and democratic movements that challenged dominant power structures. This paper discusses some of these factors briefly and highlights the contributions of socio-political struggles by subordinate castes and classes, since the early twentieth century, in institutionalising vaidyam into Kerala Ayurveda.

Until a few decades ago, the term 'vaidyam' encompassed all traditions of indigenous medicine in the Kerala region. *Vaidyans* were learned practitioners of one or more vaidyam traditions such as, for example, *visha vaidyam* [treatments for poisonous bites] or *bala vaidyam* [treatments for children's ailments]. These vaidyam traditions were well established in the region when the Sanskritic textual tradition of āyurveda arrived in the sixth and seventh century. Subsequently the term 'vaidyam' came to denote both the local traditions as well as Sanskritic āyurveda. However, unlike elsewhere in India, a separate caste of *vaidyas* [āyurvedic physicians] did not emerge and the various strands of vaidyam became the domain of specific castes and occupational groups.

Despite their lower ritual and social status among other Brahmin communities the Brahmin *ashtavaidyans* [lit. eight families of Sanskritic vaidyas] of southwest India enjoyed higher social status and political power than other medical practitioners, and staked claim to the canonical āyurvedic tradition. However, textual traditions were also claimed

by subordinate castes such as the Ezhavas. The case of Itti Achuthan, scholar and a trained vaidyan from the Ezhava caste, who was one of the main authors of the 12 volume text 'Hortus Malabaricus' of the late 17th century certainly was not an exception.[1] The vaidyam tradition incorporated both the Sanskrit āyurvedic text *Ashtangahrudayam* as well as regional medical texts such as *Sahasrayogam* and *Chikitamanjari*. Similarly, use of plant based decoctions and medicated oils, and therapeutic techniques such as *Dhara, Pizhichil, Nhavarakizhi, Sirovasti,* which belonged to the local vaidyam traditions, became part of the āyurvedic *pañcakarma procedures.* (fig. 2)

Though Hindu castes and āyurvedic practice were related, the ties were not rigid, as the presence of Christian and Muslim vaidyans testify. However, while the practice of vaidyam transcended class-caste-community boundaries to some extent, it remained strictly gendered. Vaidyam was exclusively a male profession. Only midwifery was conceded to women, of deprived castes and classes.

Towards the end of the colonial era the social configurations of medical practice in southwest India began to change. This was mainly due to socio-political changes under colonialism and nationalist responses to colonial medical policies that discriminated against indigenous medicines. The solution envisaged was institutionalisation of a standardized āyurveda at the national level, forcing reconstitution of regional vaidyam traditions. The emergence of the regional form of 'Kerala Ayurveda' exemplifies such a re-articulation.[2] Kerala Ayurveda is the legitimate āyurvedic form that was created out of the heterogeneous vaidyam, which was delegitimized

in the process of building a pan-Indian āyurveda, in tune with the national identity. The institutionalisation of this new identity led to the decline of the various specialist traditions within vaidyam, reducing their status to that of 'folk medicine'. Although occasionally people seek out the rare expert vaidyan and recall legendary tales of vaidyans, the title 'vaidyan' has lost its social and cultural significance. These transformations represent not only the erosion of indigenous medical knowledge, but also changes in the social profile of traditional medical practitioners under the influence of colonial and postcolonial modernity.

Medicine, modernity and societal responses

Modernity in early twentieth century southwest India was characterised by an expansion of literacy and modern education, spread of social reforms, and mobilisation for political rights involving various castes and classes. A print culture assisted by publishing quickened its pace and created new public spheres for the expression of ideas both old and new. Vaidyam, with its epistemology rooted in empiricist philosophies of Hinduism and Buddhism, influenced by Tantrism and astrology, having codified texts, and its practices structured by caste, class and gender divides,

The
sum of the parts
does not result
in the whole.

As practitioners of Ayurveda, we wholly agree.

The philosophy of holism believes in a way of life that is integrative. Where man is but a part of nature. And harmony, the essence of life.

Which is exactly what we have been emulating, as authentic practitioners of Ayurveda, ever since our inception over 90 years ago. Treating and curing countless patients, from around the globe. With an approach to medicine, and life, that is wholly holistic. Because the principles of Ayurveda are but the philosophy of holism, in practice!

Vaidyaratnam P.S. Varier's
ARYA VAIDYA SALA
(A Charitable Trust)
Kottakkal, 676 503 - Kerala.
Estd. 1902   Tel: (04934) 2216-2219, 2561 - 2564, 2571, 2572. Fax: (04934) 2210.

Ayurveda - The Authentic Way.

Vaidyaratnam P.S.Varier
1869 - 1944

Revisiting the Kerala Ayurvedic sector

This note attempts to critique Kerala's priorities with regards to the Ayurvedic sector by revisiting the latest developments: the merging of traditional Ayurvedic firms with Indian and global companies; the promotion of a 'Kerala brand' of Ayurvedic industrial medicines in the form of a public-private consortium named CARe-Keralam; and the promotion of health-tourism and related industries. It can be argued that the market-centred promotion of Ayurveda leads to a 'pharmaceutical vicious circle', i.e., the commercialization of Ayurveda leads to more of the same. This will hinder the promotion of Ayurveda in public health and divert funds needed for innovative Ayurvedic research. I appeal for a different approach that has Ayurvedic therapies and medicines for specific diseases as its main focus.

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Harilal Madhavan

The corporatization of Ayurveda

Industrial production of Ayurvedic medicines was the main response by Kerala's Ayurvedic sector to challenges such as the increasing demand for Ayurvedic medicines, the decreasing

quality of manual production, and most importantly, the tough competition from the biomedical pharmaceutical industry.[1] Since independence, government policies have aimed at stimulating Ayurveda's industrialization, and in addition,

bio-prospecting in areas such as pharmaceuticals, dietary supplements, cosmetics and other healthcare applications, shows the interest of global industries in exploiting traditional knowledge systems such as Ayurveda. Modern biomedical paradigms of quality control and drug formulation have shaped nationally and regionally based Ayurvedic industries.[2] Over the last few decades, Ayurvedic companies have increasingly marketed medical products for the treatment of 'lifestyle diseases', such as diabetics, osteoporosis, asthma, obesity and also a large number of food supplements, cosmetics and other herbal derivatives, including immunity boosters and aphrodisiacs.

However, in Kerala the Ayurvedic industry mainly produces medicines for the treatment of diseases, and not the cosmetics and nutraceuticals that make up a large part of the production of Ayurvedic manufacturers in other Indian states. In Kerala, there is also a fairly good Ayurvedic public health system. Ayurvedic outpatient facilities are more popular among the public than Kerala's biomedical public health facilities. State patronage before and after independence explains, at least partly, the favourable condition of Ayurveda in Kerala.[3]

An important development is the interest of industrial conglomerates in the brand name 'Kerala Ayurveda', which has led to mergers with Keralean Ayurvedic companies. It appears that the main intention of these mergers is not to establish Ayurvedic health centres, but to enter the business of Ayurvedic health-tourism. Many companies are looking to tap

Socio-cultural transformation of a regional medicine

was drawn into the various currents of modernity and political and institutional mobilisation in complex ways. The dominant view tends to erase the significance of medical reforms initiated by various subordinated social groups through their individual and collective action. In the following section I briefly discuss four constituting developments and pay special attention to political mobilisations as a important formative factor in the re-articulation of indigenous medicine in Kerala.

1. Commercial production
When opportunities arose for commercial production, a number of practitioners across castes and communities came forward and made their 'unique' family medical recipes commercially available and marketed them under their family name. Along with medicines from classical texts, formulations from local texts were also produced and marketed as āyurvedic medicines, catering mainly to a local clientele. Rather than homogenisation, the nascent āyurvedic industry witnessed a process of diversification with multiple players and products.

2. Print culture
The proliferation of Indian medical literature shows the heightened literary activity among vaidyans. By the middle of the 19th century, among books on various subjects published in the local language of Malayalam, books on āyurveda formed the largest subject category. Many vaidyans converted their personal/family manuscripts into printed books, produced their own commentaries and Malayalam translations of Sanskrit texts, and published autobiographical accounts. Ezhava vaidyans made significant contributions to the vast and heterogeneous body of medical literature. By the early decades of the twentieth century southwest India saw many medical journals devoted to traditional medicine such as Danwantari, Vaidyamanjari, Ayurveda and others. These journals published scholarly articles, written by a wide variety of vaidyans, on medical theory and practice, and political discussions on the future of their medicine.

3. Training institutions
Medical schools to train vaidyans were established in southwest India several decades before the first biomedical college was established in the region in 1952. The first modern institution to train vaidyans in Kerala was established in 1890 in response to the request made by the court vaidyan of Travancore state.[3] Between 1918 and 1939 six new schools were started with grants from the princely state of Travancore and by 1940 there were eleven such institutes training vaidyans. Graduates of these schools were employed in the state dispensaries or received grants to set up their own clinics. The princely state of Cochin established an āyurvedic college in 1914 and extended grants to vaidyans. In contrast, token support was offered by the British state in the Malabar region. However, the state support for vaidyam later declined as the newly established institutions of western biomedicine began to claim a larger share of state funds.

Fig. 1 (left): advertisement of the Arya Vaidya Sala.

Fig. 2 (above): Kerala Ayurveda treatment room.

4. Political mobilisation
The support extended by the princely states and the discriminatory policies of the colonial state prompted the political organisation of vaidyans. In 1902 – before the formation of the National Ayurvedic Congress in 1907 – the Ayurveda Samajam was established in Kerala. The activities of other organisations such as the Uttara Kerala Vaidya Samajam and Ayurveda Mahamandalam also inspired vaidyans to establish clinics, dispensaries and training schools, thus producing a vibrant āyurvedic movement in Kerala.

Democratic and reform movements
The political awakening and social reforms inspired especially by the social reformer Sree Narayana Guru, who challenged caste oppression in Kerala society, altered the thinking and practice of the Ezhava vaidyans.[4] Narayana Guru, who practised vaidyam himself, encouraged its pursuit as a profession. Reforms targeted at the practice of Ezhava vaidyans who integrated jyothisham [astrology], bhootavidya [supernatural healing] and mantravadam [healing through chants] with medicine resulted in the separation of medicine and religion as distinct domains of healing. These internal reforms contributed to the secularisation and rationalisation of medicine, which was central to modern institution building.

Further, less known among the various influences on medical transformation is an impetus that came from a section of Ezhavas and other subordinate castes, inspired by the communist ideology. They mobilised and claimed political and institutional space for vaidyam within the modern structures of the postcolonial nation state. Although the first government āyurvedic school started in 1890, Ezhavas and other sub-

ordinate castes, who had traditionally practised medicine, were permitted admission only in 1914, after prolonged protests.[5] In 1939 they demonstrated against the newly formed Kerala University, which refused formal recognition of āyurvedic colleges. The state-wide protest marches and hunger strikes received public support, which forced the university to finally recognise āyurvedic academic departments. Political mobilisation involving both students and teachers continued against the repeated attempts to relocate the college from its spacious and central location to the outskirts of the city. The communists provided the leadership for these struggles. These struggles were efforts to institutionalise āyurveda, by demanding parity in pay from state departments and bureaucratic systems, similar to that of western biomedicine. The āyurvedic institutional development was part of the efforts of subordinate groups to democratise the governance structures of the newly established independent state by aligning it with the larger social and political struggles for equality.

Social reform movements and radical communist movements contributed, albeit in different ways, to the institutionalisation of vaidyam into Kerala Ayurveda. Unfortunately, both these movements failed to acknowledge the historical gender asymmetry in āyurvedic practice and made no efforts to address women's exclusion in their struggles for social justice. The entry of women into the colleges of āyurveda in large numbers became possible only much later, ironically, because of the lowering of āyurveda's social status that was linked to the ascendancy and masculinisation of biomedicine. The current neo-liberal expansion of āyurveda may alter the caste, class and gender configurations in āyurvedic education and practice, and may undermine some of the gains made in the earlier era through broad-based egalitarian visions. Medical knowledge and practice will therefore continue to be important sites for social and political struggles.

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Notes
1 Manilal, K.S. 1996. Hortus Malabaricus and Itty Achuden: A Study on the role of Itty Achuden in the Compilation of Hortus Malabaricus (In Malayalam). Kozhikode: Mentor Books.
2 Abraham, L. 2009. 'Medicine as Culture: Indigenous Medicine in Cosmopolitan Mumbai', Economic and Political Weekly, XLIV(16):68-75.
3 Colonial Kerala consisted of the British ruled Malabar in the North and two princely states: Cochin in central and Travancore in contemporary South Kerala.
4 Cleetus, B. 2007. 'Subaltern Medicine and Social Mobility: The Experience of Ezhavas in Kerala', Indian Anthropologist 37(1):147-172.
5 I am indebted to Dr. Mohanlal for drawing my attention to this particular strand of institutional development.

Towards a pharmaceutical vicious circle?

into this increasing potential of Kerala in health tourism (31% growth in tourist arrivals in 2005). These new developments not only affect the scale of Ayurvedic drug production, but they also influence marketing strategies. Examples are the integration of Ayurveda in elite hospitals and Ayurvedic treatments being offered at the workplace to keep everyone healthy, fit and happy. Corporatization in the form of tertiary healthcare might increase the cost of healthcare due to the utilization of high-end medical technologies. Ayurveda's corporatization also has implications for the insurance industry. The Ayurvedic manufacturing association of Kerala has already requested to have Ayurveda included under insurance coverage. They argue that this will boost the growth of the industry and lower medical costs.[4]

A 'Kerala brand'
There are over 750 small and medium enterprises engaged in the manufacturing and distribution of traditional Ayurvedic and herbal products in Kerala. These firms have expressed a need for communal facilities, such as quality control units, more advanced production technology and the introduction of a joint Kerala brand name for their products. The reason for this is the unhealthy competition among firms and the slowing down of their growth due to increasing production costs, shortage of quality raw materials, a lack of approved standardization procedures, and even unethical marketing and corrupt practices. A change in policy is necessary, which will take a non-conventional approach to promoting and developing the

It must be said that focusing on particular diseases – the so-called 'disease specialization approach' –is a far better strategy than concentrating on how to capture the global market.

sector. Efforts are being made to bring these small Ayurvedic manufacturers onto a common platform to initiate growth. Meetings have been held with Ayurvedic manufacturers, under the auspices of the Kerala infrastructure organization (KINFRA) and the industrial development organization (KSIDC). The parties have arrived at a consensus and intend to form a consortium with the objective of jointly promoting Kerala as a global destination for sourcing Ayurvedic products and services of internationally acceptable standards. This was achieved through the formation of a Special Purpose Vehicle (SPV), namely CARe-KERALAM (Confederation for Ayurvedic Renaissance-Keralam Pvt. Ltd) (fig. 1 see p34). It is assumed that the turnover of the Ayurvedic industry in Kerala of 300-500 million US$ can easily be doubled in size if proper quality control and Good Manufacturing Practices are adopted.

Besides the major firms like Pankajakasthuri, The Arya Vaidya Pharmacy, The Vaidyarathnam Oushadhasala, Nagarjuna, Sitaram, Sreedhareeyam, around 240 companies all over Kerala have joined the campaign, with a considerable share equity. To the total cost of 3.56 million US$, Ayurvedic manufacturers contributed 0.2 million US$. The consortium CARe-KERALAM wants to secure the supply of good raw materials, provide quality control, perform R&D, and market the brand 'Kerala Ayurveda'. CARe-KERALAM will also work on the documentation of Ayurvedic products, which is a pre-requisite for marketing Ayurvedic products (as drugs) in foreign markets. As a first step, the consortium only selects generic Ayurvedic

formulations for branding, and its members receive a brand logo for their products. The organizational structure of this initiative is debatable as top-level decision making still lies with those with the largest share in the consortium.

Tourism promotion and privatization
According to the Kerala State Industrial Development Corporation (KSIDC), the tourism sector is the most profitable investment choice. Investments in Ayurvedic health resorts are especially profitable. KSIDC data shows that in 2009, around 54% of the total loans (1.4 million US$) were diverted to the tourist industry, out of which around 82% went to tourist resorts where Ayurvedic products and treatments are popular. The promotion of Ayurveda in state health tourism started in 1994. Around that time the Kerala Tourism Development Corporation (KTDC) started Ayurvedic health centres in its premium properties, like Hotel Samudra in Kovalam, south of Kerala's capital Trivandrum. From then onwards there has been a conscious effort by the government to promote Kerala Ayurveda as part of tourist packages, through marketing and financial subsidies given to private resorts and other entities. In this way Kerala aims to contribute to the 34 billion US$ Indian healthcare industry.[5] Now most hotels and government guesthouses in Kerala, as well as the state's major biomedical hospitals, have an Ayurvedic wellness centre or a separate Ayurvedic wing.

A narrative review of research in Ayurveda

Ayurveda witnessed a shift towards rational principles in the practice of medicine, at a very early stage in its evolutionary history. The early classical Ayurveda textbooks *(samhitas)* talk about the validation of knowledge and distinguish between real and chance effects of therapy.[1] These works also contain elaborate methods to study properties of drugs, to develop new medical formulations, and protocols to study and understand the occurrence of new diseases.[2] Research, it appears, was therefore in some way ingrained in the tradition of Ayurveda from the very beginning. Yet, there is no evidence of organized research activities in the evolutionary history of Ayurveda, nothing of the kind that can be compared with modern medical research. For centuries, Ayurveda seems to have perpetuated itself as a tradition of practices and knowledge transmitted through apprenticeship or more formal methods of pedagogy, in some instances akin to a university education. Research in the modern sense of the word is a recent development in the field of Ayurveda, it seems.

P. Ram Manohar

THE ENCOUNTER WITH WESTERN MEDICINE sparked the debate in modern times regarding the necessity of research in Ayurveda. For quite some time, staunch traditionalists swore that Ayurveda was time-tested and that there was no scope for any new research. On the other hand, the progressive-minded emphasized that Ayurveda needs to be subjected to the acid test of scientific scrutiny and only what survives can be accepted. The truth seems to lie somewhere in between these two extreme views. Just because Ayurveda has a continuity of tradition spanning many centuries, cannot be reason enough for its authenticity and its acceptance as a whole. An obvious reason is that there have been interruptions in the transmission of Ayurvedic knowledge as well as ups and downs in its evolution. There is evidence that much of the knowledge preserved by oral traditions has been lost in the passage of time. Therefore, it is necessary to revisit Ayurveda and find proper applications of it for present times.

Importantly though, the reductionist methods of modern science cannot be blindly accepted and used as a suitable yardstick to measure the worth of Ayurveda. Perhaps we need to develop methods of evaluation and validation outside the purview of modern science; or scientific methods could be tweaked to make it more appropriate for Ayurveda; or new methods of enquiry and validation could be developed and expanded on the basis of the epistemological premises of Ayurveda itself? In all honesty, the Ayurvedic community has not yet been able to develop a clear perspective of the kind of research needed to give it a push as a credible system of medicine and a knowledge system in its own right.

The beginnings of modern research
The beginnings of modern research in Ayurveda can be traced to the pre-colonial period and the first encounters of Europeans with indigenous healthcare systems in India. During this period, many traditional medical practices like rhinoplasty[3] and smallpox inoculations[4] were documented. The Portuguese physician Garcia Da Orta was the first European to describe drugs from Ayurvedic pharmacopoeias.[5] Hendrick Van Rheede, the Dutch Governor of Malabar, later commissioned the work on the *Hortus Malabaricus,* which documents the medicinal wealth of plants in Kerala, with stunning drawings and notes.[6] Much of the research that followed has been from a medical historical, linguistic and philological point of view. In the span of one-and-a-half centuries scholars like Hoernle, Filliozat, Roşu, Zimmerman, Leslie, Meulenbeld, Wujastyk and others, built a body of knowledge centered around Ayurveda bringing to light many unknown facts about the Indian medical tradition. Jan Meulenbeld's *History of Indian Medical Literature* deserves special mention here because this monumental work comprehensively surveyed the history of Ayurvedic literature like never before.[7] However, much of this research has approached Ayurveda from a historical and philological point of view. I am of the opinion that we do not have good examples of anthropological studies in Ayurveda that capture the richness and depth of India's living medical traditions that survived into modern times.

Though India's first prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru emphasized the need to initiate research in Ayurveda with inputs from modern science, and the father of the nation Mahatma Gandhi also pointed out the need to validate the practices of Ayurveda, it took a long time for independent India to establish organized and formal mechanisms for systematic research in Ayurveda. Even today, much is still unprocessed in terms of the quality and direction of the research initiatives in the field of Ayurveda.

Today's research
Today's institutional research environments for Ayurveda are broadly of three kinds. The first constitutes postgraduate and doctoral programs in Ayurveda educational institutes. Here Ayurveda students learn the first lessons of research. The compilation of research theses deposited in the Ayurveda schools have revealed a large number of titles ranging from literary to experimental and clinical research.[8] Much of this research seems to be flawed in methodology and quality, and barely a handful is ever published or scrutinized by peers in the field. The apex for research is the Central Council for Research in Ayurvedic Sciences (CCRAS)[9] run by the Government of India, with various units spread out in the length and breadth of the country, constituting the second environment for research in the government sector. The Council has many publications to its credit, conducts research in specialized areas, and also funds research done at other organizations through grants offered under an extramural scheme. The Council is, however, criticized for not generating outputs that could actually have an impact on the global scientific community at large. The third category of research institutions are in the private sector, undertakings that are mostly attached to the pharmaceutical industry and engaging in research related to quality control and standardization of commercially manufactured Ayurvedic medicines. Many such research units are recognized by the Government of India as SIROs (Scientific and Industrial Research Organizations). An example is the Dabur Research Foundation. In a limited way, modern scientific institutions provide a fourth environment for research on Ayurveda.

What is absent is systematic research on the fundamentals of Ayurveda, especially with a focus on the epistemological premises of Ayurveda. Modern positivist scientific research on Ayurveda was for a long time more or less centered on ethnobotany and ethnopharmacology. Ayurvedic pharmacopoeias were seen as a rich source of information that could provide leads for the development of new drugs with the help of modern drug discovery protocols. Ethnobotanical surveys

In Ayurveda, more than often, it is a case of understanding how medicines already-in-use work, rather than developing new drugs that have never been used by humans, and therefore need testing.

The elevation of Ayurveda as Unique Selling Proposition (USP) of Kerala Tourism, has increased the number of Ayurveda massage centres in the major tourist destinations of the state. Around 58 hotels other than Ayurvedic resorts, including five-star and four-star hotels that offer Ayurveda as a luxury package, also applied for partial funding last year. The Government of Kerala endorses a number of Ayurvedic centres by labelling them as *Green Leaf* or *Olive Leaf*. These centres enjoy interim service tax exemptions and tax holidays. However, from the medical tourism literature we know that Ayurvedic treatments have too often been adapted to cater to the preferences and requirements of tourists. It is also known that these establishments sometimes charge exorbitant prices. In a market driven-economy, where cost is always equated with quality, these prices may mislead many who come to Kerala for good quality Ayurvedic treatments.

Changing focus
The Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007-12) aimed to integrate the Indian medical systems Ayurveda, Yoga, Unani, Siddha, Homeopathy and Sowa-Rigpa (AYUSH) into public healthcare and to improve their accessibility. For this purpose the money invested in AYUSH was tripled to 705 million US$, compared to the preceding Five Year Plan in which 12.6% was allocated to industry. In addition to the core areas such as education, research, industry, and medicinal plants, the Eleventh Plan has added four target areas: mainstreaming AYUSH in public health; upgrading technology used by the AYUSH industry;

giving assistance to Centres of Excellence; and revitalizing and validating local or folk expressions of AYUSH. The complete negligence of Ayurveda in recent health policy documents, zero efforts to implement the strategy of the central Indian government (National Rural Health Mission) to co-locate Ayurvedic and biomedical facilities in Kerala, and failing to incorporate Ayurveda in public health, shows the commercial bias of the State of Kerala. Ayurveda has not been consciously included in any of the recent public health programmes, but an innovative health system approach must be more inclusive and recognize the worth of plural medicine. When indigenous medical systems are taken into account, inequality in healthcare utilization can be minimized.[6]

Interventions in Ayurveda should focus on how the local market can be supplied with affordable Ayurvedic medicines and treatments. The upgrading of Ayurveda must not completely depend upon the demands of the world market. Ayurvedic

Fig. 1: CARe KERALAM cluster.

medicine could have a large domestic market if only the industry would provide the public with better quality medicines at affordable prices. The argument promoted by the consortium CARe-KERALAM is that Ayurveda needs to first capture the world market through its health supplements and proprietary products, which will subsequently bring demand for Ayurvedic drugs. Unfortunately, the consortium's decisions are made by a select core group, and so the interests of a large number of small Ayurvedic manufacturers are not being adequately addressed.

What is really needed in Kerala's Ayurvedic sector is a favourable research environment for manufacturers and public laboratories to develop drugs for the treatment of diseases in areas where Ayurveda has shown good results, such as *chikunguniya*,[7] dengue fever, arthritis, and respiratory ailments, among others. In addition we need to identify future potential focus areas, including palliative care and paediatrics. In conclusion, it must be said that focusing on particular

listed medicinal plants used by indigenous medical traditions and attempts were made to isolate the active molecules to discover so-called new chemical entities. The discovery of *reserpine,* derived from the plant *Rauwolfia serpentina,* was hailed as the blueprint for similar breakthroughs in the future. Much of the Ayurvedic research in institutes across the country still follows similar lines, although these efforts have not led to any major achievements in drug development. The Golden Triangle Initiative under the New Millennium Indian Technology Leadership Initiative (NMITLI) is an attempt to bring traditional medicine, western biomedicine and modern positivist science together to spark new pathways in drug development, based on clues from traditional medical systems like Ayurveda. The Golden Triangle Project is being implemented through high level bodies, including the Central Council for Research in Ayurvedic Sciences (CCRAS), and has created limited possibilities for modern scientists and Ayurvedic physicians to work together, but has yet to make any major impact.

Promising research initiatives
There are some initiatives of Ayurvedic research in modern times that have attempted to look at the problem of research in Ayurveda from a different perspective. The reverse pharmacology approach propounded by the Indian pharmacologist Ashok Vaidya emphasizes that research in Ayurveda should begin at the

diseases –the so-called 'disease specialization approach' – is a far better strategy than concentrating on how to capture the global market. The existing fixation on the world market can only lead to the commodification, concentration and corporatization of Ayurveda in Kerala, and will ultimately lock Ayurveda into a vicious circle of mere overproduction of alternative pharmaceuticals and nutraceuticals.

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clinic and proceed to the lab, unlike the process in biomedicine where drugs are first developed in the lab and then applied to clinical practice. Ashok Vaidya also highlighted the need for pharmaco-epidemiological studies in Ayurveda, because a large number of people in past and present use Ayurvedic medications. In Ayurveda, more than often, it is a case of understanding how medicines already-in-use work, rather than developing new drugs that have never been used by humans, and therefore need testing.

It is interesting to see that modern research initiatives are also shifting from drug development to validation of the core concepts of Ayurveda. The Ayurvedic concept of physical constitution known as *prakriti* has been subjected to scientific studies with a view to establish a genomic basis, or identify biochemical markers, that can help to characterize a particular body's constitution.[10] The surgeon, professor M.S. Valiathan, initiated ASIA (A Science Initiative in Ayurveda) as a novel approach to the scientific validation of Ayurveda, which shifts attention from drugs to concepts. ASIA attempts to validate key concepts that exemplify Ayurvedic thinking, including: *dehaprakriti* (physical constitution), *rasashastra* (the manufacturing and application of metallic compounds in therapy), *dravyaguna shastra* (Ayurvedic pharmacology), *pancakarma* (five-fold therapy), *shodana* (bio-cleansing of the body) and *rasayana* (anti-ageing therapies). The ASIA project has also led to a few publications in high impact journals. The Department of Science and Technology (DST) now invites research pro-posals for projects to be implemented under a scheme known as Ayurvedic Biology, which draws its inspiration from the idea that ancient Ayurvedic insights can open new avenues of knowledge in modern biology.

The Ayurvedic community has in fact taken some significant leaps by publishing a few journals that have found their way into international research databases, including PubMed and Scopus.[11] Unfortunately, many low quality journals have now also mushroomed, taking advantage of online publications platforms. In the last few years at least two research databases have been initiated to increase access to published research papers on Ayurveda; one is hosted by the Department of AYUSH, known as the AYUSH Research Portal (http://ayushportal.ap.nic.in/); the second was developed by AVP Research Foundation, with funding from CCRAS, and is known as DHARA - Digital Helpline for Ayurveda Research Articles (http://www.dharaonline.org/). The former is a repository of research papers and other official documents related to Ayurveda (or other AYUSH systems), whilst the latter deals exclusively with research papers published in indexed journals.

A careful study of the published research papers revealed that literary research and pre-clinical research dominates over other types of research. Clinical research is comparatively lagging behind and clinical case studies are surprisingly meager. There has been an exaggerated attempt to replicate the biomedical model of Randomized Controlled Trial (RCT) to evaluate Ayurvedic medicines and treatments, but study designs are often faulty and holistic Ayurvedic treatments undergo piecemeal evaluations, with the result that research on Ayurveda is far removed from real-life situations.

Last year, one clinical trial stood out and was hailed as a possible model for future studies on Complementary and Alternative Medicine (CAM). This study, which received the Excellence in Integrative Medicine Research Award from the European Society of Integrative Medicine, was conducted with a research grant from the National Institutes of Health (USA), fostering a collaboration between the University of Washington (Seattle), the University of California (Los Angeles) and The Ayurvedic Trust (Coimbatore, India). The study, led by the leading rheumatologist, Daniel Furst, challenges the conclusions of previously published systematic reviews on the efficacy of the Ayurvedic treatment of rheumatoid arthritis. Through a rigorously conducted pilot study Furst and his colleagues show that complex individualized Ayurvedic treatments for rheumatoid arthritis may be equivalent in efficacy to the biomedical arthritis drug *methotrexate.* The Ayurvedic treatments, however, have fewer adverse effects.[13]

In recent times, there is much talk about evaluating complex systems of therapy through Whole Systems Research (WSR) approaches, which offer the possibility of looking at the complex multimodal nature of Ayurvedic interventions in their totality. Are we finally reaching a point where modified and reworked western methods of research can be effectively adapted to conduct meaningful research on Ayurveda? While WSR approaches are certainly more flexible and open than RCTs, it is not clear at this moment whether these methods will serve anything more than the purpose of absorbing useful elements of systems like Ayurveda into the framework of integrative medicine. These methods have evolved out of a biomedical wish to understand, evaluate and incorporate complementary and alternative medicines within its gambit. If Ayurveda is to evolve in its own right as an independent approach to healthcare, then it will have to look for methods of research and validation from within, something that will enable Ayurveda to engage with modern medical thought and at the same time develop and evolve from the foundations of its own epistemological and ontological premises.

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Globalisation of Ayurvedic massage

Psychiatry treats mental illness through biochemical manipulation. Psychoanalysis and psychology focus on developmental factors, personality structures and social relationships. The social sciences highlight social hierarchies and the stress caused by major socio-economic changes. Various modern healing disciplines have differing opinions about the mind and mental problems – each emphasizing biological, psychological, and social factors – and each drawing their own particular line between body and mind. This article takes a brief look at the Ayurvedic theory of the mind and shows how it could explain contemporary trends in health behaviour.

V. Sujatha

1: Ayurvedic stress treatment

Ayurvedic theory of the mind

Samkhya philosophy, one of India's six classical philosophies on which Ayurveda draws, suggests that *manas* – of which the English word 'mind' is a rough equivalent – is a subtle form of matter. Three characteristics of *manas*, discussed in Ayurvedic texts, show that the mind is a function rather than an organ, and an entity that is connected to organ systems. Such a diffuse view of mind allows Ayurveda to accommodate personality and social factors in its theory of body metabolism, though the psychological and social factors may not be set out in detail. Firstly, *manas* is inert and inactive till it is roused into action by impulses coming from the sensory apparatus. *Buddhi* [intellect] is the mental faculty that judges sensory inputs through comparison and memory. But the experience of cognition is only complete when the *atma* [soul] becomes involved too. If any of the components of the chain, namely, senses-mind-intellect-soul, are disconnected, cognition becomes impossible. So mind is that faculty that receives sensory inputs and facilitates the transformation of sensory inputs into knowledge. Secondly, mind is connected to the sensory organs, but unlike the sensory apparatus (namely, eye, ear, nose, mouth and skin) it is not represented by a specific organ. In the Ayurvedic perspective mind is therefore not part of the sensory apparatus, though it is dependent on them for carrying out its functions.[1] The understanding of mind as an intermediary faculty between the sensory apparatus on the one hand and the intellect and the soul on the other, suggests a 'continuum' between body and mind, rather than a dichotomy. Thirdly, despite the definition of mind as a function rather than an organ, Ayurveda explains that one of the seven bodily tissues referred to as *mastishka* [brain] is the seat of *gnanendriyas* [sensory-cognitive organs] and *karmendriyas* [action organs] and that it receives nourishment from food intake. Hence in the Ayurvedic view, organs that are gross and physical *[bhautika]* may have non-physical or abstract *[abhautika]* effects, and the mind is one such a subtle entity. It is not a mere property of the brain, nor is it located only in the brain.

According to the Ayurvedic theory, aberrations or morbid factors called *doshas,* are the primary cause of diseases. A dosha can be defined as an alteration in various bodily parameters triggered by changes in metabolism, namely, the process of digestion and distribution of food essence to various tissues, conditioned by a combination of gross factors, like food, and subtle factors, like stress and anxiety. Hence, the excessive consumption of unwholesome food could cause psychological problems and the excessive indulgence in mental activities, like calculation, may aggravate bodily symptoms. Further in the Ayurvedic framework, body and mind could be simultaneously affected by endogenous and exogenous events, and the one is not deemed more basic or foundational than the other. Excessive use of one particular sensory faculty could vitiate both somatic and mental doshas, for example, excessive television/monitor viewing. Disturbance of doshas through metabolic disorders could cause emotional disturbances that could trigger further problems in metabolism. Thinking of the body and mind as a continuum, characterised by simultaneity, enables Ayurveda to incorporate the relevance of psycho-social stress into its theory of disease causation. Interestingly, this Ayurvedic view is also seen in other Asian healing traditions.

Somatic treatment of mental problems

Research on healing traditions in Asia and their approach to psychosocial problems and studies from cross-cultural psychiatry find that there is a tendency among Asian patients approaching healers to present somatic or bodily symptoms in detail even when they face mental problems. In his ethnographic account of patients of a Sinhalese Ayurvedic practitioner the medical anthropologist Gananath Obeyesekere describes how a twenty year old youth, the eldest in a family of seven siblings, complained of burning sensations in the stomach, pain in shoulders and back, and anxiety.[2] His mother, who accompanied him during the consultation, mentioned her son's extreme rage against his parents and outsiders. The Ayurvedic physician attributed the onset of the young man's symptoms to a severe episode of diarrhoea. While the anthropologist interpreted the cause of the young man's aggression to hostility towards a daunting father and the absence of heterosexual outlets, the Ayurvedic physician saw familial conflict as a symptom and not as the cause of the disease which he interpreted as *'rakta pitta'* [lit. blood affected by vitiated bile] and translated it to the English as hysteria. After a sermon on respect for parents, the physician administered emetics to cleanse the bowels along with drugs and dietary prescriptions to correct the disturbed *pitta* [bile]. In his analysis of this medical encounter Obeyesekere commented on the absence of psychodynamics in the Ayurvedic cosmology where psychological problems are attributed to physiological dysfunctions.

This tendency to somatise psychosocial problems seems to have permeated popular understanding of mental ailments in the Indian subcontinent. This is confirmed by Kleinman[3] through cross-cultural studies in psychiatry, comparing China and North America. Asian patients were found to narrate bodily symptoms like pain, indigestion, giddiness, loss of appetite, constipation and so on, when they suffer from psychosomatic ailments. Arthur Kleinman – psychiatrist turned medical anthropologist – finds this to be in sharp contrast to his North American patients who possess a rich vocabulary for expressing mental states like fear, grief, sadness, anxiety. They clearly separate these mental states from bodily symptoms. Medical practices in China also endorse the tendency to somatise psychic ailments. Here the focus is on physiological symptoms while psychological symptoms are taken care of in religious rituals, instead of counselling or psychotherapy, as is often the case in the West. Studies report that emetics, purgatives, dietary restrictions and external applications are often used by traditional physicians to treat ailments that are accompanied by what are regarded as 'mental' or 'psychological' problems such as worry, anxiety, agitation, anger and sadness and so on.

Ayurveda in the global health market

Despite the widespread availability of counselling services, there is a burgeoning demand for alternative therapies offering body care for a host of psychosomatic illnesses in the global north. Medical pluralism, or the possibility of choice of systems of therapy in medical treatment, has become the reality in the health market the world over. Of specific interest to us is the growing demand for various body-based methods like massages, medical oil applications, douches and fomentations. In the global Spa industry patients and clients receive Indian medical applications such as body massages. *Pancakarma* treatment [five actions on the body] that consists of techniques like purgation, sudation, oil applications, accompanied by dietary regulations, constitute the bulk of what passes off as Ayurvedic medicine in the elite Maharishi Ayurveda centres in Europe and the US.[4] However, this shift from mind-centred techniques, such as meditation, to somatic practices is quite recent.

The holistic health movement in the West started sometime in the late sixties. From the 1960s onwards the disillusion with corporate lifestyle and crass materialism propelled a search for alternative philosophies of life. Eastern mysticism came into the limelight. Counter cultures like the hippie movement embraced meditation and adopted spiritual gurus. But it was not until the eighties that the focus shifted from mysticism and meditation for the alienated mind, to care of the body. It is well known that varieties of body massages are much more popular in the alternative healthcare facilities than sheer meditation. Spiritual discourses no longer attract many clients. This is also evident from the fact that, since the 1990s, in India itself post liberal spiritual gurus have added Ayurveda as an essential element in their package of spiritual commodities. A case in point is Sri Sri Ravi Shankar who has a large ashram near the South Indian metropolis of Bangalore which caters to well-to-do Indians.

My point is that the body is increasingly becoming central to healing practices meant to address emotional problems like stress, anxiety, loss and depression and a host of other psychosomatic problems. It is also important to note that there is a shift in the content of mystical discourses as well. Early on they spoke of freedom from worldly bondages, now they speak of freedom from stress in order to fit well into the needs of contemporary work culture. The popularity of body-based therapies like *pancakarma*, massage, yoga and new diet regimes in the global North, reflects a need for somatic interventions as a means of handling problems of the mind.

The somatisation of psychological and socio-economic problems by non-elite (Asian) populations is also an exemplification of the same Ayurvedic theory of the continuity of body and mind. Working on the body could certainly be a way of working on the mind – this seems to be the idea behind yoga as well. Studies on body and subjectivity in the Asian martial arts also highlight a special relation between the mind and body, cultivated through body discipline indicating the significance of a body-mind continuum. This article is an invitation to consider that, according to the Ayurvedic understanding, bodily intervention for psycho-social stress is not a culture specific trait of the Asian people, but a fact borne out in the spread of body care therapies in late capitalist societies as well.

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New markets

In their introduction to this penetrating and comprehensive account of changes occurring within Cambodian economy and society, editors Caroline Hughes and Kheang Un outline a process of change: from a situation in which markets were an occasional although useful part of everyday life to a situation in which people consider markets and their ability to engage with them successfully to be the central part of their lives. This change represents the spread of an advanced form of capitalism across a region in which the majority of people had been living pre-capitalist lives and, in true Schumpeterian fashion, means the spread of creative destruction across the land with all the chaos and opportunism that represents.

John Walsh
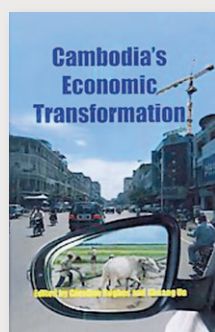
Reviewed publication:
Hughes C. & Kheang Un (eds.) 2011.
Cambodia's Economic Transformation
Copenhagen: NIAS Press,
ISBN: 9788776940836

THESE CHANGES AFFECT all aspects of society, ranging from the relations of production to the relations between people and the representatives of the state and back down to the familial level. In a provocative and amusing concluding chapter, Erik. W. Davis brings an anthropological view to the gift-giving practices of the annual Pchum Ben hungry ghost festival: when city-dwellers, including factory workers, return to rural villages to commemorate the feast, they are greeted with calls of 'Preta' – a term referring to those tormented souls who must be propitiated with gifts but whose altered physiology provides them with pin-hole mouths wholly unable to distinguish between good and bad sustenance. Davis suggests that this is a satirical reversal of the current situation – it is the city-dwellers after all who are bringing back money and consumer goods for their family members – which reflects the deeper truth that throughout history people have emerged from the cities and temples to draw upon the blood of the peasant farmers. If there is a perhaps simplistic conclusion to be drawn from the book as a whole, it is that, notwithstanding all the thoroughgoing changes

brought about by the Great Transformation, power-wielding elites have been able to use them to re-create and re-embed in society the means of extracting resources for their own ends.

Doing business
The principal themes of most chapters in the book concern the ways in which local or national actors adapt themselves to changes in external conditions. Sophal Ear, for example, in a chapter entitled 'Growth in the Rice and Garment Sectors', argues that the nature of the competitive environment depends on the extent to which important local and well-connected elites (who may be considered members of the high-status Oknha class) are already active in the sectors concerned or else are prepared to accept rents from inward-investing corporations and individuals, as joint venture partners. In an Oknha-dominated sector, pretty much the best that can be hoped for is to develop a profitable market position before it must be sold to a local Oknha or representative of such a person. In 'The Privatization of Cambodia's Rubber Industry', Margaret Slocomb continues with her fascinating and important research into the history of that industry since colonial times, and her conclusions seem almost like a melancholic farewell to the trees; recent research has suggested that, despite the large concessions granted to investors in rubber, Cambodian authorities do not consider the sector to offer much potential for the future.

Several subsequent papers address the issue of the importance of Prime Minister Hun Sen's Cambodian People's Party (CPP) to the workings of just about every institution in the country. Of particular interest in this regard is David Craig and Pak Kimchoeun's paper 'Party Financing of Local Investment

Projects: Elite and Mass Patronage', which may be mobilized not just to deliver outputs and win elections, but also "possibly promote wider systemic change". This is a more nuanced approach to the often dismissive approach to client-patron relationships and helps to explain how the system is able to reinvent itself with respect to these conditions. That is because the system fundamentally relies upon personal relationships and the trust than can be generated by these and, as a result, leveraged for use in other areas. This paper supplements Michael Sullivan's earlier contribution on 'China's Aid to Cambodia', which also featured the prominent role of CPP and allied institutions and considered the use of existing and emergent networks in bringing about economic change without necessarily leading to progress in social conditions.

Labour migration
Other papers focus more particularly on negative effects of both economic change and attempts to bring about changes in Khmer society. Annuska Derks endeavours to provide a balanced view of the export of Cambodian workers, principally to the industrial sectors in Thailand in which high (although variable) demand for labour continues, and which are considered unattractive at the salaries offered. She describes particularly the fishing and fish processing industry in and around Rayong on the Thai Eastern Seaboard where there are, indeed, large numbers Khmer workers. In fact, these workers are able to benefit to some extent from solidarity with their neighbours, who are mostly people in the same condition; Khmer migrant workers in other parts of Thailand face the additional problem that they are often alone in a community and, during the regular outbursts of noisy Thai nationalism that have taken place in recent years, are reluctant to make their identity known to anyone around them. In any case, labour exporting is subject to the usual range of parasitical intermediaries – some would see them as facilitators –who have so often grown from their experience as migrant workers themselves. These are systems from which it is increasingly difficult to break out and end the strengthening spiral of consumption.

While all the papers are appropriately grounded historically, it is notable how little attention, relatively speaking, is given to the Khmer Rouge (or Democratic Kampuchea) period and the warfare and misery of the still recent past. Even though many young people exhibit little appetite for determining exactly what happened and most people involved tend to prefer to maintain silence over their roles, those events at the very least marked a distinct change in ownership and governance systems that affected all forms of economic relations and activities. Even so, this is a well-planned and constructed book that will be of considerable use to anyone interested in contemporary Cambodia and the transformative nature and extent of social and economic change in that country.

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Conceptions of identity in the north

Regional studies are still a rather exotic domain in Korean Studies, as practiced both in the Koreas and abroad. There is very little material on regional and local history. This is especially true for the Northern part of Korea, which for obvious reasons is more remote to most South Korean and foreign scholars who have little opportunity to visit North Korea and even less opportunity to do research there. It seems obvious that the dearth of material on the history of the north published in English is due to that very same reason. Another important factor is the sponsoring of Korean studies by South Korea based institutions, which seems to even more encourage a focus on the South. The book at hand is a step towards remedying these short-comings of the current state of affairs in academic Korean Studies.

Felix Siegmund
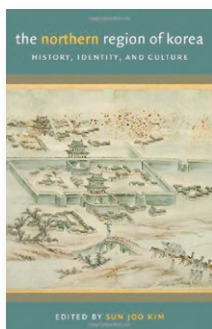
IT NEEDS TO BE MENTIONED that there has been some groundbreaking research on the Northern region in Korean language publications in the last 10 years. This is partly due to the clash of Chinese and Korean interests concerning the Northern region. All sides involved have mobilized resources to bolster their claim on the Northern region. Most well-known among these is the 'Research Project on the History and Present Situation of the Northeast Border' by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences - started in 2002 and organized by the PRC's Academy of Social Sciences. This has in turn lead to Korean reactions, which, especially in South Korea, have resulted in publications on the Northern border and activities by such organizations as the Northeast Asian History Foundation *(Tongbug'a yŏksa chaedan)*. Even long before it became a hot topic for political claims, Manchu history scholars have extensively published on the history of the region – Johannes Reckel and Erling von Mende, for example, being noteworthy among contemporary German language scholars. While there is material available, much of it is not in English. Not a small part of the merit of *The Northern Region of Korea* lies in making available a good state-of-the-art overview on the region in English.

Regional identity
The editor of the volume at hand is Kim Sun Joo, Harvard-Yenching Professor of Korean History, who has already worked on domestic rebellion in the North in the early 19th century. She surely is an outstanding specialist. Indeed, the book seems to already have received a warm welcome by the Korean studies community and the review by Sean Kim (in the Journal of Asian Studies 71/2, 2012) has been very favorable. The volume includes eleven articles by renowned scholars in the field, a total of twelve articles if Kim's programmatic introduction on 'Thinking Through Region' is included. The time that the studies in the volume spans ranges from fifteenth century Chosŏn Korea to nearly contemporary times. The main focus seems to be on late Chosŏn in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which is the period that the majority of the articles deals with.

The topics of the articles can roughly be divided into the categories of foreign relations, regional identity, dialectal linguistics, and some articles on various other topics. It is clear that the topical focus is on questions of regional identity and how the North was viewed by insiders and outsiders. Foreign relations are dealt with in the articles by Kenneth Robinson, 'Residence and Foreign Relations in the Peninsular Northeast During the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', and by Kwon Naehyun, 'Chosŏn-Qing Relations and the Society of P'yŏngan Province During the Late Chosŏn Period'. The articles discuss the Northern region as a place of inter-cultural and inter-national negotiation and exchange.

Regional identity is the topic of the articles by Jang Yoo-seung, 'Regional Identities of Northern Literati: A Comparative Study of P'yŏngan and Hamgyŏng Provinces', and by Jung Min, 'The Shadow of Anonymity: The Depiction of Northerners in Eighteenth-Century "Hearsay Accounts" (kimun)'. Jung does approach the problem from the other end: How do Northerners serve as a mirror for the identity of non-Northerners? The article traces how Northerners appeared in stories and were employed as a literary means to depict the Northern region and the attributes associated with it. Jang on the other hand describes how northern literati defined their identity. The article does point out that there were substantial differences in how literati from different local backgrounds within the Northern region approached this problem.

Conceptions of identity
Sociolinguistics are also strongly represented in the articles by Paek Doo-hyeon, 'P'yŏngan Dialect and Regional Identity in Chosŏn Korea" and by Ross King, 'Dialect, Orthography, and Regional Identity: P'yŏngan Christians, Korean Spelling Reform, and Orthographic Fundamentalism'. Both articles deal with the ideological dimension of regional language phenomena. The connection between regional language and politics and the factors that influence the complex problems stemming from such connections are discussed.

There also are articles on a wide variety of other topics: Yumi Moon's 'From Periphery to a Transnational Frontier: Popular Movements in the Northwestern Provinces, 1896-1904', Bruce Fulton's 'Subversive Narratives: Hwang Sunwŏn's P'yŏngan Stories', Donald N. Clark's 'The Missionary Presence in Northern Korea before WWII: Human Investment, Social Significance, and Historical Legacy', German Kim's and Ross King's 'The Northern Region of Korea as Portrayed in Russian Sources, 1860s-1913', and Mark E. Caprio's 'Images of the North in Occupied Korea'. These articles, while not obviously connected by subject or common approach present a very welcome opportunity to look at different facets of the region from without and within.

The common theme of the articles seems to be the attempt to come to grips with the changing conceptions of identity in the North at different points of the historical process. While this might seem quaint in itself – there surely is no lack of studies on identity – it is done very convincingly. The subject, as well as the current state of publication in the English language on the topic lends itself very well to this approach. The articles blend together and nothing seems forced. The shifting balance of identity between marginal existence as a frontier zone and an existence as an integrated part of the Chosŏn state is portrayed vividly. Also, in our days of jargon-laden publications, the lucidity of the arguments made and the understandable language of all the texts in the volume is noteworthy. One can only congratulate the contributors and the editors for their remarkable success in creating a very informative and approachable book.

Shared identity?
One potential problem can be indentified, however. Possibly the construction of a Northern region in Chosŏn history is not the ideal approach to questions both of relative regional power and of local culture. The situation in the north is so complex that at least parts of its history do defy the image of Northern uniformity that the notion of a Northern region
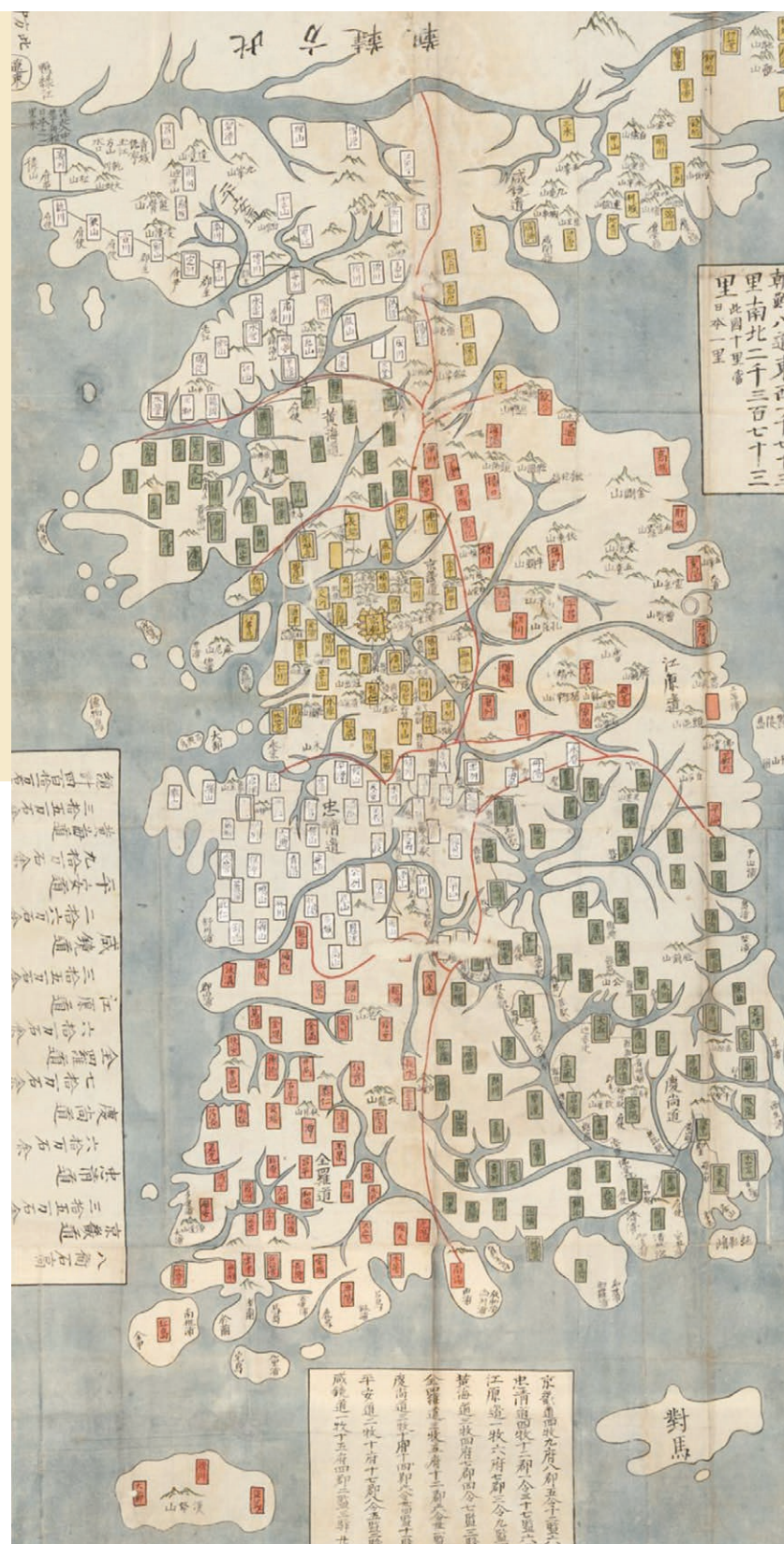
seems to necessarily convey. The article by Jang Yoo-seung seems to point this out in a reasoned way, as the difference between the provinces of Hamgyŏng and P'yŏngan is stressed. Of course, it is entirely justifiable to begin the enormous undertaking of including the North into the landscape of Korean historiography with a simplified regional overlook. However, further studies will come to the point where it will be necessary to look at regional dissonance *inside* of the Northern region as well. Chosŏn time P'yŏngyang – an urban center with its own influential elites and all features of Chosŏn era city life – cannot convincingly be included in the same region as the frontier outpost of Musan or the transit center of Ŭiju on the Korean-Chinese border. Both the Northern elites and the average peasants have little to do with those parts of the Northern society that lived off the trades of smuggling, poaching and other illegal activities. They probably do not share a common identity. Be that as it may, the volume at hand will serve as a solid basis for future studies on these lower-level problems of regional/local identity. In this sense it is a happy coincidence that the articles are covering as wide a field as they do and that they show different approaches and solutions to problems of regional history.

The book is a very welcome addition to the literature about the past of the north of Korea, about which there are only few other works in English. It is full of important information and insightful studies, so that it can serve both as an intro-duction to the historical northern part of Korea as well as an outstanding example of how regional history can be researched and written in a way that shows its role in the supra regional framework that it is embedded in. In this particular respect, the book should also be of interest to scholars of regional history who do not focus on Korea alone.

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Chosŏn chido (1730). Copied in 1730 from an original map drawn ca. 1451, possessed by Matsubara Masaki. Watercolor and ink. Courtesy Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Washington D.C.

Confucius evolving

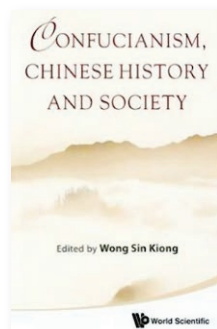In *Confucianism, Chinese History and Society,* the contributors strive to convey a balanced understanding of the Chinese tradition of Confucius as it evolved over the last 2500 years, from ancient times to contemporary application, from the classics into practice, and all within a single book. Edited by Wong Sin Kiong, Associate Professor of Chinese Studies at the National University of Singapore, this collection of essays aims to distinguish the presentation of the subject matter from previous works on the topic that have taken a more historical approach. The essays contained in this collection were originally delivered at the memorial lectures in 1995 for Professor Wu Teh Yao, political scientist, specialist in Confucianism and drafter of the United Nation's Universal Declaration of Human Rights. As the title indicates, the volume comprises mainly of three parts: Confucianism, Chinese history, and Chinese society, which also lucidly summarize the major research fields of Professor Wu.

Hang Lin

Confucianism
The first part opens up with Tu Wei-Ming's essay 'A Confucian Perspective on Human Rights' in which the author first discusses the cultural background of the original conception of human rights and then seeks to explore the relationship of contemporary human rights doctrine to Confucian teachings, in particular the concepts of the in-dividual in relation to community, state, and society. In those societies shaped by Confucianism in Asia, Confucian traditions can be a spiritual source for nation building, social stability, and cultural identity. At the same time, Enlightenment values, including human rights, "have become domesticated as an integral part of their own cultural heritage" (p. 18). Tu does not view this critical issue as merely Asian values versus modern Western values (p. 5-6), but addresses certain Confucian perceptions, such as human self-development and the unity of Heaven and human-ity, to suggest that a Confucian perspective on human rights is worth exploring since it can play an important role in trans-forming 'human rights' into an universal language of humanity.

In the next chapter, 'Nationalism and Confucianism', Wang Gungwu takes Confucian ideas on nation building to examine the origin of nationalism in China, its development in the twentieth century under different conditions, its contributions to modernization, and the difference it has made to the Chinese culture and society. Admittedly, the last century has witnessed a consequential contradiction between nationalism and Confucianism in China. Now that nationalism has returned in China and Confucianism has become respectable again, Wang believes that this historical discrepancy will be solved because the word 'revolution' has now been replaced by 'patriotism' (p. 40), an euphemism of 'nationalism'. Noticing this transformation, Wang insists that state or official Confucianism, which supported imperial China in the past, will never be restored, but personal and social Confucianism remains pervasive and re-emerging as a positive force in efforts in building something akin to a modern civil society in China, including the new perception and definition of nationalism.

As the last chapter of part one, 'Did Confucianism Hinder the Development of Science in China?', Ho Peng Yoke's essay concentrates on the central question: "Was Confucianism the stumbling block that prevented China from a scientific revolution in traditional China?" (p. 49) Ho first refutes the conventional criticism of scholars on Confucius that his attitude and way of thinking hindered the development of science in China. The author further notes that even later Confucians such as Mencius, Dong Zhongshu, and Zhu Xi should not be blamed since they all did not oppose science and their writings covered topics ranging from calendar astronomy, geography, to medicine. For Ho, Confucianism should not be regarded as a hindrance to the advance of science in ancient China, thus he calls for a more detailed and comprehensive understanding of Confucianism, because Confucianism "is not science, nor were its objectives science, but it is also clear that its principles are not anti-science" (p. 63).

History
Part two of the collection, consisting of two chapters by Liu Ts'un-Yan and Chin Ling-Yeong respectively, is devoted to selected episodes in the Chinese history with emphasis on early contacts between China and the world. In 'East Meets West: The Impact on China and Her Response', Liu traces the three major historical periods of Europeans from the West, meeting the Chinese in the East: Marco Polo in the thirteenth century, Matteo Ricci in the sixteenth century, and James Legge in the second half of the nineteenth century. Another essay of this part by Chin, 'Zheng He: Navigator, Discoverer, and Diplomat', focuses on the legendary sailorman Zheng He and his seven large scale expeditions to the Indian Ocean and eastern Africa between 1405 and 1433. These two essays are expected to support the main theme of part one that the comprehension of Confucianism in the modern era requires both studies of the tradition itself and the awareness of constant contacts and interactions of China and the West in a more broad sense. We know that prominent figures such as Matteo Ricci and Zheng He had not only played important roles in the history of Sino-Western communications but also inspired crucial developments in the ideological history of both China and the West. But what are the historical significance of these person-alities? Are there any linkages between these events and the changing perspectives of and on Confucianism? Readers may expect more direct and definite answers from the authors.

Modern society
The later thematic chapters in part three contain some excellent analyses of an extremely wide range of topics from translicual practice in contemporary Chinese cultures, cultural plurality and comparative literature in China, scientific understandings of pedagogical studies, children and childhood in traditional China, to cultural characteristics of major Chinese metropolitan cities. Readers may wonder that most of the essays do not mention Confucianism or provide any reference to Confucian tradition at all. Contributed by scholars on languages, literature, history, and pedagogy, these essays seem at the first sight indeed a bit random and incoherent to each other. On the other hand, in this way the authors also mutely reiterate the point Wang Gungwu makes that the China today is no longer monotonous as in the dynastic era in which state or official Confucianism was the political and cultural orthodoxy (p. 39-41). In fact, the modern Chinese society is not only shaped by its history and tradition, but at the same time it is also subjected to considerable influence of the West.

In this splended volume, the authors take the challenge to analyze certain aspects of the Confucian tradition and to deepen the apprehension of Confucianism and its significance to the Chinese history and contemporary social settings. Given this goal of the collection, however, it would be helpful and convenient for the readers if the scope of the essays could be organized into a more comprehensive order and if the coherence between each chapters could be stated more explicitly. Indeed, in recent years Confucian teachings have been regaining ground both in and outside China as the subject of academic discourse and as an expression of Chinese cultural identity, resulting in a rapidly growing body of scholarship on Confucian relevance to modern China/East Asia. Those who want to acquire a more in-depth insight into the topic may turn to works such as *Confucianism and Human Rights* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998) edited by Wm. Theodore de Bary and Ti Weiming, *Confucianism for the Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) edited by Daniel A. Bell and Hahm Chaibong, Daniel A. Bell's *China's New Confucianism: Politics and Everyday Life in A Changing Society* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008), as well as the very recently published *A Confucian Constitutional Order: How China's Ancient Past Can Shape Its Political Future* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013) by Jiang Qing.

In short, this book will definetely appeal to both scholars of Chinese philosophy and readers generally interested in Con-fucianism and its relevance to contemporary Chinese society. The authors have succeeded in popularizing the Confucian ideas by interpreting them in profound and scholastic ways. For its glimpse of Confucian ideas and for its rethinking of issues related to Confucianism, Chinese history, and Chinese society, *Confucianism, Chinese History and Society* will also be a useful handbook for historians and students of cultural studies.

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Confucius Temple, Beijing, China. Image reproduced under a creative commons license courtesy of Flickr.

ICAS 8 Highlights

The 8th International Convention of Asia Scholars took place in Macau. Hosted by the University of Macau, it was held from 24-27 June 2013 on the vast grounds of the illustrious Venetian Macao-Resort-Hotel. With over 1200 participating scholars originating from 56 countries, the programme included nearly 300 panels, a book and academic exhibition, film-screenings, cultural performances and excursions, and the 2013 ICAS Book Prize award ceremony.

Sonja Zweegers

THIS CONVENTION was co-organised by the University of Macau, the Macao Foundation and the International Institute for Asian Studies in Leiden. Launched in 1997 under the auspices of the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) in Leiden, ICAS is the largest international gathering of Asia scholars to engage in global dialogues on Asia that transcend boundaries between academic disciplines and geographic areas. ICAS takes place every two years and is organised by IIAS in partnership with a local host (university, organisation, city).

For those who could not attend, we have put together some highlights and impressions from the event. This information and more is available at www.icassecretariat.org, where you will also find links to the four-page daily 'ICAS 8 Newsletter', which was produced in cooperation with local newspaper *The Macau Daily Times*. We would like to thank everyone who contributed to the daily newsletters by giving interviews, submitting panel summaries, compiling short articles, and posing for photographs!

Opening
The convention was officially opened on Monday 24 June with a word of welcome from the prime organisers Prof. Tak-Wing Ngo (host organiser, University of Macau and IIAS Professor) and Dr Paul van der Velde (ICAS Secretary at IIAS):

– By hosting ICAS 8, Macao is contributing to building new knowledge about Asia and the global order. Asia is developing its own social theories, methodologies, and concepts applicable not just to Asia, but also to other parts of the world. Thus a more nuanced perception of the world will come into being, which will usher in a more pluralistic and inclusive understanding of humanity.

In the evening the participants of ICAS 8 were able to enjoy a tremendous welcome ceremony involving, among other highlights, a Chinese lion dance - and were addressed by a number of the organisers. Professor Tak Wing Ngo captured the spirit of the convention with his words "Through ICAS we are reviving the role of Macau as a centre for academic, cultural and intellectual exchange". Wim Stokhof co-founder and former Secretary General of ICAS added, "Back in 1997, what we and IIAS wanted [...] in short, was a space where Asian scholars of the world could study problems of interest to all".

Panels
A large number of panels took place throughout each of the four days of the convention. In total there were nearly 300 panels during ICAS 8. The full schedules can be found on the ICAS 8 website: www.icas8.com. IIAS was particularly proud to be able to sponsor 16 panels, this in honour of the institute's 20-year anniversary this year. Our next issue of *The Newsletter* (#66, Dec 2013) will be an anniversary issue, in which you will be able to read more about the IIAS-sponsored panels at ICAS 8, in addition to a variety of other IIAS activities and achievements.

Film screenings
Monday saw the start of the Film Expo, brought to the convention by Jason Finkelman, and sponsored by the Asian Educational Media Services (AEMS), an outreach programme of the Center for East Asian and Pacific Studies at the University of Illinois (www.aems.illinois.edu). In total, 23 films were featured during the Expo, made by scholars and independent filmmakers addressing a wide range of topics concerning contemporary Asia. The full list can be found on the ICAS and AEMS websites.

Cultural exhibition
The first day of the convention also witnessed the opening of the cultural exhibition: "Islam, Trade, and Politics across the Indian Ocean". This photographic display in the main exhibition hall was organised, produced and sponsored by the British Academy, the Association of South-East Asian Studies in the United Kingdom (ASEASUK), the British Institute at Ankara (BIAA), and The British Library. Its representative at ICAS 8 was professor Michael Hitchcock, who not only opened the exhibition but engaged with visitors throughout the day to guide them through the display. You can read an interview with Michael Hitchcock in the ICAS 8 Newsletter 'Day 1': www.icassecretariat.org. More information about the research project on which the exhibition is based can be found at www.ottomansoutheastasia.org.

Keynote address and gala dinner
After another full day of panels on Tuesday 25 June, professor Arif Dirlik delivered his keynote address: 'Asia is rising – but where is it going?' He concluded his speech with some advice: "If Asia is to rise in a way that benefits all, and provide a model for the world, Asians will have to stop listening to self-deceptive hype about 'the rise' and confront problems that are not just

legacies of the past, but products of development under the force of global capital." (see ICAS 8 Newsletter 'Day 2'). After the keynote speech, all participants were invited to the ICAS 8 gala dinner, which was a sumptuous occasion at which people could not only mingle and relax, but also sample the best of Macao's cuisine.

Macau excursion
The historic centre of Macao has been designated a World Heritage Site by UNESCO, in recognition of its aesthetic, cultural, architectural and technological encounters between East and West. The architectural ensemble that defines the historic urban spaces of Macao offers a remarkable testimony to the cultural exchanges between the ancient Chinese port and the Portuguese city. On three days during ICAS 8 the host organisers arranged free excursions for the participants, into the old historic centre of the city. It was a welcome break for many, with one participant commenting: "We witnessed some unique examples of cultural hybridity, a wonderful mix of Chinese, Portuguese and other elements [...] the whole tour gave us enough to ponder when we re-entered the dream world of the Venetian hotel."

ICAS Book Prize award ceremony
One of the absolute highlights of ICAS 8 was the IBP award ceremony on the evening of 25 June, acknowledging outstanding work produced by Asia scholars in the last 2 years. Both books and dissertations were submitted, all vying for one of the 5 main awards, or one of the many special Reading Committee Accolades. See the opposite page for an overview of all the winners. The long and short lists can be found online: www.icassecretariat.org

Matteo Ricci
On the evening of Wednesday 26 June the participants of ICAS 8 were rewarded with a very special musical performance in The Venetian Theatre. The show "Matteo Ricci: His Map and Music", which first debuted in Beijing in 2010, tells the story of the Jesuit priest Matteo Ricci missionary's journey to the Middle Kingdom, his life and his interactions with Chinese society in the late Ming dynasty (1368-1644). An enthralling mix of Italian Baroque and traditional Chinese melodies, the concert combines music and dramatic readings, visually framed by a projected digitized version of the world map that Ricci created. Performed by the group ¡Sacabuche! from the Jacobs School of Music at Indiana University, the program is directed by Linda Pearse and Ann Waltner, and features Qin Fang as a speaker. Read more about the group here: http://sacabuche.com.

ICAS 9
After an inspiring convention in Macao, we start looking forward to ICAS 9, which will take place in Adelaide, Australia, from 5-9 July 2015. The Australian local hosts and organisers were present in Macao; they were able to introduce themselves to the participants and observe the procedures, preparing themselves for the task! Visit www.icas9.com for more information and to start planning your 2015 trip 'down under'.

Above left:
Group excursion into the city.

Above right:
Philippe Paycam, Director IIAS, at opening ceremony.

Top right below:
Just a few of the very helpful and friendly student assistants and volunteers of the local on-site team.

ICAS Book Prize 2013

We celebrated the fifth edition of the ICAS Book Prize on 25 June 2013, during ICAS 8. In the past 10 years the ICAS Book Prize has grown from an experiment, with 50 books and 5 dissertations, to one of the most prestigious book prizes in the field of Asian studies, with 250 publications from 60 publishers worldwide and 100 dissertations.

The main sponsors of the Fifth ICAS Book Prize were The Kingdom of the Netherlands (represented by the Consulate General in Hong Kong and Macao), ICAS' mother institution and co-host the International Institute for Asian Studies, Amsterdam University Press and the University of Macau.

The members of the Reading Committees were Birgit Abels (Director, Department of Musicology at the University of Gottingen), Alex McKay (Independent scholar), Annu Jalais (Assistant Professor faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, National University of Singapore), Sebastian Bersick (Associate Professor, School of International Relations and Public Affairs, Fudan University), Imran bin Tajudeen (Faculty member Architecture National University of Singapore) and Michiel Baas (Fellow at Asia Research Institute, Singapore).

Top left: Julia Andrews receiving her award, also on behalf of Kuiyi Shen, from Mr. Antonio Ramirez, Senior Vice-President of Human Resources, Sands China Ltd. Top right: Birgit Tremml receiving her award from Prof. Fan Xitao, Dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of Macau. Bottom left: Shumei Huang receiving the award on behalf of Miriam Kahn, from Mr. Hidde Baars, Deputy Consul General at the Netherlands Consulate General in Hong Kong and Macao. Bottom right: Two reading committee members, Birgit Abels and Alex McKay.

IBP 2013 Winner Social Sciences

Miriam Kahn
Tahiti. Beyond the Postcard. Power, Place, and Everyday Life
Seattle/London: University of Washington Press, 2011

This beautifully written book sensitively highlights the dark reality behind the picture-perfect postcard image the world holds of Tahiti. The author poignantly highlights the pillaging of the island through France's 30-year nuclear testing programs, which destroyed not just the environment of Mururoa, but also people and their sense of self in the land of their ancestors. Kahn weaves together Tahitians', as well as social scientists', ideas of space and place to provide a deeply moving reflection of the ills of colonialism and its current avatars of tourism, environmental degradation and political machinations. One of the finest books in anthropology to have been published in the last decade.

IBP 2013 Winner Humanities

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

This timely volume describes the progression of Chinese art since the mid-19th century. Analysis is informed, nuanced, jargon-free and thought-provoking. *The Art of Modern China* is extremely well-written, a superb work that achieves that most difficult of tasks: a single volume that will inform newcomers and specialists alike. A delight to read. It can truly be said that if you read only one work on the subject, this should be it.

IBP 2013 Winner Best PhD Social Sciences

Roberto Benedicto
Bright Lights, Gay Globality. Mobility, Class, and Gay Life in 21st Century Manila (2010)

This is an exceptionally rich, personal and daring dissertation. It positions itself at the confluence of intra-urban, transnational and virtual flows, producing what the title so aptly captures: a 'bright living scene'. Where queer studies often succumb to the use of complex, even esoteric, terms to make sense of gender complexities, Benedicto's austere use of terminology always goes hand in hand with a very precise elucidation, making his dissertation much more accessible to a wider audience.

Colleagues' Choice Award Winner

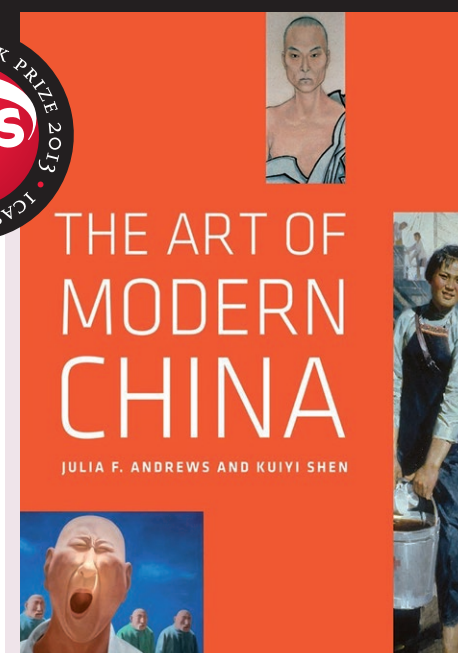**Fabrizio M. Ferrari**
Guilty Males and Proud Females: Negotiating Genders in a Bengali Festival
Calcutta: Seagull Books, 2011
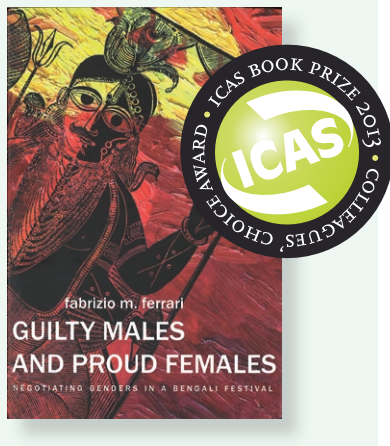
IBP 2013 Winner Best PhD Humanities

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

This dissertation offers a window into the convergence of Iberian/New Spanish, Fujianese, and Japanese actors in Manila in a crucial and formative time frame. It provides a masterful broad synthesis that is simultaneously detailed yet succinct. Within this, new insights emerge on Iberian and East Asian 'co-colonialism' and how their encounters in Manila subsequently shaped political and cultural identities of these respective actors.

Reading Committee Accolades

2013 witnessed the addition of a new category: **The Reading Committee Accolades.** This gave the jury members the opportunity to single out more books and dissertations, which was deemed necessary due to the high number of excellent submissions.

Accolades for Social Sciences

PUBLISHERS ACCOLADE FOR OUTSTANDING PRODUCTION VALUE
Inge Daniels
The Japanese House, Material Culture in the Modern Home
Oxford/New York: Berg, 2011

MOST ACCESSIBLE AND CAPTIVATING WORK FOR THE NON-SPECIALIST READER ACCOLADE
Duncan McDuie-Ra
Northeast Migrants in Delhi: Race, Refuge and Retail
Amsterdam University Press, 2012

SPECIALIST PUBLICATION ACCOLADE
Jonardon Ganeri
The Lost Age of Reason
Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011

TEACHING TOOL ACCOLADE
David Lockwood
The Indian Bourgeoisie. A Political History of the Indian Capitalist Class in the Early 20th Century
London/New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012

GROUND-BREAKING SUBJECT MATTER ACCOLADE
Robert Marks
China. Its Environment and History
Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2012

EDITED VOLUME ACCOLADE
James W. Heisig, Thomas Kasulis & John C. Maraldo (eds.)
Japanese Philosophy: A Sourcebook
Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2011

Social Sciences PhD Accolades

MOST ACCESSIBLE AND CAPTIVATING ACCOLADE
Jenneke Arens
Women, Land and Power in Bangladesh. Jhagrapur revisited (2011)

SPECIALIST PUBLICATION ACCOLADE
Roman Sieler
Lethal spots - Vital secrets. Varmakkalai, a South Indian healing/ martial art (2012)

GROUND-BREAKING SUBJECT MATTER ACCOLADE
Heidi Hoefinger
Negotiating Intimacy: Transactional Sex and Relationships Among Cambodian Professional Girlfriends (2010)

Accolades for Humanities

PUBLISHERS ACCOLADE FOR OUTSTANDING PRODUCTION VALUE
Jiren Feng
Chinese Architecture and Metaphor: Song Culture in the Yong Zao Fashi Building Manual
Honolulu/Hong Kong: University of Hawaii Press /Hong Kong Press, 2012

MOST ACCESSIBLE AND CAPTIVATING WORK FOR THE NON-SPECIALIST READER ACCOLADE
Karen Laura Thornber
Ecoambiguity: Environmental Crises and East Asian Literatures
Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012

SPECIALIST PUBLICATION ACCOLADE
Erica Fox Brindley
Music, Cosmology, and the Politics of Harmony in Early China
NY: SUNY Press, 2012

TEACHING TOOL ACCOLADE
Valerie Hansen
The Silk Road: A New History
Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012

GROUND-BREAKING SUBJECT MATTER ACCOLADE
Patricia L. Maclachlan
The People's Post Office. The History and Politics of the Japanese Postal System, 1871-2010
Cambridge/London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2011

EDITED VOLUME ACCOLADE
Jeffrey W. Cody, Nancy S. Steinhardt & Tony Atkin (eds.)
Chinese Architecture and the Beaux-Arts
Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011

Humanities PhD Accolades

MOST ACCESSIBLE AND CAPTIVATING ACCOLADE
Thomas Barker
A Cultural Economy of the Contemporary Indonesian Film Industry (2011)

SPECIALIST PUBLICATION ACCOLADE
Nahoko Fukushima
'Sharebon' and Courtesans: A Phase of Edo Aesthetics as the dispersal of Ideology (2011)

GROUND-BREAKING SUBJECT MATTER ACCOLADE
Tom Hoogervorst
Southeast Asia in the Ancient Indian Ocean World: Linguistic Archaeological Approaches (2012)

News from Asia

Endangered guardians of the Sacred Forest

Alexandra Landmann

ETHNICALLY, the *Kanekes* (or *Baduy* forest-dwellers) are Sundanese. The group dwells within a sacrosanct primeval forest area, but their origins remain a mystery. They have occupied their ancestral domain (*tanah hak ulayat* [1]) for at least 500 years, probably longer. Remarkably, they are among the few Indonesian tribal communities that have been granted significant self-governance and jurisdiction over their ancestral domain, as stated by district-law No.32 (2011). This is a rare privilege indeed; elsewhere in Indonesia, this prerogative is a point of intense debate as it involves ownership of, and control over, natural resources. Consequently, despite its small population (about 11,500 individuals), the *Kanekes* group form an interesting case study; their self-imposed isolation, their practice of strict ancestral rules (*Pikukuh Karuhun* [2]) and their Sunda Faith of Origin (*Jatisunda* or *Agama Sunda Wiwitan* [3]) have given them a unique position in pre-colonial, colonial, and modern Indonesian politics and society.

The forbidden forest
The *Kanekes*' 5000 hectare ancestral domain is located within the remote forests of Mount Kendeng. A terraced forest sanctuary is situated within the elevated central and southern part of the area, surrounded by a 3000 hectare 'forbidden forest'.[4] Except for a few selected elders who perform an annual fertility and forecasting ritual in situ, ancestral principles *(pikukuh karuhun)* prohibit other *Kanekes* and all outsiders from approaching or setting foot in the sanctuary located in the forbidden forest. Some accounts depict the *Kanekes* as an isolated tribe, living deep in the dangerous forests, excluding all outsiders, rejecting all cultural change, and refusing to explain their traditions. Elsewhere they have been described as an anomaly: a people surviving on tribal lands, observing stern customs with manifold taboos – located only 120 km southwest of the megacity Jakarta!

Stone inscriptions and texts on palm-leaf manuscripts recovered in the Sunda region, and dated between the 11th and 15th centuries, mention sacred places located in upstream lands with established borders. The king prohibited, by punishment of death, the disturbance of their residents, who were considered the king's guardians of the royal *kabuyutan* (places of ancestral worship). In the Western part of Java, several such *kabuyutan*-communities would have been found, but it seems that the *Kanekes* are the only ones to have survived into the present. Since pre-Islamic times, they have reinforced bonds with political elites in the lowlands through peculiar ritualized diplomatic relations during the annual *seba* festival. While the Hindu Kingdoms and Islamic Sultanates in the Western part of Java have become chapters in the history books, the oral traditions of the *Kanekes* continue to live on.

The group is spatially, socially, and legally bipartite: the inner group *(kajeroan)* resides in three settlements in the elevated core area of the ancestral domain and the outer group's *(panamping)* sixty-three settlements encircle this core. Where as the inner group complies closely with *pikukuh karuhun,* the outer group is less strict. For example, both groups are prohibited from using electricity, or establishing wet rice fields, mosques, or Western-style schools within the entire domain. The inner group is interdicted from wearing machine-manufactured clothes or shoes, to use any kind of techno-logical devices or means of transportation. Polygamy, wearing gold, and using modern cosmetics are, among other things,

strictly forbidden for the inner group. In contrast, some outer group individuals wear modern clothes, use mobile phones and Facebook, and enjoy prodigious success in the produce market. Most likely, the outer group serves as a cultural buffer and filtering zone for the inner group, as they are the first to encounter visitors, new artefacts, and ideas. Undoubtedly, the inner group is quite resilient to processes of social acculturation or the assimilation of modernity. It is precisely this resilience that continues to fascinate travellers, journalists, students, and scholars from both within Indonesia and abroad.

Guardians of the forest
According to the *Kanekes* myth of origin, the group's apical ancestor, who established *pikukuh karuhun*, was the first human being on earth, born at their terraced sanctuary. Because of this myth, they regard themselves as the oldest genealogical human line – all other Sundanese, or ethnic groups, constitute their 'younger siblings'. *Pikukuh karuhun* distinguishes between the responsibilities of *Kanekes* and the activities of humanity. Their mode of living follows the mechanism of 'ancestral command-communication-oral news on events' *(Carek-lisan-khabar)*, whereas 'expand-write-paint' *(coret-tulis-gambar)* regulates the activities of humanity at large. Consequently, Kanekes culture remains oral and unwritten: values, norms, and rules are transmitted by storytelling or informal teaching in regular gatherings. Teaching, literacy, and transmission of knowledge are in themselves by no means rejected; yet, formal schooling is. Where the *Kanekes* remain, so to speak, at their 'point of origin', and guard the functioning of the ecosystem, their 'younger siblings' have moved into the world and have founded autonomous socio-political units.

Their core philosophy, 'We are the guardians of the forest, aquatic resources, and soil, and hence responsible for the destiny of the world', reveals a strikingly topical indigenous perspective on the ecosystem, sustainability, environmental protection and the conservation of natural resources and biodiversity. According to *Kanekes* elders, their forest constitutes the backbone of the water resources of West Java. Their eco-systemic core principle bans deforestation and degradation or alteration of land, water, and biodiversity within the primeval forest. Evidently, forest conservation safeguards the hydrological cycle, prevents water hazards and other environmental problems.

External challenges
At present, their way of life is becoming increasingly endangered. A 2003 provincial regulation opened the previously restricted area to local mass tourism. School and university students now arrive daily for fieldtrips to visit the 'odd megalithic people living in the forests'. The *Kanekes* do not profit from such trips – whether culturally, environmentally, or economically. They must now deal with rubbish (plastic), and concomitantly, an increased contact with a 'predatory' monetary economy. In addition to mass tourism, they have attracted the attention of activists operating in the political, religious, social, legal and environmental fields; even though such activism is done with good intentions, it could prove detrimental to the *Kanekes*' culture and way of life.

The *Kanekes* are registered as *Agama Sunda Wiwitan* on their identity cards, but this is not recognised as a religion, and thus that column is left blank – a situation which leads to social, civic, political, and legal discrimination. For example, *Kanekes*

Left: Natural panorama – Baduy Ancestral Domain. (wiwitan.org, facebook.com/ savebaduy)

Below: Inner Baduy – father and son returning to their ancestral domain. (wiwitan.org)

individuals who leave the ancestral domain, yet do not convert to Islam,[5] cannot be employed as police, military or civil servants; only citizens that adhere to one of the six state-funded religions are able to find employment in these areas. In 2011, assisted by lawyers, *Kanekes* representatives wrote to the Lebak district government and the Ministry of Religions to request the acknowledgement of *Agama Sunda Wiwitan* as an official religion. There has been no response to this day.

In 2011, a Swedish-Australian joint venture was granted a permit for natural gas and oil exploration at the Rangkas onshore block in Banten. In the centre of this 3000 km2 block lies the *Kanekes*' ancestral domain. Test results proved that the area is rich in natural resources; although mining permits have yet to be issued, it is likely they will be soon. The forbidden forest has already been infiltrated by illegal logging activities, which men of the inner group are trying to combat with night patrols. Illegal logging and future mining activities constitute serious threats to the existence of the ancestral domain, and also to the quality and quantity of aquatic resources. The seemingly uncontrollable external challenges damage *Kanekes* socio-cultural cohesion and impel the group to deal with previously unimaginable situations at a more rapid pace than they might be able to cope with. In the past couple of years, they have witnessed internal confusion, unrest, and conflicts, while external lobbies fragment the group into different factions for their own political or economic ends. Predatory political and economic policies jeopardise the group's constitutional rights as citizens and as an indigenous community, as well as the legal status of their ancestral domain.

Hope for preservation
The *Kanekes* are clear about what they would like to see happen. First, only 2000 hectares of their domain are eligible for shifting cultivation and for settlements; besides rice subsidies, they hope to receive a state allocation of land situated in the vicinity of their ancestral domain for the production of crops. Second, they request a limited amount of essential modern technology, such as hoses for water supplies and flashlights for forest patrols. Third, they need healthcare/emergency centres with modern equipment close to the inner area, but located outside the domain itself, as the inner group is banned from using vehicles to travel to lowland hospitals. As *pikukuh karuhun* prohibits the use of modern medicines, one village leader has requested the Health Ministry to develop vaccines and contraceptives in the form of *jamu* (traditional medicine) so the people may benefit from modern medicinal developments without deviating from *pikukuh karuhun.* The research and development section of the Ministry is working on that request. Here we see the creativity of the Kanekes, and the flexibility of *pikukuh karuhun,* despite often being labelled 'megalithic'.

Once mining companies are allowed to enter the vicinity of the ancestral domain, the damage to nature and culture will be irreversible. It is hoped that Indonesian authorities and civil society will recognise the uniqueness of the *Kanekes* community and take steps to preserve their way of life.

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Notes
1 *Tanah hak ulayat* has been translated as 'tribal lands', but I prefer to use the term 'ancestral domain' as it comprises territory, economic resources, and governance of indigenous peoples. 'Domain' refers to the soil, rivers, creeks, seas or lakes, mountains, hills, forests and natural resources contained therein, including wild game.
2 *Pikukuh Karuhun* comprises the unwritten ancestral traditions of the *Kanekes,* which form their moral, religious, and legal framework, as well as dictate the practices and sanctions that bind and unite the group as a cultural and jural community.
3 *'Wiwitan'* denotes the ancestral mandate bestowed upon the *Kanekes* assigning them the task to perpetuate the situation of origin.
4 The 'forbidden forest' refers to an upstream primeval forest area believed to be sacred. Manifold prohibitions apply for entering the area and the utilization of its soil, water, and wood. In modern terms, it is the religiously legitimised protected area of an ancient biosphere reserve.
5 Based on an agreement between *Kanekes* and the former Sultan of Banten, *Kanekes* who leave the domain may only embrace Islam and no other faith.

Living Balinese heritage: Palm-leaf manuscripts and their caretakers

Andrea Acri

BALI, THOUGH A SMALL ISLAND, harbours rich and diverse cultural traditions. Despite a rapidly modernising and developing Indonesia, the image of Bali as a 'culture-trove' harbouring timeless ancestral traditions remains popular among foreign and Indonesian tourists today. However, few visitors, even among the culture-savvy, venture into off-the-radar (and often run-down) institutions such as public libraries and cultural foundations, not to speak of Brahmanical houses *(griya)*, where delicate treasures are stored. These centuries-old treasures, equally iconic as Bali's *barong* masks or *legong* dancers, are palm-leaf manuscripts *(lontar)*. For over a millennium, *lontar* were the medium for the transmission of knowledge both of a sacred or mundane nature; they are traditionally regarded as powerful, almost supernatural objects.

These palm-leaf manuscripts and their Brahmanical scribes left a strong impression on the first European Orientalists who visited Bali between the late 19th and early 20th century, and contributed to the image of the island as a 'living repository' of Old Javanese 'high culture' and religion. *Lontar* have also been studied from the perspective of material culture, i.e., as artefacts testifying to a refined 'book industry' stemming from a pre-industrial world.[1] In anthropological circles, *lontar* are still perceived as relics from a dead past, *curios* at best, documenting an élite phenomenon that falls within the domain of the antiquarian or the philologist. Written in a language that few people can read, let alone understand, a current scholarly opinion is that they neither reflect nor bear any value to 'living' Balinese society, but rather serve the purpose of heirlooms *(pusaka).*[2]

The actors of the '*lontar*-phenomenon' – the (living) producers and collectors of *lontar* – are as rare and endangered as the fragile palm-leaf manuscripts they deal with and, therefore, as important to Balinese community as other kinds of – perhaps more 'marketable' – cultural heritage. Both the 'caretakers' and 'consumers' of *lontar* give these artefacts the role of carriers of cultural, legal, and religious values. By (re)producing the manuscripts, these actors disseminate knowledge to sections of society: via reading clubs held either at the neighbourhood and village level or within private circles; by copying and storing them in public repositories; by lending them to other actors for the purpose of being (re)copied; or, as is becoming increasingly popular, by singing, reading, and discussing their contents in public contests, TV and Radio broadcasts, etc.

Bali remains one of the very few places in the world where literary and religious heritage carried forward through a tradition of manuscript writing has survived alongside printing and, now, digital media. As early as the 1940s, a plethora of mimeographed or printed pamphlets 'flooded' the island. These publications were intended for the majority who could not read the scriptures in Old Javanese and Sanskrit, but who wanted to learn about the principles of 'Hinduism' that were traditionally inscribed on *lontar*. Yet, *lontar* were never entirely replaced as the medium *par excellence* to propagate religious lore. Nowadays, the activity of writing (i.e., engraving with a stylus) on *lontar* is usually carried out for a wide variety of reasons, such as for personal development or self-edification, for religious or ritual purposes, as a duty to the ancestors, to ensure the 'survival' of Balinese culture, as a means of livelihood, or to obtain supernatural powers.

Between tangible and intangible heritage
Intangible heritage includes "oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts"; it has to be "traditional, contemporary and living at the same time", "representative", and "community-based".[3] Insofar as they represent material artefacts, Balinese *lontar* belong, strictly speaking, to the category of tangible heritage. However, the languages and texts they carry contribute to shaping the identity of the Balinese community, making them perfect examples of intangible heritage. In short, *lontar* represent an interface between the tangible and intangible dimensions of Balinese heritage.

The complex process of producing such fragile and refined objects requires much patience and a diverse set of skills,

Above: Oka at Yayasan Dwijendra, Denpasar. Photo Andrea Acri, 2012.

Right: Muditadnyana at home in Tenganan, Karangasem. Photo Andrea Acri, 2009.

which *lontar*-specialists received through oral tradition and perfected through practice. The *lontar*-specialists have to master the art of calligraphy, have a good grasp of the orthographic rules governing the complicated Balinese script, and possess (varying degrees of) knowledge of the challenging languages of the inscribed texts, namely Old Javanese *(kawi)*, Sanskrit, or Balinese.

Although these specialists are the continuators of a centuries-long tradition, they also represent a product of modernity as they have been exposed to contacts with modernity and Western ideas, including local and global academia. Tourism has also impacted their activity. In coping with the changes and challenges of modernization and globalisation, these characters have found different strategies to survive through their art – and in so doing, made their art survive.

Three Balinese men of letters
I now sketch three Balinese figures that embody the specialized knowledge of *lontar;* they are Ida Dewa Gede Catra from Amlapura, Ida Dewa Made Oka from Denpasar, and Wayan Muditadnyana from Tenganan. All of them are past the age of seventy; none of them acquired their knowledge through a traditional teacher-apprentice model in their early lives, but started to operate in the world of *lontar* following a 'personal call' and much self-learning.

IDG Catra is known to scholars of Balinese and Old Javanese literature worldwide as the 'best source of information' on *lontar* in Bali. Catra was exposed to traditional literature and palm-leaf manuscripts by occasionally attending reading sessions with senior men in the village. 30 years into his career as a school teacher, he was finally taught to write on *lontar*. He then practised traditional dance and textual singing, and started to

study Sanskrit as an autodidact. A couple of years later he had already established his own personal library, now consisting of more than 2000 *lontar* and typewritten copies. In 1991, Catra took over the administration of 'Proyek Tik' – a project dedicated to the transliteration of texts in *lontar* into Romanized paper copies, which was established by Prof. Dr. Christiaan Hooykaas in 1972 and continued until today by his pupil Dr. Hedi Hinzler.[4] Catra is now a highly respected figure, consulted on matters of culture and religion by the local authorities, and called upon in the capacity of jury in prestigious competitions.

Catra's strong grasp of Old Javanese represents the continuation of a local tradition of textual practices and hermeneutics. He is very rigorous in mentioning his manuscript sources in a colophon – something he claims to have derived from the colophons of manuscripts *and* Western philologists – and advocates the old practice of engraving *lontar* with a knife rather than using a laser stylus, as some have recently tried to do. Whereas Catra is keen on technology, and makes use of a computer to produce his typescripts, he hopes that the introduction of computer fonts for Balinese script will not negatively impact the art of calligraphy.

The second character is IDM Oka. Oka spends most of his days in the library of Yayasan Dwijendra, engrossed in the activity of etching *lontar*. After five years of schooling, Oka started to work as a carpenter. At the age of 55, he took an interest in *lontar,* and especially calligraphy – which he perfected through self-learning. Soon his fame as an exquisite calligrapher spread far and wide, and village-heads from all over Bali requested his services. Yayasan Dwijendra then commissioned him to build its collection of manuscripts, which now numbers almost 200 *lontar* – most of which have been copied by Oka himself, who had loaned them from *griya*. His personal collection includes hundreds of manuscripts, mostly containing medical texts *(usada* and *obat-obatan).*

According to Oka, to fill both sides of a single palm-leaf takes about half a day. Given the difficult and painstaking nature of this activity, which is vital to the preservation of Balinese heritage, Oka hopes that the local government will introduce Balinese script and the art of calligraphy in primary schools, and also establish foundations in the traditional villages *(desa pakraman)* to teach young Balinese how to read the Old Javanese texts.

Our third character is Wayan Muditadnyana. Since 1974 he has produced hundreds of *lontar,* which are not only written in exquisite calligraphy, but also illustrated with abundant drawings of the stories narrated in the literary texts. This genre, called *prasi,* is especially popular among foreign tourists, who appreciate the beauty of the images, and see these artefacts as works of art. The village of Tenganan has now become a hub for trading these *lontar,* and many have started to produce illustrated *prasi,* although Muditadnyana's art remains unrivalled. Muditadnyana displays a keen interest in Balinese literary and cultural issues and, besides calligraphy, is skilled in traditional textual singing. His creations appeal to discerning collectors and tourists alike, and are useful to scholars too, as some of the *prasi* may constitute unique copies of otherwise inaccessible *lontar.*

The three characters sketched here illustrate telling examples of how 'tradition' has met 'modernity' in Bali. Insofar as their skills have become their means of livelihood, catering to the demands of local society, local and foreign academics, and tourists, these men of letters are the living embodiments of a tradition that is reinventing itself, and beacons of 'sustainable humanities' in a globalized world. These 'caretakers of *lontar*' carry the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts, and therefore they themselves represent living embodiments of intangible heritage. Hopefully, their knowledge will not disappear with them.

Andrea Acri, Visiting Research Fellow, NSC, ISEAS

Notes
1 See the surveys by Rubinstein and Hinzler: Rubinstein, R. 1996. 'Leaves of Palm: Balinese Lontar', in A. Kumar and J. McGlynn (eds.) *Illuminations; The Writing Traditions of Indonesia,* pp. 129–154. Jakarta: The Lontar Foundation;
2 Hinzler, H. 1998. 'Balinese Manuscripts and Their Uses' & 'The Preparation of Balinese Manuscripts', in J. McGlynn (ed.) *Indonesian Heritage; Language and Literature,* pp. 26–29. Singapore: Archipelago Press.
3 A critique of this view may be found in Acri, Andrea. 2011. 'A new perspective for ''Balinese Hinduism'' in the light of the pre-modern religious discourse. A textual-historical approach', in M. Picard and R. Madinier (eds.) *The Politics of Religion in Java and Bali. Syncretism, Orthodoxy, and Religious Contention,* pp. 143–167. London/New York: Routledge.
4 Source: www.unesco.org.
5 See 'Balinese Manuscripts Project' by Hedi Hinzler, http://tinyurl.com/o8356xa (accessed Sept 2013).

News from Asia *continued*

India looked East or the East looked India

S.D. Muni

INDIA'S 'LOOK-EAST' POLICY, contrary to popular assumption, neither started in 1991 nor was it confined only to economic engagement with its easterly neighbourhood. As a civilisation of sun worshippers, India has always looked towards, and engaged with the East, in many varied ways. One can easily identify four phases or waves of India's eastward *yo ho.* The first is historical (pre-colonial), the second is during British Imperialism, the third since independence (1947 onwards) and, most recently, since 1991. Enough attention is being paid these days to the last two phases, while there are only scanty, and hazy narratives to unravel the first two.

The knowledge gap of the first two phases is gradually drawing scholarly attention. The smallest country of India's eastern neighbourhood, Singapore, had made a significant contribution by publishing three studies within the past two years to energize academic discourse on India's engagement with the East during the historical period.[1] All three studies underscore the predominantly peaceful nature of this engagement that was based on flourishing trade and cultural links. The only contestations to this assumption come from Balaji and Geoff Wade, who wrote the 'Foreword' (pp.vii-xv) in Acharya's book. Both writers mention the aggressive missions of the Cholas Empire during the early 11th Century CE, but no authentic and reliable evidence is provided on the military nature of the Cholas' forays into the East. Balaji clearly states that "There are no contemporary records to explain the nature or reason for the hostile Chola naval expedition" (p.129).

Chong-Guan's volume contains a chapter by R.C. Majumdar on 'The Struggle between the Shailendras and the Cholas' (pp.119-133) where Chola's "great naval power" and "aggressive imperialism" are noted, but Majumdar also acknowledges the existence of friendly and commercial relations between the Chola Kings and Shailendra rulers. Majumdar's narrative also suggests strong commercial links between the Cholas and China. The possibility of the Cholas using naval power to secure their trade with China from disruptions caused by the Shailendra rulers cannot be ruled out. In that case, Chola's use of naval power was more for the protection of their commercial interests than for territorial expansion or imperial aggression. This is, however, an area that calls for further archaeological and academic research. Even if Chola aggression can be substantiated, it is only one example so far, contrary to the otherwise peaceful and mutually beneficial contacts between India and the civilisations to its east, spanning almost a millennia.

All the three studies underscore the impact of Indian culture and civilisation on the Southeast Asian countries. Indian presence was predominant not only in art and architecture, religion, social structures and language, but also in political organisations, legal systems and forms of governance. The footprints of that presence are visible even today in monuments such as Angkor Wat in Cambodia and Borobudur Temple in Indonesia. The main question at stake is how this Indian influence travelled East. Chong-Guan's volume, being based on the *Journal of the Greater India Society,* clearly supports the thesis that the "Indianisation" of Southeast Asia was primarily an Indian enterprise spanning more than twelve centuries. One of the chapters in this volume ('India and the Pacific World' by U.N. Ghoshal), quoting Kalidas Nag's study, takes the discourse on Indian cultural influence even beyond Southeast Asia deep into the Pacific, linking it to "Oceania and Polynesia" and "aboriginal American cultures" (p.51). According to Kalidas Nag, "What parts of this cultural complex would reach the Eastern Pacific basin and the New World are problems of future anthropologists and antiquarians…" (p.52).

Acharya, on the basis of various studies on the subject, rejects the thesis of Indian initiative and enterprise. He makes two strong arguments. He notes that the East Asian societies had their own respective cultural identities and there was no question of "passive acceptance" of the Indian influences. They were in fact "active borrowers", not only seeking selective and desired Indian influences, but also adjusting and adopting them to their own requirements. Thus the process of Indian influence was not Indianisation, but a regional localisation of Indian best practices. This is illustrated, for example, by referring to the "differences in the practice of Theravada Buddhism between Thailand and Burma" (p.25). He also brings in the flow of Chinese influence, particularly in Vietnam, in support of his 'localisation' argument (p.27). Acharya finally supports the view taken by Hermann Kulke that Indian impact on Southeast Asia must be seen neither as Indianisation nor localisation, but as a "convergence" of cultures and their evolution. India and Southeast Asia had a lot in common and evolved on the basis of "give and take". The resilience of Hinduism and the use of the Sanskrit language are referred to, to buttress the 'convergence' proposition (p.35).

Chong Guan's volume presents rich and diverse perspectives on the so-called 'Indianisation' of Southeast Asia, which does not fully submit itself to the charges of being a process of "colonial and imperial expansion". Acharya admits to a 'hint' in Majumdar's writings, otherwise branded as an Indian nationalist Indianisation proponent, "that the Indian cultural interactions with Southeast Asians might have been a two-way street of mutual influence" (p.14). Chong-Guan in his masterly introduction to the anthology, quotes Majumdar as saying "there was a complete cultural fusion between the two races". He extensively refers to Rabindranath Tagore, the moving spirit of the Greater India Society, to show that historians were driven not by narrow nationalism but were fired by "international humanism". In Chong-Guan's assessment, "in contrast to the violence of European colonialism" the "Indian colonisation of the Far East was peaceful, humane, benign and welcomed by the pre-literate natives". The legacy of the Greater India Society is being continued, in the words of Chong-Guan, by "a new generation of Indian Institutions and scholars", who also distance themselves from any nationalist or India dominated view of scholars like "Majumdar and Coedès". He quotes G.C. Pandey, the editor of *Interaction with Southeast Asia,* saying that "the development of common and parallel civilisational trails in India and Southeast Asia" came "through a long process of interchange". This cannot be denied, as cultures are inherently porous, evolutionary and transnational.

Historiography is not a fundamental science. It depends upon available data and their considerable subjective interpretations. Subjectivity in historical explorations creeps in, not only because of the nationalities of the scholars but also because of the political, economic and strategic contexts of regional and international affairs of particular times. If it is assumed that the Indian scholars were driven by their nationalistic and emotional impulses, surely, the European and East Asian historians also cannot be taken as free from theirs'. The confusion created by such impulses can only be reduced if not completely removed, by further scholarly explorations based on hard and authentic evidence. The message of the studies by both Acharya and Chong-Guan is that the field of studying linkages between India and East Asia is still in its infancy and more archaeological findings, discovery of, and discourse on historical evidences and taking a fresh look at the available sources are needed. Until that is done in sufficient strength, firm conclusions like 'Indianisation' or 'convergence' must wait.

Even currently available evidences have not yet been properly organised and interpreted. For instance, the studies under review are based largely on Indonesian and Malay cultures, but say so little about evidences from countries such as Laos and Thailand. Laos has pre-Angkor archaeological findings and living evidences in its Mekong basin area of strong Shaivaite Hindu culture, which linked itself with Khmer in Cambodia and Champa in Vietnam. There is hardly any scholarly study of these linkages. Cambodia has also just discovered a whole new city further north of Angkor Wat.

There is greater need to support such studies, not only in Singapore, but also in Indonesia, Malaysia and of course, above all, in India. The Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies has set out to do pioneering work in this field. The new Nalanda University must have a special mission to explore the pasts of India and Southeast Asia that continue to thrive in their 'presents' and have a great promise for their 'futures'. Studies like that of Kalidas Nag on 'India and the Pacific World' may provide a thrust to new concepts such as 'Indo-Pacific', at a time when the Asia-Pacific region is unfolding its new strategic contours.

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Notes

1 Acharya, A. 2013. *Civilizations in Embrace: The Spread of Ideas and the Transformation of Power, India and Southeast Asia in the Classical Age,* Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, ISEAS Nalanda-Sriwijaya Research Series.
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SOJOURN: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia

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SINCE ITS LAUNCH IN 1986, SOJOURN: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia (http://www.iseas.edu.sg/sojourn.cfm) has served as the flagship periodical of ISEAS's Regional Social and Cultural Studies Programme. Appearing semi-annually, the journal achieved during its first twenty-seven years of publication a unique position as an outlet for interdisciplinary scholarship on social change in Southeast Asia.

Starting in 2013, SOJOURN will appear three times a year - in March, July, and November. This increase in frequency reflects ISEAS's renewed commitment to publishing in the journal the best work of the ever-larger contingent of scholars focused on processes of social, cultural and intellectual transformation in Southeast Asia.

As the leading interdisciplinary journal edited and published in the region, SOJOURN has always drawn contributions from specialists both in Southeast Asia and in the major centres of Southeast Asian studies in Australia, North America, Japan, and Europe. Articles appearing in SOJOURN combine strong empirical work with theoretical and disciplinary rigor. Many of these articles fall in the fields of sociology and anthropology. At the same time, the range of topical foci that has marked work published in SOJOURN - ethnicity, nationalism, urbanization, migration, gender, religious change, education, tourism and social and cultural history – makes clear that, in the journal's effort to publish scholarship of the greatest relevance to changing social dynamics in Southeast Asia, it welcomes work from across the social sciences and humanities. This may include work in economics and politics that highlights sociological or cultural issues, as well as historical scholarship intended to speak to contemporary developments in the region.

As part of its ongoing renewal, SOJOURN has initiated a number of regular new features. In the first issue of every year, and to expose readers to the scholarship of younger Southeast Asianists, it will publish work first presented at the annual graduate student conference held by Cornell University's Southeast Asia Program. Even as it continues to publish occasional unrefereed research notes, it will also inaugurate a "Symposium" section featuring paired reviews of important new books on the region. SOJOURN has also applied for inclusion in the Social Sciences Citation Index.

Queries or submissions may be directed to sojourn@iseas.edu.sg.

IIAS Reports

Overwritten and/or erased: Rereading biographies of cloth in the global ecumene

Aarti Kawlra

CLOTH HAS BEEN, AND CONTINUES TO BE, an important trope in nationalist discourses and features in many projects of cultural revival, design intervention and trade protection in countries of the South. Its persistent use and uncritical acceptance as a depoliticized artifact[1] of history (and culture) by individual nations, and growing salience within wider globalized discourses of heritage and international development, prompted a renewed focus on contemporary circulations of cloth at a recent IIAS roundtable at ICAS 8, Macau. The biographies of cloth presented at *Cloth, Identity and Power,* sought to recover those trajectories of cloth that have been overwritten and/or erased in master narratives of national or global histories. The conversations at the two sessions attempted to make visible, not only the contradictions inherent in the use of cloth in processes of identity construction, but also the intersecting asymmetries of power from contexts as diverse as Afghanistan, India, Laos, Indonesia and Africa.

Postcolonial historiography has alerted us to the interrelations of cloth(ing) with politics, and case studies abound on the disparate narratives of nation and civilization in elite cultural imaginaries of anti-colonialism and national (also gender) identity formation in Asia and Africa. Cloth has also featured in pre-colonial and colonial cartographies as a currency and commodity of exchange since the era of slavery and the rise of empire. Re-reading trans-national biographies of cloth at the roundtable not only pointed to the location of cloth in hegemonic structures of power in the global ecumene but also shed light on other, forgotten and more complex routes of appropriation and loss since colonization.

Local appropriations and/or erasures in the 'social life' of cloth in multiple contexts are subaltern micro histories embedded in wider global trajectories.[2] They permit us to recast the alleged processes of globalization in order to foreground pathways and subjectivities whose hidden presence may still be retrieved from the interstices of cloth. That this tracing of anonymous circulations remains an unfinished project in the history and anthropology of cloth was made more than apparent from the roundtable case studies abstracted below.

Can a lesser known, culturally valued cloth like the *Ulos* of the Batak ethnic group in northern Indonesia be revitalized for the wider market to suit both the demands of international fashion and sustainable development? This is an important question for Merdi Sihombing, a fashion designer promoting the use of natural dyes among weavers in Samosir Island, Lake Toba in northern Sumatra. How is culture invoked to negotiate globally-defined environmental norms associated with chemical dyes and the 'taste' for indigo-dyed cloth in high-end Japanese consumers? Is the *Ulos* an 'Indonesian' textile within the self-orientalising discourse of national heritage or is it also about the assertion of a unique Batak identity in fashion circles currently dominated by the Javanese?

Again, what are some of the processes involved in the establishment of British textile and costume designer Simon Marks' design studio in Bali, and his self-referencing as a *Gora Khatri* [lit. white printer from western India]? Tracing the social life of a cotton cloth designed by this Gora and printed by the *Khatris*, a community of hereditary hand-block printers, is surely more complex than a story of outsourcing within global networks of production and distribution. It is a story that needs to be told precisely because it is a response to colonial narratives of 'craft' through a transnational remapping of 'tradition' for the global marketplace.

What links an international development project on hand spinning and dyeing mohair yarn with women silk weavers in both Lao and Cambodia? It is the path journeyed by Carol Cassidy, via Zimbabwe and Mozambique, as an American weaver/artist and craft consultant with Third World development organizations in the mid 1980s. After her involvement in a UNDP program as textile advisor to the state-run 'Lao Cotton', in the years of reconstruction after the genocide by the Pol Pot regime, Carol eventually remained in south-east Asia to set up a commercial silk design studio, employing local women weavers in communist Laos, followed by another one in Preah Vihear, Cambodia. 'Lao Textiles' is both a private brand as well as an icon of national 'culture' and 'development' through cloth, and highlights once again the need for examining new mediations between cloth and structures of power and knowledge.

In Tamil Nadu, cloth is associated with the politics of heritage-making, whose roots are in the ideology of a distinctive Dravidian civilization challenging the overarching discourse of nation founded on Aryan supremacy. Focusing upon two hand-woven silk and gold cloths, ornamented with computer graphical motifs, I show how political parties and private merchants use cloth to generate mass affect within the discourse of regional heritage. One cloth depicts a world heritage site – the shore temple at Mahabalipuram - invoking regional architectural legacy, while simultaneously demonstrating technical (weaving) prowess; and the second is a cloth inscribed with the script (1330 couplets) of the *Thirukkural*,[3] specifically commissioned by the then ruling party to gain electoral purchase at the World Classical Tamil conference in 2010. Both are powerful declarations of the efficacy of a distinctive 'Tamil' culture that can be possessed and repossessed through cloth. The biographies of the two cloths reveal to us new legitimations of work emerging among artisanal weavers in south India. Ones that help them actively engage with neo-liberal consumption and information technology, on the one hand, and Tamil heritage-making on the other, whilst boldly reconstituting the dictates of tradition.

Showing 'who you are' through one's clothing in Afghanistan is an expression of political allegiance in a conflict society, according to Willem Vogelsang. The example of Hamid Karzai, whose installation as 'President of all Afghans' involved relinquishing his Pashtun dress in favour of an eclectic ensemble of garments selected from different parts of Afghanistan, was an act of consolidation of one's position on the international stage of diplomacy. Karzai's sartorial transformation won accolades from Gucci as the 'best dressed politician in the world', but was the ridicule of many of his Afghan opponents and subjects. The continued resistance of fundamentalist Afghan leaders to urban, western educated models of leadership through the deliberate Talibanization of the traditional *shalwar kamiz* and turban are, as this case presents, fresh instances of overwriting upon clothing in conflict.

And finally, the story of 'African wax' in the nexus of cloth, identity and power must be read as the history of subaltern appropriation. It challenges the place-based rootedness of culture and tradition, and belongs to what Françoise Vergès calls an "alternate cartography" in the history of imperialism and post-colonialism. Embedded in the routes charted by Dutch colonial trade and slavery from Java to Africa, it draws our attention to those practices of cultural appropriation that enabled the overwriting of the colonial order. Vergès refers here to the counter hegemonic construction of a differentiated African aesthetic and cultural identity through the agency of design on cloth. Its persistence as national 'style' in the post-colonial states as well as among the diaspora, points to the 'fictional nature of race' and its assumptions of a monolithic African identity in the global hierarchy of race and culture.

These diverse biographies provide a discursive re-telling of the imbrications of cloth(ing) within contemporary global regimes of design, development, heritage, trade and politics. The roundtable underscored the importance of mapping the nodes and networks of power underpinning the circulation of cloth(ing) in the globalized political economy of the present. It focused on new actors implicated in writing contemporary (and future) biographies of cloth, and drew our attention to hegemonic discourses that continue to circumscribe cloth years after the dissolution of empire. The meeting of Asian and African leaders in 1955 at Bandung was instrumental in inserting the newly independent states into the UN system of international cooperation "towards a cross cultural dialogue without the baggage of imperialism";[4] yet *Cloth, Identity and Power* interrogated precisely this alleged 'international cooperation' in the twentieth century, together with it's reframing of Asia's and Africa's altered engagement with the West, so deeply embedded in stories of cloth. The roundtable shed light not only on the fact that this discourse continues to govern production, exchange and labeling of cloth(ing) in the contemporary global milieu, but also on the need to recover eclipsed claims of culture and identity to be found in past, present and future biographies of cloth.

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Left: Lao shawl. Photo courtesy of Ellen Kaplowitz.

Right: Printing process. Photo courtesy of Simon Marks.

Far right: Textile designer Merdi Sihombing. Photo courtesy of Sebastian Hutabarat.

Notes
1 The term 'textile' in popular and academic discourse alludes to this objectification, making cloth amenable to practices of knowledge production such as collection, conservation, classification and cultural and economic valuation.
2 Appadurai, A. (ed.). 1986. *The Social life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective,* Cambridge University Press.
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3 The *Thirukkural* has a pivotal place in Tamil culture and is the moral and ethical treatise ascribed to Tamil poet-saint Valluvar.
4 Chakrabarty, D. 2005. 'Legacies of Bandung: Decolonisation and the Politics of Culture', *Economic and Political Weekly,* 4812-4818.

IIAS Reports *continued*

Building social cohesion through culture in conflict and post-conflict contexts

Sadiah Boonstra

Above: Napier Mole Bridge to Keamari [Karachi] 1900.

EXPLORATIVE ROUNDTABLE AMSTERDAM, 13 – 14 JUNE 2013
A JOINT INITIATIVE OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR ASIAN STUDIES, LEIDEN, AND THE TROPENMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM, WITH THE COLLABORATION OF THE PRINS CLAUS FUND AND UNESCO NEDERLAND

JOURNALISTS, cultural leaders, activists, writers, teachers, social and public cultural workers, academics and film makers, working in the Philippines, Cambodia, Pakistan, Bosnia, Afghanistan, Rwanda, and Macedonia, gathered for a two-day roundtable at the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam on 13 and 14 June. Topic of debate was the role of culture in peace-building in conflict and post-conflict situations. Almost all participants were working in countries with a violent past. Drawing on different contexts, they shared inspiring and exciting experiences, knowledge and understanding, commonalities, differences, best-practices, and experienced boundaries. Recurring interrelated themes were issues of creating spaces for expression, sustainability, resources and funding, cultural policy models, and dissemination of a culture of peace.

From cultural theory to cultural practice
The roundtable kicked off with a theoretical discussion about the definition of culture in specifically conflict and post-conflict situations. Two understandings of culture were explored that exist parallel to each other: an inclusive understanding of culture as a fluid and an open space of sharing, and an exclusive kind of culture, such as politicized discourses of the nation state, out of which supranational organizations like UNESCO grew. Participants saw culture as identity, norms and values, belief systems, ways of life, customs and traditions, as well as cultural expressions of people and communities. The consensus about the concept of 'art' was that it implies a cultural hierarchy, which does not necessarily reflect the complexity of society. Art, as a form of self-expression, was seen as just one form of cultural expression. The fluidity of the discussion was taken as a sign that culture is not static, but flowing and ever-changing.

Analogous to this understanding run politicized discourses of culture that can serve as a catalyst for culture to become a site of conflict and contestation. Political attempts of appropriation of cultural expressions lead to the inclusion and exclusion of communities on a local, national and international level. Such discourse may lead to tensions. Examples are the conflict between Cambodia and Thailand over the Preah Vihear temple, and the fight between Indonesia and Malaysia over the 'ownership' of batik. Culture can also become a victim of conflict, for example when an armed confrontation destroys cultural heritage. When people identify with traditions, their instinct is to protect it. The group at last

Creating an active and critical community that is able to engage in public debate, and question what the government is telling its people, is a long-term process.

came to a consensus in the final session, and agreed to a broad utilitarian approach of culture as cultural expressions. Commonalities in participants' work was a focus on positive elements of culture, and the constructive role it can play in peace-building.

Building a culture of peace
Participants strived to find similarities and commonalities among people, to create cohesion and a culture of peace, inclusion and equality in the communities in which they are working. Culture was seen as a condition for social well-being. Throughout the debates the gap between the theoretical issue of defining culture and participants' cultural activities in local situations quickly became apparent when attention turned to cultural practices of grassroots organizations and individuals in the cultural field. Many of them produce knowledge in different forms, such as archives, testimonies, and other sorts of documentation. Such repositories are often non-existent or destroyed during conflict and post-conflict situations, but they are crucial in the process of creating a critical civil community. For a society to move forward, it is necessary to come to terms with difficult history and (re)write history. Donors, however, are reluctant to fund institutional activities. It was remarked that donors should think about their long-term goals in the country in which they are working.

Education was mentioned as another powerful tool for building a critical society. Creating an active and critical community that is able to engage in public debate, and question what the government is telling its people, is a long-term process. Some participants felt that incorporating culture and peace education into school curricula should not be the sole responsibility of international organizations and NGOs, but rather the responsibility of national governments and local communities. It was acknowledged that foreign support in this respect is important, but never enough to penetrate to the local level. To make the process of peace-building through education more sustainable, the local context should therefore be leading. Governments should collaborate with grassroots organizations and civil society but they should not provide guiding principles, abandon or censor certain cultural expressions. Often, however, the state wants to construct a positive national narrative, which may result in the exclusion of dissonant voices and in turn, self-censorship as well.

Citizens Archive of Pakistan

Swaleha Alam Shahzada

CAP is a non-profit organization dedicated to cultural and historic preservation, with offices in Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad. We seek to educate the community, foster an awareness of our nation's history and instill pride in Pakistani citizens about their heritage. At the Citizens Archive of Pakistan (CAP), we have tried to collect a version of history that will not only present Pakistan's heritage in a spectacular way but also cannot be distorted. CAP has focused its attention on the tradition of oral storytelling in Pakistan, emphasizing the importance of such narratives in a dialogue on national identity. The Oral History Project, which was launched in 2008 and lies at the heart of CAP, holds interviews with the partition generation and concentrates on people talking about significant events in their lives during the early days of Pakistan.

CAP has now become an extremely valuable resource. We have over 2,400 hours of oral history and more than 45,000 photographs and digitized documents in our archive. Our vision is to develop CAP as the foremost museum and heritage center of Pakistani history, photography, culture, literature and historical documentation demonstrating the strength and spirit of Pakistan from the perspective of a citizen. Determined to take ahead the mission to challenge stereotypes, CAP launched the Exchange for Change (EFC) project in 2010, which aims at improving relationships between school students in different countries. A sustained exchange of letters, postcards, pictures, artwork and videos encourages children to form their own opinions. Currently, EFC is operating in India and the US involving over 3500 school children!

Similarly, in an effort to create lasting peace, build tolerance and change hostile perspectives of the younger generation of Pakistanis, CAP initiated its Outreach Tours programmed in government schools and colleges in Karachi and Lahore. The School Outreach Tours programme strives to inspire over 3,600 children in the most low-income neighborhoods of the two cities. Our lesson plans focus on History, Geography, English Language, and more importantly on character building. With visual rendering as the foremost tool, we have designed various projects to excite the youth. The College Outreach Tours reaches out to over 4,500 first and second year college students. This programme utilizes material from CAP's archive to develop bilingual workshops, based on civic sense, tolerance, democracy and constitutional rights, and invoke critical thinking as well as an understanding of the country's history and heritage.

Swaleha Alam Shahzada participated in the roundtable as Executive Director of the Citizens Archive of Pakistan (CAP). She has been involved with CAP since 2008, when she launched CAP's flagship programme 'The Oral History Project'. Currently Shahzada holds the position of Executive Director at CAP. Before she realized her calling was in the educational sector she worked as a banker and foreign currency trader. Shahzada worked as the Academic Head at a private school in Karachi before she joined CAP.

Institutional realms, such as archives or libraries, should not be the only places for accessing knowledge. Hands-on training proves to be an effective method as well. A successful enterprise was the training of musicians after the regime of the Taliban in Afghanistan to preserve the musical tradition. However, the creation of an audience was another problem. In Cambodia there is still a lot of discussion about places for artists to access knowledge and engage in a dialogue. There are alternative spaces to negotiate the conflict, such as safe community places that are set up as a result of the neglect of the government. Other alternative spaces in Cambodia are the pagoda's. They serve as a safe space for expression and could create sustainability. Such spaces are important to explore when democratic spaces and spaces for freedom are absent.

Cultural events proved to be a good way to disseminate knowledge and create awareness for important topics. 'The Passion show - Sa Panahon ni Erap' was a women's fashion show that took place in 2000 in Manila, the Philippines, to celebrate International Women's Day. It was aimed at the social empowerment of women and invited private fashion designers and artists to design haute couture and to reflect on women's position in society. The format of the fashion show was able to bridge differences and make the topic lighter and therefore easier for people to work together.

Other means of dissemination, but also mobilization, is media. The power of the traditional media of radio and television continues to be very strong because new social media are still a very urban phenomenon. In every situation and context, the form of dissemination should be reconsidered. Television in Cambodia is, for example, completely government controlled, but radio and Facebook are monitored less. In Afghanistan, radio proves to be a platform for exchange in a society where men and women cannot physically meet. Both men and women will phone in for discussions on a variety of topics.

Funding culture
The biggest challenge to the participants is the finance structure of culture, and the need to position themselves within that frame. The penetration of neoliberal thinking in the field of culture results in demands for the quantification of culture. Donors require that cultural activities are formulated in terms of input and output, which can be measured and audited. This brings about various interrelated problems: first, donors and grassroots organizations suffer from misunderstandings. The idea that culture can be quantified and monitored was perceived as problematic. How does one measure the growing of unity, hope or faith? Policy makers without a cultural back-ground have difficulties understanding the non-quantifiable value of culture. Consequently, monitoring indicators do not match cultural practice. It was proposed to change and develop indicators to monitor the effects of culture in cooperation with organizations in the field to create a common language. The importance to talk in terms that can be locally understood was emphasized.

The focus on quantification, auditing and measuring culture leads to a preference to support short-term projects in the field. It was widely felt that institutional support and infrastructural development deserves priority over projects because short-term projects do not necessarily contribute to a long-term process of change and peace-building. It takes a lot of time to get to know the highly specific cultural context of a situation, but the level of acquaintance is a condition for a successful intervention. The question for donor organizations should always be: what are we doing here and for whom?

It appeared that it is a thin line between donor-driven and donor demands. It is a challenge to convince donors of the importance of a project. Part of the art is to master the skills to fit the financial frame, such as applying for grants. International donors can actually help with this kind of capacity building. Organizations such as UNESCO strive to do this, but their (financial) means are very limited. At the same time, participants displayed reluctance because they realized that the consequence of applying for funding means conforming to the financing structure for culture. In practice, participants seek ways to fit the finance frame; for example, turning an artistic project into an educational one, just to get funding. The project might change as a result of this, but not necessarily for the worse. It might gain other, unforeseen, but nevertheless equally important meanings. These issues touch upon the question of foreign influence on the local context. It was acknowledged that outsiders actually have an influence and bring about change, because there is always work that can only be achieved from outside a certain country. There are also instances in which the government recognizes the advantage of bringing in a relative outsider.

Networks for culture
The effectiveness of the financing structures for culture largely depends on the relationship between the donor and grassroots

Himal Southasian

Aunohita Mojumdar

SOUTH ASIA has a very strong and vibrant media culture, led by the Indian media, one of the few that is still a growth industry in an era of rapidly dwindling consumption of traditional media. However, these strengths are applied selectively, and nowhere is the lack of journalistic rigour more apparent than in regional journalism. Many countries in this region have a strong national media, but there is virtually little or no interest in crossing borders except while reporting on cross-border confrontations and conflicts. Mechanical nationalism has become the default position for a very large section of the local media, fostering and encouraging hostilities at its worst and lapsing into lazy ignorance at best.

We share rivers, forests and monsoon patterns and are impacted by deforest-ation, landslides and flooding, but lack awareness about what exists across the border. We have intricate trade relations that help and curb the transit of goods, but are completely ignorant about the economies of our neighbours. We have massive migration within the region but know little about the peoples of other countries. We have a large portion of our region beset by conflict but little more than a jingoistic appreciation of these. The information and awareness that is needed in the region in order to foster tolerance and build the idea of a cooperative 'southasianness', is missing.

Himal Southasian has sought to fill this gap - not through soap box oratory or rhetorical flourishes, but through hard-headed journalistic rigour. We do not talk about why peace would be nice, we *demonstrate* its criticality. With its long form journalism, rigorous examination of issues, it has illuminated South Asians to each other and South Asia to those beyond its borders. Creating this awareness, we believe, undercuts the knee-jerk hostility that is often the default position in our nations.

As with many good endeavours the magazine faced great challenges to its survival, being forced to shut down in 2012 because of the challenges of distribution and revenue collection in the vast region it covers. To meet this challenge we have now positioned our-selves as a quarterly 'bookazine' and a web magazine launched earlier this year. Our vision is based on idealism but our approach is pragmatic. We hope to cash in on the increasing interest in South Asia. At a time when www is overloaded with information we are positioning ourselves as the go-to place that cuts through the information clutter, provid-ing the tools which prevent readers drowning in the sea of information. It is early days yet, but we are hopeful.

Aunohita Mojumdar is an Indian journalist, who has reported exten-sively on Indian politics with a special focus on the conflict affected areas of Punjab and Kashmir, as well as on foreign affairs. She lived and worked in Kabul from 2003 to 2011, where she worked as a freelance reporter contributing to Asia Times, Al Jazeera, NRC Handelsblad, the Guardian, Financial Times and other others. Currently, Mojumdar is based in Kathmandu as Associate Editor of Himal Southasian, the only regional magazine in South Asia.

Many countries in this region have a strong national media, but there is virtually little or no interest in crossing borders except while reporting on cross-border confrontations and conflicts.

organizations. Local organizations are often ignorant of financing sources. Vice versa, international donors frequently do not know where and how to reach local organizations. When two parties meet, the collaboration can take on different forms. The general view among the participants leaned towards the idea that collaboration between donors and grassroots organizations should be a more equal partnership than they regularly are. The Dutch Prince Claus Fund strives to support partners financially as equals. It is part of a network that connects people around the globe in a horizontal way. To them it is mandatory that support is requested from within a certain society, and based on indigenous knowledge.

Participants perceived such networks as a solution to the sense of loneliness and isolation. Grassroots organizations are sometimes one-man institutions that work towards something that is not supported by mainstream voices or funding channels. Such organizations find themselves isolated and lonely in their contribution to peace-building, which makes it harder to survive. To prevent this from happening, many loners apply self-censorship to fit mainstream discourses. In such instances, networks and collaborations can provide a sense of safety and support. Sometimes security is provided by financial support from international institutions. A network is useful for breaking the isolation, for finding ways to lobby, knowledge production, and the creation of a critical civil society.

Culture and politics
Some issues of culture exceed the local and national level, such as illicit trade of cultural artifacts. Problems like this have to be addressed on an international cultural policy level, at which UNCESO is the main player. UNESCO is able to make a difference in countries in transition by, for example, implementing a programme. This is more difficult in countries that know little freedom, such as Iran. If that is the case, it is uncertain whether the UNESCO office is able to find ways to support, e.g., freedom of expression, and progress is made in small steps. UNESCO wishes to achieve more at a horizontal level and civil movements already make a lot of efforts to work with them. But UNESCO is tied to the structure of the United Nations that works through national governments for the implementation of international conventions.

The question was raised whether participants want to use culture as a tool to help people, or whether the preservation of cultural heritage is a goal in itself. For example, the museum in Kabul is important for the cultural elite. To many people in the countryside, however, the museum is irrelevant because it houses pre-Islam artifacts and does not bring relief to the hardships there. The fight against illicit traffic of cultural objects is a similar issue. On a theoretical and policy level one might argue against this practice, but one could also question who is authorized to tell people not to sell the pots and pans they find on their lands when it helps them to survive. The dilemma here is whether we want to make an actual contribution to people's well-being or whether we are imposing our cultural values on local people. To some, heritage is not something dead that needs to be preserved, but it is very much alive and a living inspiration. In Pakistan, attempts have been made since the 1960s, to erase everything pre-Islamic. In Afghanistan a similar process is taking place, and almost reached completion with the destruction of the Buddha statues of Bamiyan in 2001. In Pakistan, however, UNESCO managed to play a successful role in heritage conservation because many, if not all, remain-ing pre-Islamic Moghul sites in the country are preserved with help of UNESCO. The preservation of cultural heritage is important to many of the participants, because it is part of the history and identity of people.

Towards the future
A lot more could have been said, but nevertheless a few conclusions can be drawn from the discussions. The financing structure of culture remains a challenge for sustainability. This is the result of the discrepancy between donors' preferences for short-term projects and long-term needs of grassroots organizations in conflict and post-conflict situations. Hopeful is the increasing tendency to incorporate culture in emergency relief programmes on a political level, such as UNESCO's Post-conflict and Disaster Platform. There is a discussion of making culture visible in quantitative statistics of emergency response and taking up culture as a fixed element in educational programmes. The relationship between grassroots and international organizations should be more of a partnership than it is now, because at all times, cultural activities have to be firmly embedded in local societies and contexts. For the future, the challenge remains to make the value of culture more obvious and inescapable.

Sadiah Boonstra was a Project Associate at the International Institute for Asian Studies. She is currently a Fellow at the 2013 Alliance of Historical Dialogue and Accountability at Columbia University, Institute for the Study of Human Rights (s.n.boonstra@vu.nl)

IIAS Reports *continued*

Chinese descendants in East Asia under Japanese colonialism

Leo Douw

THE WORKSHOP ON BORDER SOCIETIES AT ICAS 8, MACAO, 25 JUNE 2013
ORGANIZERS: LEO DOUW, UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM, VU UNIVERSITY AMSTERDAM
AND TIMOTHY TSU, KWANSEI GAKUIN UNIVERSITY, NISHINOMIYA

OUR WORKSHOP ENGAGED with the history of Chinese migrations around the countries of East Asia. There is a big challenge involved in this, especially when discussing the period of Japanese colonialism (1895-1945). For decades, the assertion of national interests has been preponderant in the public debate about that period: think of the official endorsement of schoolbook texts on World War II in Japan, or the island disputes between China and Japan, and between Japan and South Korea. In the same vein, the Chinese migrant populations in Japan, Korea and Taiwan are usually studied from a national perspective, which emphasizes the migrants' foreignness to their local environments. There is a call for the construction of a regional history, which accepts the importance of national contestations over important issues, but that, at the same time, looks at what has been commonly shared during the region's development over time, and has contributed to its rise in the modern world. Chinese migrations in the region provide a natural and productive vantage point for the writing of such a history.

The workshop
General comments on the papers during the workshop were provided by Pui-tak Lee, Jens Damm and Peter Post. In accordance with the ambitions of the workshop, the papers' authors came from all the countries in East Asia, except, unintentionally, from North Korea. The papers were presented not by their authors, but each by one of the other participants.

The workshop focused on Taiwan and Korea, which had become colonies of Japan in 1895 and 1910 respectively. The papers by Jin-A Kang and Byung-il Ahn examined the developments which led up to the Wanbaoshan Incident in 1931. Wanbaoshan is a village near Changchun in Manchuria, where Korean migrant workers lived, who were (incorrectly) reported in the press to have been attacked, wounded and one even killed by their Chinese employers, usually big landowners. In retaliation, 142 Chinese were killed in Korean cities, mainly Pyongyang, and many more wounded. Among the workshop's participants Kang contests most explicitly the conventional historiography, which typically argues that the killings had been allowed to happen by the Japanese Governor General in Korea and that they served Japanese interests to invade and put order to Manchuria. That argument is credible because indeed the Japanese army did occupy Manchuria in the year following the Wanbaoshan Incident, and in doing so not only deepened Japan's rift with China, but also alienated it from the international community and caused a long-lasting enmity between China and Korea. Kang joins in with a new wave of historians, however, who emphasize that a variety of domestic tensions had been building up since World War I. These came to a head when the World Economic Crisis broke out in 1929: tension existed between Chinese migrant workers in Korea and local laborers, between Chinese businesspeople in Incheon (where the main Korean Chinatown was located) and local society, between Korean migrant workers in Manchuria and their Chinese employers, and between Korean migrant workers in Japan and the surrounding population. These tensions, which were new at the time, were obviously very difficult to manage in good harmony, and also led the Governor General in Korea and the Japanese government to adopt different approaches towards the migrant populations, in the period before 1931. Ahn's paper adjoins Kang's argument, but goes more deeply into the advantages that Chinese laborers had when operating in Korea, among which he counts the well-organized labor gangs, which had greater leverage over employers than Korean workers could muster.

Both authors emphasize the importance of class contradictions underlying and partly undercutting ethnic ones, and remind us, that what happened in Korea was part of worldwide anti-Chinese agitation. Jong-hee Yi belongs to the same group of new historians, who contest the conventional nation-oriented historiography. He argues in his paper that, in the 1920s, Japanese power to undermine the access to Korean markets of British and Chinese textiles did not result from state support to Japanese trading firms, as has been generally assumed thus far, but on the flexibility of Chinese business firms, who changed from British and Chinese to Japanese corporate partners in order to sell textiles in Korea, especially cotton and silk, and not only profited from changed market circumstances,

but also from import duties imposed by the Japanese on the import of Chinese silk to Korea. Likewise, Ryota Ishikawa argues that the difficulties in compensating for the persistent trade deficit, which Korea had with China after the first Sino-Japanese war (1894-95), did not push the Chinese traders from the Korean market, as has been assumed previously. Instead he argues, that Chinese business networks in East Asia were diverse and widespread, and thereby flexible enough to find other means of payment to counteract adverse state action.

The papers on Southern China partly cover the same ground. Xuexin Wang provides a good example in his paper. Migrant workers from Mainland China in Taiwan supplemented the scarcity in the local labor market resulting from the Japanese colonial modernization project, just as in Korea. The existing historiography on the first decades of cross-Strait migrations after 1895, which Wang's paper covers, describes how policies were determined by the need to consolidate the colonial state and restrain the migration in order to control it. Wang, to the contrary, offers an analysis of the actors in the transport market, which regulated the migration flow from below. He relates how the British Douglas shipping company had to wage a tough struggle with its rival, the state-supported Osaka Shosen company and was gradually pushed out of this market, and how at the same time both companies had to deal with the small-scale organizations of prospective migrant workers, based in the local transit hotels in Xiamen. They remind one of the above-mentioned labor gangs in Korea, mustering sufficient strength to compete successfully with the labor recruiters of the big shipping companies. The paper by Junling Huang (Xiamen University, Xiamen, China) uses business letters in order to detail how, during the same period, the Taiwan-based Shi family perpetuated its cross-Strait trading business despite the restraints posed on it by the new and still violently contested colonial state. Peichen Li offers more of a classic account of how the Taiwanese Chen family business, in handling its exports to Japan, adapted its organizational structure to the demands of modern business management, despite the absence of a functioning modern business law on the island.

The remaining papers worked along similar lines, but paid more attention to identity-formation. Huei-ying Kuo focusses on the anti-British and anti-Japanese movements in British Hong Kong, during the period 1919-1941. Her paper portrays the nationalism of the Hong Kong business elite as different from the nationalism of the various governments during the period – the former was more committed to Chinese ethnic claims; also the business elite was barely anti-foreign in its actual behavior, as is exemplified by its refusal to join economic boycotts against the colonial powers. Looking at how the above-mentioned papers contrast national state policies with the interests of the international trading community, there is little to wonder about this difference by itself: the Hong Kong businesses could shift their trade, as their interests dictated, from one big political player to the other, be it China, Japan or England. Timothy Tsu's paper tallies in perfectly with Kuo's, and those by others in our workshop, in relating how the imagery of Chinese capitalists in Southeast Asia, projected by expansionist politicians in Japan, portrays them as adversaries, not collaborators.

Returning to connections across the Taiwan Strait, Chu Hong-yuan, in his paper, follows the career of Li Youbang throughout the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s. Li was a Left-leaning activist, who during World War II led a few thousand Taiwan-ese in Mainland China in their struggle against the Japanese occupation. Chu focuses much on the contrast that he sees between Li's Chinese identity and his formal Japanese citizenship, which alienated him partly from his co-combatants in the anti-Japanese struggle. Taiwanese identity really was a problem in China. This applied also the other way around, as Caroline Ts'ai attests to in her paper: the young police officers from Fujian province, who were trained at the end of the war to assist the expected Guomindang power takeover in Taiwan, knew near to nothing about the island at the time of their recruitment, and were quickly sidelined and severely frustrated after Taiwan's recovery in the late 1940s. Contrary to Chu's argument, however, Leo Douw envisages to debunk the importance of ethnic divisions in creating social difference, by contrasting the populations of the Taiwanese, who resided in the treaty ports in Fujian province, with the migrants who moved from

Fujian to Taiwan. These all shared a South-Fujian ethnic identity, but, because of the very different incidence of Japanese state policies in both places, they diverged greatly in their social composition and in their relationships with the surrounding populations. Ann Heylen, in her paper about the Taiwanese language reformer Cai Peihuo, confirms one other major point made in Douw's paper, namely the strong insistence of the colonial administration on forcing the Japanese language wholesale on the Taiwanese, whatever their social background, with very different consequences for people with a similar ethnic identity.

These conclusions will hopefully contribute to the writing of an East Asian regional history, in conformity with the ambitions of the informal research program, called *'Border Societies: Chinese descendants in East Asia under Japanese colonialism 1895-1945'*, of which the workshop was a part. This was established in 2011.

**For information, please address Leo Douw
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The celebration in 1972 by the Taiwanese community in Daegu, South Korea, of the 61st anniversary of the Republic of China. The picture highlights the theme of Chinese mobility in East Asia, which is treated in this report, even though it derives from a later period.

The Participants

Byung-il Ahn, Dept. of History, Saginaw Valley State University, Michigan.

Chu Hong-yuan, Academia Sinica, Institute of Modern History; Dept. of Political Science, Taiwan National University, Taiwan.

Jens Damm, Chang Jung Christian University, Tainan, Taiwan.

Leo Douw, Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Amsterdam; History Dept., VU University Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

Ann Heylen, Dept. of Taiwan Culture, Languages and Literature, National Taiwan Normal University (NTNU); International Taiwan Studies Center (ITSC), Taiwan. Huang Junling, Taiwan Research Institute, Xiamen University, China.

Ishikawa Ryota, Institute for Research in Humanities, Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto, Japan.

Kang Jin A, Dept. of History, Hanyang University, Republic of Korea.

Huei-ying Kuo, Dept. of Sociology, Johns Hopkins University; and director of research, East Asian Studies.

Pui-tak Lee, Center of Asian Studies, Hong Kong University.

Li Peichen, Dept. of History, National Taiwan University.

Peter Post, Netherlands Institute for War Documentation, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

Caroline Hui-yu Ts'ai, Academia Sinica, Institute of Taiwan History.

Timothy Tsu, School of International Studies, Kwansei Gakuin University, Nishinomiya, Japan.

Wang Hsueh-hsin, Taiwan Historica, Nantou, Taiwan.

Yi Junghee, Dept of Business Administration and Commerce, Seibi University, Kyoto, Japan.

China's global backyard: comparing Chinese relations with Southeast Asia and Africa

Jessica Achberger and Danielle Tan

JOINT SEMINAR OF IIAS AND THE AFRICAN STUDIES CENTRE
14 JUNE 2013, LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS

ON FRIDAY, 14 JUNE 2013, the International Institute for Asian Studies and the African Studies Centre, both based in Leiden, held the first joint seminar of the two institutions, "China's Global Backyard: Comparing Chinese Relations with Southeast Asia and Africa."The two presenters, Jessica Achberger and Danielle Tan, were both Visiting Fellows at the ASC and IIAS, respectively. The seminar was well attended and stimulated an interesting debate on both the role of China in relation to Southeast Asia and Africa, as well as the scholarship presented on it. What follows are excerpts from the two presentations.

Jessica Achberger

The boom of literature on China and Africa is not entirely surprising: the world, and more specifically, the West, is concerned with every aspect of Chinese domestic and foreign policy. However, in this process, I believe we have lost our focus on producing sound scholarship that truly gets to the root of the issues at hand. Therefore, what we have chosen to do today in this seminar is to critique the current state of scholarship on China's relations with both Africa and Southeast Asia. However, and more importantly, we would like to provide solutions for a better study of China's relations with the developing world.

There are three key issues that we have chosen to address today, which are prevalent in both literature on China and

Africa, and literature on China and Southeast Asia. The first of these issues is bias, and, in particular, to move past the binary structure of ´optimist/pessimists´. My second, related, point is that the western hegemony over scholarship on this topic dictates a pessimistic view. Negativity towards China, and towards China and Africa, is not new. But it does point to the fact that we have been working under a western, pessimistic framework on this topic for far too long. Because of this obsession with China, and particular the 'big bad' version of China, we end up asking the wrong questions, which is the third point I would like to discuss today. By keeping the focus only on China, especially when the perspective is inherently western/pessimist, we are neglecting to get to the heart of many issues within Africa, which happen to involve the Chinese government, Chinese companies, and Chinese people.

However, the next part, and the more important part, is fixing the problem. How do we begin to study relations between China and Africa, at all levels, in a way that fully expresses its complex reality? How do we move beyond the binary, beyond the black and white, to the grey area? What the study of China and Africa, at every level, needs is real empirically grounded questions based on fieldwork that get to the heart of the issues at hand. We need to change the way we talk about China and Africa.

Danielle Tan
My argument is that Southeast Asia, considered as China's natural backyard, is a crucial observation field to describe the complexity and the heterogeneity of mobilities and identities in the so-called 'Chinese century'. Southeast Asia's relations with China are distinctive because of a presence of a large ethnic Chinese population over many centuries. Given the long and common history that Southeast Asia and China share together, studying the current forms of Chinese presence in Southeast Asia can provide food for thought for those who are interested in Chinese globalisation in Africa, or the semi-periphery of the West, like Eastern Europe and South America. I will focus my presentation today on what Africa can learn from the Southeast Asian experience.

Jessica just showed the biased perception about Chinese relations with Africa framed by a negative Western perspective, and how this binary vision prevents us from asking the right question. I will go further, showing how that binary vision of China – as a threat or an opportunity – has first been conveyed in Southeast Asia since the colonial period, shaping the image and the relationship with the Chinese. As a result, until today, the study of Chinese migrants has never been objective, but highly motivated by economic and geopolitical interests. I will then propose to break new ground in examining China's rise by raising new research approach and a tentative comparative framework to study China's engagement in Africa and Southeast Asia.

Surprisingly, the disproportionate focus on Africa has obscured the significance of China's emergence as a global player for its closest neighbours. This omission is particularly glaring in the case of Southeast Asia, which has historically been the main theatre of China's commercial engagement with the world. China's comeback in Southeast Asia brought about a revival of Chinese cultural expression. Yet few scholars have seriously considered the effect of China's new economic, migratory, and cultural presence on the position of ethnic Chinese in the region and on the development of these countries. Despite growing nuance in the literature on China's engagement, especially in Africa, analyses that explore what the encounter with China produces in terms of new social, economic, political and cultural configurations within the milieus where its entrepreneurs and workers settle remain the exception.

*Above:
Danielle Tan.
Below: Jessica
Achberger.*

Asian Urbanisms in Theory and Practice: The Future of the Vernacular City

u k n a

2ND ANNUAL ROUNDTABLE OF THE URBAN KNOWLEDGE NETWORK ASIA (UKNA) 1-2 JULY 2013, SINGAPORE

THE SECOND ANNUAL ROUNDTABLE of the Urban Knowledge Network Asia (UKNA) was held in Singapore from 1-2 July 2013, at the modernistic University Town campus of the National University of Singapore (NUS). The Roundtable was co-organized by UKNA, IIAS, the Asia Research Institute (ARI), the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences and the Future Cities Laboratory of the National University of Singapore (NUS). The local hosts were Mike Douglass, Professor in the Asian Urbanisms Cluster at ARI and the Department of Sociology at NUS, and Dr. Rita Padawangi, Senior Research Fellow at the Asian Urbanisms Cluster of ARI.

The Roundtable brought together researchers and representatives of the network's partner institutes in China, Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan, India, the Netherlands, the UK, France, and of course Singapore itself.

Researchers, academics and activists from Singapore and around the region joined the UKNA contingent on the second day of the Roundtable for a workshop on the vernacular city in Asia.

Several critical cases of vernacular urbanism were presented and discussed, including:

Integrating street vendors in urban systems in Ahmedabad
Professor Madhu Bharti from CEPT University, India

The spatial pattern of everyday life in Beijing and Tianjin
Professor Qiang Sheng from Tianjin University, China

Socially inclusive planning in Taipei
Professor Liling Huang of the National Taiwan University

The redevelopment of Kampong Susun in Jakarta
Ivana Lee of the Ciliwung Merdeka Association and Ariel Glenesk of the Asian Coalition of Housing Rights

The case of Bukit Brown cemetery in Singapore **Claire Leow of 'All Things Bukit Brown'**

Presentations and discussions were followed by a walking tour of Bukit Brown cemetery, parts of which are threatened by a planned highway. The grand finale of the Roundtable was the City Possible II Film Festival, which featured short films and documentaries from all over Asia on everyday urban life, compiled by Mike Douglass and Rita Padawangi.

UKNA is an IIAS coordinated network of over a hundred researchers from 14 partner institutions and is funded by a grant awarded by the Marie Curie Actions 'International Research Staff Exchange Scheme' (IRSES) of the European Union.

Visit www.ukna.asia for further information

URBAN KNOWLEDGE NETWORK ASIA (UKNA)
"Human Flourishing and the Creative Production of Urban Space". From knowledge to action in comparative research on cities in Asia

UKNA is an inclusive network that brings together concerned scholars and practitioners engaged in collaborative research on cities in Asia. It seeks to influence policy by contributing insights that put people at the center of urban governance and development strategies. The emphasis is on immediate problem solving as well as on the identification of long-term, transformative processes

that increase the scope for the active engagement of people in the creative production and shaping of the city. UKNA pursues three avenues of inquiry:

1. The "Ideas of the City" research theme explores competing ideas of the contemporary city from historical perspectives to illuminate the continuities and ruptures in the process of city making.

2. The "Cities by and for the People" theme examines who are the actors and how they interact in the production, shaping, contestation and transformation of the city. It explores the relations between human flourishing and the making of urban space and form, with a particular concern for the rights of residents and users in the process.

3. The "Future of Cities" theme considers the challenges of urban dwellers and users in the areas of land, housing, infrastructure, services, planning and the environment, personal well being (including livelihoods and human capital), and "life spaces" (comprising culture, urban heritage, public spaces, and associational life).

Contributions to UKNA's three research areas are welcomed in a variety of forms, including written publications, case studies, seminars and workshops, short-term training activities, and the visual arts.

www.ukna.asia

Announcements

New MA courses on Critical Heritage Studies of Asia and Europe

The International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) and Leiden University Institute for Area Studies (LIAS) announce new MA courses on Critical Heritage Studies of Asia and Europe.

Over the last few years, IIAS has been intensively engaged with Leiden University and selected Asian partners in the development of a double degree programme in heritage studies. As of September 2013, students can opt for a new concentration of courses in 'Critical Heritage Studies of Asia and Europe', within the Leiden MA in Asian Studies. The final deliberations with our Asian partners are still on-going, but it is expected that this degree will eventually give students access to a MA programme in heritage studies at one or more of our Asian partner universities.

Background
IIAS, in collaboration with the Leiden University Institute for Area Studies (LIAS), has in the last two years taken the initiative to develop a special concentration of MA level courses on the subject of heritage within the specialisation 'History, Arts and Culture of Asia' of the Leiden MA in Asian Studies. The development of this concentration of heritage courses was inspired and supported by the IIAS Asian Heritages research cluster, which explores the contested character of all representations of culture, the plurality of notions of heritage in Asian and European contexts, and the way distinct and conflicting values of indigenous, local communities and official state discourses are negotiated in terms of historical, ethnic, religious, social, economic, and political values.

Programme contents at Leiden University
The successful completion of the Leiden curriculum will lead to the nationally accredited MA degree in Asian Studies at Leiden University. It includes special courses in 'Critical Approaches to Heritage Studies', and 'Heritage: A World of Policy Making',

a number of electives that focus on heritage management, specific subjects and/or regions of Asia, and/or the study of Asian languages. The curriculum is concluded with the writing of an MA thesis. Dr. Adele Esposito (IIAS and LIAS) will supervise the concentration of heritage courses within this programme, and Prof. Michael Herzfeld of Harvard University will be among the various guest teachers.

Double degree
Preparations for a second one-year MA study in heritage studies at an Asian university (including Gadjah Mada University, Indonesia, the National Taiwan University, or Yonsei University in South Korea) are in their final stages of development. The goal is to develop a coherent double degree programme in heritage studies that connects to the Leiden curriculum and whereby the successful completion of the Leiden curriculum gives access to a second one-year MA study in heritage studies at a partner university in Asia. Upon completion of both programmes students will, in addition to the two separate degrees from both universities, also receive a certificate for the Double Degree Programme in Critical Heritage Studies, issued by IIAS at Leiden University and the Asian partner institute.

Further information
For information about the specialisation 'History, Arts and Culture of Asia' of the Leiden MA programme in Asian Studies, see http://en.mastersinleiden.nl/programmes/history-arts-and-culture-of-asia

Students who want to apply are requested to add 'Critical Heritage Studies' on the application form.

For more information, please contact
Dr. Adele Esposito (adeleesposito@yahoo.fr)
or Dr. Willem Vogelsang (w.j.vogelsang@iias.nl)

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Framing 'Asian Studies': Geopolitics, Institutions and Networks

18-20 November 2013, Leiden, the Netherlands
Conference jointly organised by the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS, Leiden) and the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies Singapore (ISEAS, Singapore).

From 18-20 November 2013, this conference will examine and critically reflect on the 'social framing' of the field of 'Asian Studies'. Thanks to the wide-reaching networks of both IIAS and ISEAS, the initial call for papers attracted no less than 140 submissions, out of which 40 were selected to form a promising programme.

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

The conference will focus on four main themes:
• The influence of *geopolitical factors* on how knowledge about Asia is produced and disseminated
• The role of various *institutions* in promoting and directing 'Asia studies'
• The outlook of various knowledge *networks*
• *Critiques* on the power structure underlying the observed patterns of knowledge production and dissemination of Asian studies.

Attendance and registration
Anyone with an interest in this specialised topic is welcome to attend the conference. As the seating for attendees is limited, timely registration for this conference is required.

Please contact Martina van den Haak if you would like to attend:
m.c.van.den.haak@iias.nl

SPECIAL ISSUE

Future Publics: Politics and Space in East Asia's Cities

Special issue of *Footprint*, the Delft Architecture Theory Journal
Issue's editors: Gregory Bracken and Jonathan D. Solomon

This special issue of *Footprint* began life in Shanghai, with the third annual Delft School of Design (DSD) and International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) workshop, which was organized in conjunction with the Architecture Department of Hong Kong University (HKU) and took place in their Shanghai Study Centre in April 2011. The seven papers presented in the issue look at questions of public space in East-Asian cities, beginning with an overview since 1945 and thereafter concentrating on cities in China, such as Shanghai, Beijing, Hong Kong and Nanjing, as well as a realm that is not often considered public space: urban rivers. The issue also considers the city of Bangkok, where urban design is examined as a counter public sphere.

The issue is available in print and by free downloads, in full or by chapter, from the *Footprint* website: www.footprintjournal.org

Chapters:
Gregory Bracken and Jonathan D. Solomon *Introduction*
David Grahame Shane *Asian Public Space since 1945: From Mao to the Mall and Beyond*
Kelly Shannon and Chen Yiyong *(Recovering) Asian Rivers as Public Space*
Gregory Bracken *The Shanghai Alleyway House: A Threatened Typology*
Xing Ruan *The Temperament of a City: A Postscript to Post-Olympic Beijing*
Jason Carlow *[Re]Forming Public Space: A Critique of Hong Kong's Park Governance through Architectural Intervention*
Brian McGrath *War, Trade & Desire: Urban Design & the Counter Public Spheres of Bangkok*
Lian Tang and Wowo Ding *A Tentative Approach to Mapping Street Space: A Case Study of Chinese Central Urban Districts*

ONLINE EVENTS CALENDAR

Submit your event to the IIAS Global Agenda

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

We invite you to create your own account and upload your information.

Global Agenda: www.iias.nl/events
Jobs: www.iias.nl/jobs
Grants: www.iias.nl/grants

NETWORKING PLATFORM

IIAS PhD platform and discussion group at LinkedIn

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

The IIAS PhD discussion group forms part of the 'National Platform for Asia Related PhD Research in The Netherlands'. In January 2012, IIAS conducted a review of PhD research on Asia in the Netherlands (with a humanities and social sciences focus) and this led to the identification of more than 250 projects being carried out all over the country. Most striking, was the enormous range of subjects studied, and the large number of Dutch universities, research schools and institutes involved. Subsequent discussions indicated that PhD researchers in the field of Asian Studies at different organisations rarely knew of each other's work, even when the respective PhD subjects cover a similar region and/or discipline, and co-operation could benefit both parties. This has prompted IIAS to set up the Linkedin PhD platform with the aim to facilitate and stimulate contacts and interaction between researchers in Asian Studies. We welcome contributions, posted on this site, that will help to build the platform into a useful tool for anyone conducting PhD research in Asian Studies in the Netherlands.

Go to www.iias.nl/phdplatform or www.linkedin.com and enter 'IIAS PhD Platform' in the search box.
Facebook discussion site: www.facebook.com/phdplatform

IIAS PUBLICATIONS SERIES MONOGRAPHS

The Institutionalisation of Political Parties in Post-authoritarian Indonesia: From the Grass-roots Up

Author: Ulla Fionna
Amsterdam University Press,
August 2013, 249 pages
ISBN: 978 90 8964 536 4
Price: € 49,95

The Institutionalisation of Political Parties in Post-authoritarian Indonesia: From the Grass-roots Up provides detailed examination of how much the local party branches of Partai Golkar, Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan,

Partai Amanat Nasional, and Partai Keadilan Sejahtera in Malang (East Java) have institutionalised since the end of the New Era order (1966-1998). Based on extensive fieldwork and observation, this book provides a new bottom-up perspective on how activities, administration and membership of each party has changed, and why some parties have more developed organisational prowess and stronger institutional base than others.

Ulla Fionna is Visiting Research Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, and Honorary Associate at the Department of Indonesian Studies at the University of Sydney, Australia.

IIAS International Conference

11-13 November 2013
National Museum of Antiquities
Rapenburg 28, Leiden
The Netherlands

Patterns of Early Asian Urbanism

For information and registration please visit: www.iias.nl/patterns

LSEAS
Archaeology Unit
Institute of Southeast
Asian Studies, Singapore

IIAS
International Institute
for Asian Studies

Leiden University Institute for Area Studies

Universiteit Leiden
Asian Modernities and Traditions

Universiteit Leiden
Faculty of Archaeology

Leids Universiteits Fonds

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Patterns of Early Asian Urbanism

Organised by IIAS, Leiden University's Faculty of Archaeology, and the Archaeology Unit of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS, Singapore), this international conference will bring together leading scholars from around the world to explore the theme of 'Early Urbanism' of pre-modern Asian cities within the much broader context of urban studies, ancient and modern.

Scope
As centres that created, fostered and disseminated cultural, religious, socio-economic and political developments, pre-modern Asian cities were instrumental in generating urban culture of great diversity and the highest complexity. This conference seeks to explore Asian cities during their crucial period of urban formation and activity.

The conference aims to examine Asian pre-modern cities from different perspectives, covering a wide geographic expanse throughout Asia (from Pakistan to Japan) and a time depth of cultural development across five millennia (from the Bronze Age through 14th century Angkor to 18th century East Asia). It will provide a multi-disciplinary forum with participation from such fields as archaeology, geography and history as well as (modern) urban planning and urban morphology.

The focus will be on socio-economic trends in pre-modern Asian cities, the 'life world' of their inhabitants, and the characteristics of 'urbanity' that developed out of these interactions.

Comparison and contrast
The cultural phenomena of Asian cities will be explored through comparative studies, case studies and new theoretical approaches. The contrasted concepts of global and local features of urban growth allow us to employ a comparative perspective, investigating similarities in human societies' historical trajectory towards increasing rates of urbanisation, while at the same time prioritising the fact that cities are products of regional cultural traditions and dynamics.

Much scholarly attention has been directed towards the emergence and development of cities and urban agglomerates in pre-modern Europe, the Mediterranean basin, the Middle East and Pre-Columbian America, where a number of recent works have stressed the socially 'organic' economy of these ancient cities and their dynamic modes of human interactions across urban society, beyond more traditionally described patterns of religious and elite 'top-down' agencies. In this light, and while the main focus of this conference will be on the pre-modern Asian city and its evolution, informative comparison and contrast will be brought into debate through contributions summarising European, Mediterranean, Near Eastern and Meso-American urban history, as for instance emanating from research carried out by the Faculty of Archaeology at Leiden University. There will also be scope to include ongoing discussions about the development of modern (Asian) cities.

Conference Structure
The three-day conference will be structured around the three thematic foci: a) processes of urban development; b) urban economy; and c) social fabric of the city.

The programme, including keynote addresses and parallel panel sessions, will be made available on the IIAS website.

Keynote speakers
Professor John Bintliff, Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University
Professor Roland Fletcher, Department of Archaeology, University of Sydney
Professor John Miksic, Head Archaeology Unit, Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre,
Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), Singapore
Professor Norman Yoffee, Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University

Panel sessions
Descriptions of the selected panels can be downloaded from the IIAS website.

Attendance
Registration is required for attendance at all sessions.

Conference fees
Includes coffee, tea, lunches, one dinner and conference package
Regular: € 125 (open until 1 November 2013)
On-site: € 150
Discount for PhD students: € 25

Announcements *continued*

Emerging voices from Southeast Asia

Fridus Steijlen

IDFA 2013
INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTARY FILM FESTIVAL AMSTERDAM
20 NOVEMBER – 1 DECEMBER 2013

LATELY MOVIES FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA have been getting more success in attracting international attention. For example, *Uncle Boonmee Who Can Recall His Past Lives*, from Thai director Apichatpong Weerasethakul, won the 'Golden Palm' in Cannes in 2010, and several films by Philippine director Brillante Mendoza were selected and awarded at leading film festivals in Cannes and Berlin. Following the successful developments of Southeast Asian cinema, IDFA (International Documentary Film Festival Amsterdam) will be exploring the state-of-the-art of Southeast Asian documentaries in her upcoming festival, by organizing a thematic program: 'Emerging Voices from Southeast Asia' .

With this focus on Southeast Asian documentaries, IDFA is joining other initiatives, workshops and congresses that have been organized to stimulate the documentary industry, such as the 'Strategy Seminar' in Cambodia and the pitching forum 'Asian Side of the Doc' in Malaysia. Although there are big differences between Southeast Asian countries, there are sufficient similarities in film culture to speak of a 'Southeast Asian Cinema'.

Festival guest Rithy Panh
Thanks to technical developments –such as smaller, better, and cheaper cameras – not only is the number of films increasing, but so too is the quality improving. Filmmakers are able to work more independently, and as a result of the digital revolution they can reach a broader public. The Cambodian director Rithy Panh for example, confronts a number of Khmer Rouge camp guards with survivors of the regime, in his famous documentary: *S21, The Khmer Rouge Killing Machine* (2003). Again, in his latest film The Missing Picture, he portrays the quest for the significance of the Khmer Rouge regime, almost literally through a search for an image or other tangible proof of Cambodia's painful history. It is a good example of how Rithy Panh shapes the collective memory of Cambodia through film and photography. Panh's *The Missing Picture* won the prestigious 'Un Certain Regard Award' in Cannes last May. This award was introduced to recognize young talent and to encourage innovative and daring works.

Rithy Panh will be a festival guest during IDFA 2013 and a key person in the 'Emerging Voices from Southeast Asia' thematic program. He was born in Phnom Penh in 1964. In 1975, his family was removed from their home by the Khmer Rouge, and relocated to a refugee camp, where they later died. Rithy Panh fled to Thailand in 1979, but later ended up in Paris, where he became interested in film and eventually graduated from film school. Life under the Khmer Rouge and the legacy of that regime became the major themes of his films. Panh made his debut in 1989 with *Site 2,* and in the years that followed made a range of documentaries about life in Cambodia, eventually also returning to the country of his birth. Since then, he has been a key figure in the documentary industry of Cambodia, and not only because of his inter-nationally recognized films, including *S21, The Khmer Rouge Killing Machine* (2003) and *Duch, Master of the Forges of Hell* (2011). Panh is also the founder and director of the Bophana: Audiovisual Resource Center in Cambodia, which aims to preserve the history of Cambodian film and photography. As a festival guest Rithy Panh has selected the IDFA Top 10, he will talk about his work and the Top 10 in a masterclass, and there will be a retrospective of Panh's own work.

The films Rithy Panh selected for the IDFA Top 10 partly reflect the notable development in Southeast Asian documentary cinema: small personal stories commenting on contemporary or historical events and issues. Among them are *A Man Vanishes* by Shohei Imamura (Japan, 1967), about the investigation into the disappearance of a businessman – just one of the many young men to disappear without a trace every year in Japan. Another Top 10 film is *A Tale of the Wind* by Joris Ivens and Marceline Loridan-Ivens (France/Netherlands, 1988). This playful work that balances between fiction and documentary, is in fact a small story about Ivens himself and a reflection on his life and career. In *Vanda's Room* by Pedro Costa (Portugal, 2000), is a deep journey into the Lisbon ghetto and the lives of its desperate inhabitants.

Making history
For scholars working on Southeast Asia the work of documentary makers like Rithy Panh is of significant interest. Much work has been done on how historiography has been recently impacted by specific historical events that have redrawn the political map in some of the Southeast Asian countries, and have required a coming to terms with a nationalist history that does not fit all. Considerably less work has been done so far on how visual images of history, like documentaries and new media technologies, change the interpretation of particular events and in its aftermath the writing of history by new interest groups and sections of society other than the traditional intelligentsia involved in such making of history. The recent 'underground tour' of *The Act of Killing* (Oppenheimer 2012), a film about the 1965 Indonesia killings, shows how film has a 'secondary' life on YouTube, Vimeo and similar internet based platforms, from where it can impact discussions on national histories.

To address questions related to these issues the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV), the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS), and Leiden University will, in cooperation with IDFA, organize a seminar in connection with the IDFA's thematic program. The aim of the seminar is to bring together documentary makers and scholars, to discuss how documentaries help to rewrite national histories and to elaborate on the role of documentary makers as historians.

More details about the IDFA program 2013 can be found at: www.idfa.nl or by contacting Raul Nino Zambrano through raul@idfa.nl

More details about the seminar can be found at: www.kitlv.nl or by contacting Fridus Steijlen through steijlen@kitlv.nl
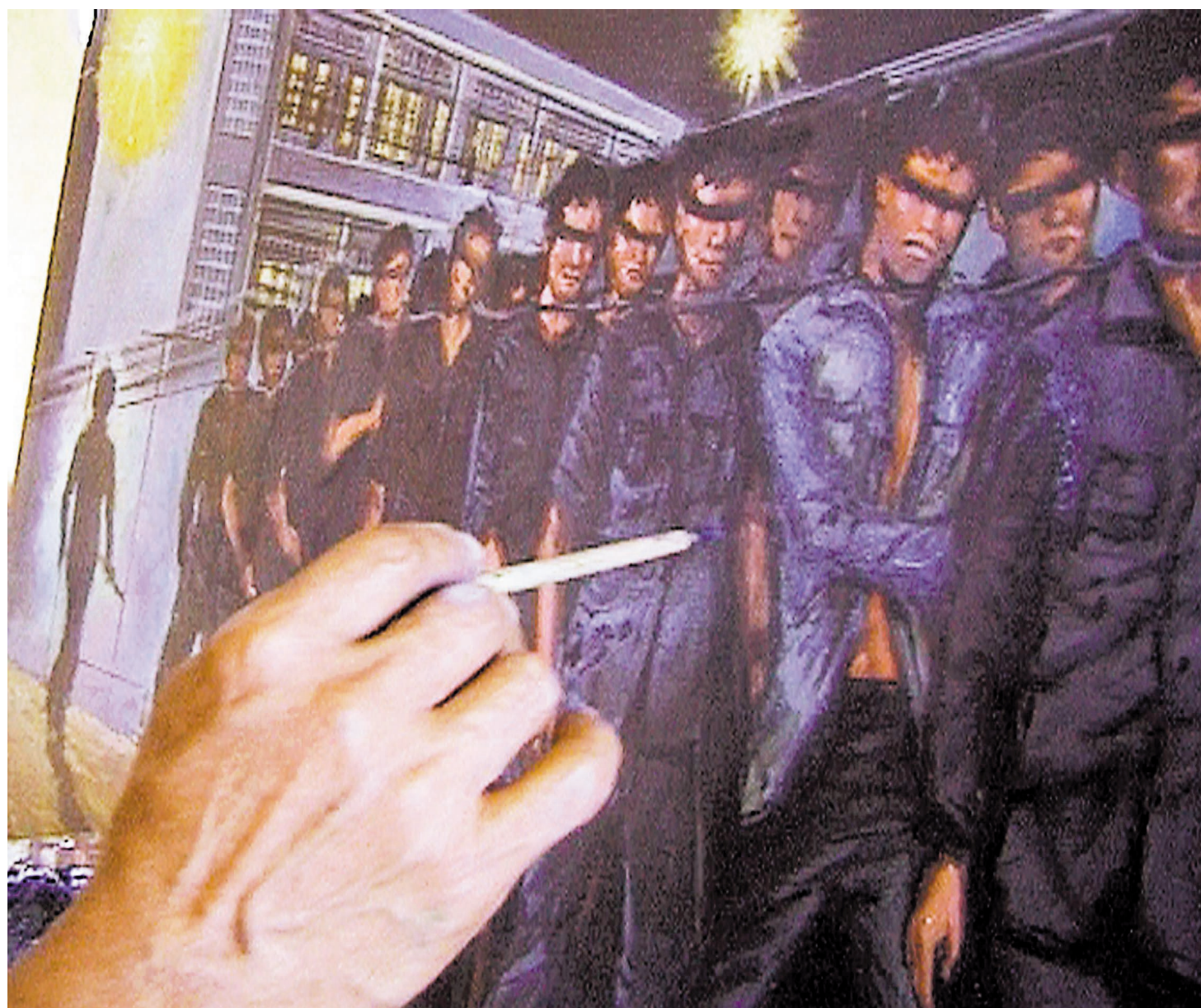

Cambodian director Rithy Pahn. (photo by Richard Dumas)

Below: Still shot from Rithy Pahn's film *'S21, The Khmer Rouge Killing Machine'*.

IIAS research and projects

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

Asian Cities

WITH A SPECIAL EYE on contemporary developments, the Asian Cities cluster aims to explore the longstanding Asian urban "tradition", by exploring the origins of urbanism and urban culture in different parts of Asia and linking the various elements of city cultures and societies, from ancient to modern (colonial and post-colonial) times. Through an international knowledge-network of experts, cities and research institutes it seeks to encourage social scientists and scholars in the humanities to interact with contemporary actors including artists, activists, planners and architects, educators, and policy makers. By bringing together science and practice, IIAS aims to create a platform for scholars and urban practitioners focusing on Asian cities 'in context' and beyond traditional western norms of knowledge.

PROJECTS AND NETWORKS

The Postcolonial Global City
This research examines the postcolonial cities of South, East and South-East Asia, and how some of them have made the successful segue from nodes in formerly colonial networks to global cities in their own right. Intended as an inter-disciplinary research endeavour, the Postcolonial Global City has, thanks to events such as its seminars and lectures, brought together not just architects and urbanists, but also people from other disciplines, such as geographers, sociologists and political scientists, as well as historians, linguists and anyone else involved in the field of Asian studies. A key factor in the research is architectural typology. Architecture is examined to see how it can create identity and ethos and how in the post-colonial era these building typologies have been superseded by the office building, the skyscraper and the shopping centre, all of which are rapidly altering the older urban fabric of the city. The research programme organises a seminar every spring. The 2013 seminar Asian Cities: Colonial to Global fits into the Postcolonial Global City's wider research which focuses on city design and city governance, and its investigations into institutions of governance, rule of law, and the role of language, as well as issues of environmentalism and sustainability.
Coordinator: Greg Bracken (gregory@cortlever.com)

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

UKNA Partners:
Ambedkar University; Beijing University of Technology's College of Architecture and Urban Planning; CEPT University; China Academy of Urban Planning and Design; TU Delft Faculty of Architecture; Ecole Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture Paris-Belleville; Hong Kong University's Architecture Department; Indian Institute for Human Settlements; International Institute for Asian Studies; Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences' Centre for Urban and Regional Studies; Tianjin University's School of Architecture; University College London's Development Planning Unit; University of Macau's Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities; University of Southern California's Sol Price School of Public Policy. Strategic partners are: Asia Research Institute (ARI) of the National University of Singapore and the Graduate Institute of Building and Planning (NTUBP) of National Taiwan University.
Coordinators: Paul Rabé (p.e.rabe@iias.nl) & Gien San Tan (g.s.tan@iias.nl)

Global Asia

THE GLOBAL ASIA CLUSTER addresses contemporary issues related to transnational interactions within the Asian region as well as Asia's projection into the world, through the movement of goods, people, ideas, knowledge, ideologies and so forth. Past and present trends are addressed. The cluster aims to expand the understanding of the process of globalisation by considering the various ways Asian and other world regions are interconnected within a long-term historical framework. Acknowledging the central role of Asia as an agent of global transformations, it challenges western perspectives that underlie much of the current literature on the subject and explores new forms of non-hegemonic intellectual interactions in the form of 'south-south-north' and 'east-west' dialogue models. In principle, any research dealing with Asian global interactions is of interest. By multi-polarizing the field of Asian studies, an enriched comparative understanding of globalization processes and the role of Asia in both time and space will be possible.

PROJECTS AND NETWORKS

Asian Borderlands Research Network (www.asianborderlands.net)
The Asian Borderlands Research Network focuses particularly on the border regions between South Asia, Central/East and Southeast Asia. A conference is organised every two years in one of these border regions, in co-operation with a local partner. The concerns of the Asian Borderlands Research Network are varied, ranging from migratory movements, transformations in cultural, linguistic and religious practices, to ethnic mobilization and conflict, marginalisation, and environmental concerns.

Energy Programme Asia (EPA)
The EPA-research programme is designed to study the effects of global geopolitics of energy security on the one hand, and policy to increase energy efficiency and estimating the prospects for the exploitation of renewable energy resources on the other. The New Joint Research Project is called *The Transnationalization of China's Oil Industry: company strategies, embedded projects, and relations with institutions and stakeholders in resource-rich countries (2013-2017)*. Involving various Chinese and Dutch research institutes, this new joint comparative research project of the Energy Programme Asia will analyse China's increasing involvement with governments, local institutions and local stakeholders in the energy sectors of a number of resource-rich countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, notably Sudan, Ghana, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Iran, Venezuela, and Brazil. It seeks to determine patterns of interaction between national institutions and Chinese companies, their relationships to foreign investment projects, and the extent to which they are embedded in the local economies. A core team of principal authors will present individual studies on various aspects and different countries. The resulting studies will be published in refereed journals such as Energy Policy, Social Aspects of Energy [Elsevier], China Information, and a book volume. This project is sponsored by the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Social Sciences (KNAW), the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) and IIAS.
Coordinators: M. Amineh, Programme Director EPA-IIAS (m.p.amineh@uva.nl or m.p.amineh@iias.nl), Y. Guang, Progamme Director EPA-IWAAS/CASS
www.iias.nl/research/energy-programme-asia-epa

IIAS Centre for Regulation and Governance
The IIAS Centre for Regulation and Governance in Asia, is engaged in innovative and comparative research on theories and practices – focusing on emerging markets of Asia. Its multidisciplinary research undertakings combine approaches from political economy, law, public administration, criminology, and sociology in the comparative analysis of regulatory issues in Asia and in developing theories of governance pertinent to Asian realities. Currently the Centre facilitates projects on State Licensing, Market Closure, and Rent Seeking; Regulation of Intra-governmental Conflict; Social Costs, Externalities and Innovation; Regulatory Governance under Institutional Void; and Governance in Areas of Contested Territoriality and Sovereignty.
Coordinator: Tak-Wing Ngo (t.w.ngo@hum.leidenuniv.nl)

Asian Studies in Africa
Asian Studies in Africa (ASA) is an IIAS initiative aimed at the development of a trans-continental higher education capacity building program involving partners in Africa, Asia and Europe. Strategic partners in this project are UNZA, SEPHIS, and the African Studies Centre (ASC) in Leiden, which will take on similar initiatives to promote African Studies in Asia. The objective of this initiative is to foster an autonomous African academic community that is able to train a critical mass of local experts on Asia and relationships to Asia. The rationale behind the initiative lies in the realisation that the present forms of intensive relationships between the two continents of capital investments, commerce, political alliances and cultural transfers of knowledge, urgently call for systematic scholarly engagements with the past and present of Asian and African realities. Informed by years of experience in Asia and Africa, the initiative recognises the need for a solid and critical infrastructure of social science knowledge dissemination and research, and believes that European institutions can play a positive role as facilitator and 'relay' of a new, triangular, trans-regional configuration. A major roundtable took place in November 2012 in Chisamba, Zambia and led to the creation of the pan-African Association of Asian Studies in Africa (AASIA). AASIA's development is currently headed by a steering committee of scholars from Africa, Asia, and Europe. **Coordinator: Philippe Peycam (iias@iias.nl)**

Asian Heritages

THE ASIAN HERITAGES CLUSTER explores the notion of heritage as it has evolved from a European-originated concept associated with architecture and monumental archaeology to incorporate a broader diversity of cultural forms and values. This includes the contested distinctions of 'tangible' and 'intangible' heritages, and the importance of cultural heritage in defining one's own identity or identities vis-à-vis those of others. It addresses the variety of definitions associated with heritage and their impli-cations for social agency. It aims to engage with the concepts of 'authenticity', 'national heritage' and 'shared heritage' and issues pertaining to the political economy of heritage. It will critically address the dangers of commodification of perceived endan-gered local cultures/heritages, languages, religious practices, crafts and art forms, as well as material vernacular heritage.

PROJECTS AND NETWORKS

Indian Medical Heritage Research Network
The Indian Medical Heritage Research Network wants to stimulate social-cultural and social-historical research on Indian medical traditions such as Ayurveda, Unanitibb, Siddha, Yoga and Sowa Rigpa. Of special interest is the integration of Indian medicine in Indian public health and its role as second resort for middle class Indians and Europeans. The network offers a virtual space on Facebook (www.facebook.com/IndianMedicalHeritage) for collating research findings and other information about India's medical heritage covering diverse perspectives, interests and backgrounds.
Coordinator: Maarten Bode (m.bode@uva.nl)

Reclining Buddha, Dambulla Cave Temple, Sri Lanka.

ABIA South and Southeast Asian Art and Archaeology Index
The ABIA project is a global network of scholars co-operating on a bibliographic database of publications covering South and Southeast Asian art and archaeoology. Partners are the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, New Delhi, India, and the Postgraduate Institute of Archaeology, University of Kelaniya, Sri Lanka. The database is freely accessible at www.abia.net. Extracts are available as a series of bibliographies, published by Brill. In December 2012 IIAS and Brill Publishers agreed that Brill will take on the ABIA Netherlands office as an in-house digital bibliographic project, starting from 15 March 2013. The first year will be a pilot year for anchoring the ABIA work in Leiden in a new setting. This phase will continue to receive co-funding from IIAS and the J. Gonda Foundation.
Coordinators: Ellen Raven (e.m.raven@iias.nl)
Gerda Theuns-de Boer (g.a.m.theuns@iias.nl)

Open Cluster

PROJECTS AND NETWORKS

Ageing in Asia and Europe
During the 21st century it is projected that there will be more than one billion people aged 60 and over, with this figure climbing to nearly two billion by 2050, three-quarters of whom will live in the developing world. Ageing in Asia is attributable to the marked decline in fertility shown over the last 40 years and the steady increase in life-expectancy. In Western Europe, ageing populations developed at a slower pace and could initially be incorporated into welfare policy provisions. Currently govern-ments are seeking ways to trim and reduce government financed social welfare and healthcare, including pensions systems, unleashing substantial public debate and insecurity. Many Asian governments are facing comparable challenges and dilemmas, involving both the state and the family, but are confronted with a much shorter time-span. Research network involved: Réseau de Recherche Internationale sur l'Age, la Citoyenneté et l'Intégration Socio-économique (REIACTIS) Sponsored by: IIAS.
Coordinator: Carla Risseeuw (c.risseeuw@iias.nl)

IIAS fellows

IIAS hosts a large number of affiliated fellows (independent post-doctoral scholars), IIAS research fellows (PhD/postdoctoral scholars working on an IIAS research project), and fellows nominated and supported by partner institutions. Fellows are selected by an academic committee on the basis of merit, quality, and available resources.

IN THE SPOTLIGHT

Albert Tzeng

Framing Sociology in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore

I STUDIED chemistry and psychology at National Taiwan University before obtaining sociology degrees from the London School of Economics (MSc) and Warwick (PhD). I came to Leiden in June 2013 as an IIAS-ISEAS Postdoctoral Fellow. Prior to my academic pursuits, I worked as editor, marketing specialist, parliamentary assistant, election campaign manager and freelance writer. My interdisciplinary education and versatile employment history left me with a keen interest in how the production, dissemination and utilization of knowledge are historically and socially embedded.

My work at IIAS involves two major projects. The first is to complete a monograph (under contract with Ashgate) based on my doctoral dissertation *Framing Sociology in Taiwan, Hong Kong*

and Singapore: Geopolitics, States and Practitioners. The project maps and compares how sociology as an institutionalized discipline of teaching and research has been introduced, practiced and developed into different formations in the three East Asian societies. The three cases share similarities in their colonial pasts, demographic majorities, and developmental trajectories, but demonstrate great contrasts in post-WWII geopolitical statuses and domestic political context. I aim to theorize about the observed patterns and trajectories, and to interpret the findings in light of socio-historical contexts. The analysis is based on literature review, archival study, interviews with sociologists and other observations conducted during my affiliation with Academia Sinica (Taipei), Hong Kong

Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences at HKU, National University of Singapore and the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies Singapore (ISEAS).

The second project is to organize the IIAS conference *Framing Asian Studies: Geopolitics, Institutions and Networks* that will be held from 18-20 November 2013, in Leiden. The conference was conceived by appropriating the analytical framework developed in my dissertation to the field of Asian Studies. I aim to invite critical reflection on the 'social framing' of the field by focusing on the influence of geopolitical context, the role of various institutions (foundations, research institutes, journals, publishers) and the outlook of various knowledge networks. Thanks to the wide-reaching networks of IIAS and ISEAS, the call for paper has

attracted an impressive quantity of 140 submissions, out of which 40 were selected to form a promising program.

As a Taiwanese sociologist trained in England, I benefit from IIAS in four ways. First, it brings me in touch with a broader interdisciplinary scholarly network concerned with Asia, and therefore broadens my intellectual horizon in directions I aspire. Second, the beautiful setting in Leiden, resourceful libraries and helpful IIAS staffs provide a comfortable environment suitable for thinking and writing. Third, its location provides an easy access to scholarly activities in continental Europe. Finally, at a more personal level, a stay in the Netherlands allows me to revisit the historical connection between this nation and the island I came from.

Retno Kusumaningtyas

Agricultural commodity driven migration and its relationship to a sustainable natural resource future: an investigation into the history of smallholder migration in Indonesia

THE THREAD THAT RUNS through all of my studies thus far is to seek out solutions towards improving sustainable natural resource management. In my native Indonesia, as in other countries in the Southeast Asian region, this is an issue that is of great consequence to future developments of the country. Consecutive topics of study have taken me from timber plantation management, biomass production, and the management of protected areas, onto smallholder agricultural practices such as traditional and modernized home garden systems. In a sense each phase of my academic progression was aimed at heightening my understanding of ever smaller but complementary building blocks towards a sustainable future.

At IIAS I have been given the opportunity to investigate a further piece of that puzzle: gaining a better understanding of the background and motivation of smallholders, in particular in relation to internal migration in Indonesia.

Internal migration has long been a common phenomenon in Indonesia. Before the advent of Dutch colonial rule spontaneous migration occurred throughout the region, while both the Dutch colonial government as well as later Indonesian governments implemented extensive migration programs to reduce population pressures in Java, Bali and Madura, while also aiding the development of other islands by increasing available labour for

plantations and mining. Nowadays, organised internal migration in Indonesia is limited, but communities, once part of the organised migration programs, have seen steady population growth to such an extent that new generations are once again on the move. This is partly due to a lack, or worsening, of resources available in the areas of past settlement, but equally so to perceived opportunities in other areas of the archipelago.

My investigation attempts to uncover the journey taken by the families of Javanese migrants from the first half of the 20th century until the present. Once part of the government initiated migration programs, new generations are now following a path of self-initiated

and unregulated migration in search of new agricultural lands and the opportunity to build a richer future through the cultivation of oil palm. My particular interests goes out to a group of second and third generation Javanese migrants currently establishing new communities in the (protected) forests of Riau Province, Sumatra. Given my previous studies on the changing agricultural practices of migrant communities establishing themselves in a new environment, I found these communities to be a particularly interesting indicator into the changing and increasingly significant socio-economic and political role of smallholders in the overall management of natural resources in Indonesia.

FELLOWS CURRENTLY AT IIAS

Mehdi Amineh
Domestic & geopolitical challenges to energy security for China and the EU
1 Sep 2007 – 1 Apr 2017

Rebecca Bego
2012 MA Thesis Prize Winner
23 Sep 2013 – 23 Dec 2013

Gregory Bracken
Colonial-era Shanghai as an urban model for the 21st century
1 Sep 2009 – 1 Sep 2013

Bernardo Brown
The circulation of Sri Lankan Catholic clergy to Europe, transnational religious networks, global Christianity in South Asia.
1 Oct 2013 – 31 Jul 2014

Siobhan Campbell
Histories of Balinese Art and Museum Collections
1 Sep 2013 – 28 Feb 2014

Ana Dragojlovic
26 Nov 2013 – 26 Jun 2014

Jonathan Duquette
Gonda fellow
1 Sep 2013 – 28 Feb 2014

Elisabeth Engebretsen
1 Sep 2013 – 28 Feb 2014

Adele Esposito
Architectural and urban making in Southeast Asian heritage cities: the art of combining endogenous forms and exogenous inputs. Hoi An (Vietnam) as a case study
1 Jan 2013 – 31 Nov 2013

Elisa Ganser
Gonda fellow
27 Sep 2013 – 31 Mar 2014

Swargajyoti Gohain
Dissertation-to-book project, on the subject of 'cultural politics in an Indo-Tibetan borderland'
1 Sep 2013 – 30 Jun 2014

Nishi Hideaki
18 Mar 2013 – 18 Sep 2013

Wang Jian
Jul 2013 – Dec 2013

Pralay Kanungo
Indian Chair
1 Sep 2013 – 30 Jun 2015

Ward Keeler
Nov 2013 – May 2014

David Kloos
Becoming better Muslims: Religious authority and ethical improvement in Aceh, Indonesia
1 Jul 2013 – 1 Feb 2014

Ulrich Timme Kragh
An Asian philosophy of history and cultural heritage
1 Jul 2012 – 31 Aug 2013

Retno Kusumaningtyas
Socio-economically driven internal migration in Indonesia
1 Apr 2013 – 31 Mar 2014

Viet Le
Representations of modernization and historical trauma in contemporary Southeast Asian visual cultures (with a focus on Cambodia, Việt Nam and its diasporas)
8 Jul 2013 – 31 Aug 2013

Doreen Lee
1 Oct 2013 – 31 Jul 2014

Melody Chia-Wen Lu
Migration taxonomies, gender roles and ethnic boundaries: Korean-Chinese women moving between South Korea and Northeast China
8 Jul 2013 – 1 Sept 2013

Nina Mirnig
1 Oct 2013 – 31 Jan 2014

Tak-wing Ngo
State-market relations and the political economy of development
1 May 2008 – 1 May 2017

Elena Paskaleva
Reading the architecture of Paradise: the Timurid Kosh
1 Sep 2012 – 1 Sep 2013

Gerard Persoon
Extraordinary chair at the Leiden University Institute of Cultural Anthropology and Developmental Sociology
1 Jul 2009 – 1 Jul 2014

William Peterson
Community-based performance in the Philippines
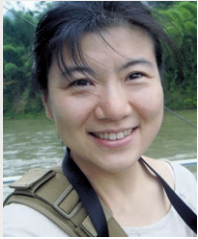12 Aug 2013 – 30 Nov 2013

Albert Tzeng
Framing sociology in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore
20 May 2013 – 20 Nov 2013

Yi Wang
Cataloguing the Van Gulik Collection
1 Jun 2013 – 31 Dec 2013

Yi WANG

The lifestyle and knowledge context of pre-modern Chinese scholars – An observation by a Dutch genius

My fellowship at IIAS provides me a good opportunity to study the Van Gulik Collection in the East Asian Library of Leiden University, which consists mostly of books from the personal library of Robert Hans van Gulik 高羅佩 (1910-1967), Dutch sinologist, diplomat and writer of detective stories. The complete Van Gulik collection contains about 3400 titles, in almost 10,000 volumes. Although the well-known part of the collection – its novels and books on art and music, which include about 400 titles – was reproduced in its entirety onto microfiches in the 1980s by the publisher IDC, there are still more than 3000 titles that are not open to the public, nor have they been completely cataloged yet.

A national cultural project entitled *Rare Edition Series of Overseas Chinese Classics* deals with recovering, cataloguing and republishing rare Chinese books collected from China, and is carried out by my home institute: the Institute of History at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. Within this context, my institute has sent me out to catalogue Van Gulik's collection. For me personally, this also provides a wonderful opportunity to learn and understand more about Van Gulik's research.

The significance of Van Gulik's Chinese collection is that these books present a perceptive observation by an outsider of the full extent of Chinese antique culture, namely: the pre-modern scholars' interest and knowledge consisting of the most elaborate refined culture (雅文化), such as classic literature, calligraphy, scholarly painting and music, and the most vulgar culture (俗文化), like the erotic vernacular literature. Although these two kinds of culture (雅 Ya vs. 俗 Su) have been generally treated as two totally different research fields, they do simultaneously construct a panorama of the lifestyle and knowledge context of a traditional Chinese scholar.

Van Gulik was not only a sinologist, he was also a diplomat, a detective fiction writer and a versatile scholar. He spoke a half dozen Asian languages, several of which fluently; he studied many kinds of Asian arts and handicrafts, and some of these he practiced with great skill. For me, it is a very enjoyable journey to work on his book collection, checking all his reading notes and tracing his research thoughts. Undoubtedly, it will be of great benefit to my own research subject: the Chinese Classics and China's cultural history. Of course I will primarily use the final results of my six months research project with IIAS for my main goal: to create a complete and informative catalogue of Van Gulik's Chinese collection, which will hopefully also become available online.

IIAS Postdoctoral Fellowships

The International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) in Leiden, the Netherlands, invites outstanding researchers to work on a relevant piece of research in the social sciences and humanities with a postdoctoral fellowship. The deadlines for applications are 1 April and 1 October.

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

Asian Cities

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

Asian Heritages

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

Global Asia

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

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

For information on the research clusters and application form go to: **www.iias.nl**

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Landscapes of power, recreation and convenience

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3b

The political unification of Japan during the Edo period (1615–1868) profoundly impacted the conceptualization of space and borders. During this period, Japan transformed from a collection of regional fiefdoms into a network of provinces centrally administered by the shogun at the capital city, Edo (modern-day Tokyo). With control of most of what is now modern-day Japan, the ruling Tokugawa shogunate sought more complete geographic data of the country. This information was then made available to popular artists who reimagined it for various clients. *Mapping Edo: The Social and Political Geography of Early Modern Japan* at the Cantor Arts Center examines the shift in how Edo-period Japan was visualized by the ruling shogunate, commercial interests, art makers, and its citizens.

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*Mapping Edo: The Social and Political Geography
of Early Modern Japan*
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TO ILLUSTRATE THE SPATIAL DEVELOPMENTS of Edo-period Japan, this exhibition is predominantly comprised of maps paired with selections of *ukiyo-e* landscape prints and paintings. All works on view are from the collection of the Cantor Arts Center at Stanford University, and, in fact, many are being put on display for the first time in the institution's history. Perhaps part of the reason for this is that maps have traditionally been treated as archival documents and not as artistic works. However, maps are as much constructed images as any work of art – they do not simply reflect the world, but rather shape an understanding of it. These maps and other geographic representations on view at the Cantor reveal much about the landscape of politics, tourism, and commerce in early modern Japan.

Among the exhibited works, one image that especially dramatizes the Edo-period shift in spatial awareness is *A Picture of the Famous Places of Japan* (c. 1805) by the artist Kitao Masayoshi (1764–1824). Offering a bird's-eye view of the entirety of early modern Japan, this print (fig. 1) shows the full expanse of the country from a northeastern viewpoint with the white peak of Mount Fuji visible toward the bottom of the image and Korea (Chōsen) on the horizon. Within Japan, all 68 of the Edo-period provinces are identified in rectangular cartouches while smaller features such as castles and geographic landmarks are labeled in katakana. Masayoshi's print straddles the categories of informative map and augmented artwork (the artist enlarged Tsuyama castle where he was appointed the official painter). This visualization of national space was clearly impacted by political realities, commercial demands, and personal interests.

The new locus of government, Edo, and the former capital, Kyoto, were two locations where the shift in geography was particularly evident. In Kyoto, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598)

and later the Tokugawa shogunate made substantial physical changes to the urban landscape. In the *1862 Map of Kyoto* by Takehara Kōbē, a seemingly straightforward depiction of the city is actually laden with cultural and historical significance. Kyoto is orientated from east (at the top) to west (at the bottom), a division that resulted from Hideyoshi's physical reorientation of the city. This map would have been used by pilgrims and other visitors to the city, and as such cultural landmarks, especially temples, are emphasized in the composition.

Of the *ukiyo-e* prints on view, many depict Edo-period landmarks and attractions by famous artists such as Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858) and Utagawa Kunisada (1786–1865). The work of these artists provides insight into both the transformation of place during the Edo period as well as the accompanying interest in national spaces. People were more aware of the character of remote places during the Edo period than at any other time in Japan's previous history. Maps contributed to this awareness but so too did the development of inter-provincial travel (which was in turn facilitated by the abundance of maps and other printed materials). The unification of Japan allowed for the construction of inter-provincial highways such as the Tōkaidō road that connected Edo with Kyoto. While these networks were necessary for governing and official traffic, the roads were also widely used by pilgrims and other lay travelers.

One image of travel along the Tōkaidō is Hiroshige's *View of the Ōi River from the Hill at Kanaya* (1855) from his *Famous Sights of the Fifty-three Stations* series. As part of a larger series depicting iconic vistas of the 53 stations along the Tōkaidō, this work shows Kanaya with pilgrims and other travelers crossing the Ōi River (fig. 2). In the distance, the peak of Mount Fuji is visible over the mountain range. As the Ōi River was notorious for flooding its banks, it employed many porters such as the figure in the foreground to ferry travelers across the river. This print would have made a fine souvenir or record of one's journey, or might have even inspired someone to travel along Tōkaidō themselves. Also on view at the Cantor are other works by Hiroshige of places of renowned beauty

and historical interest from across the Edo Japan landscape, such as selections from his *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo* series (1856–1857).

The research for this exhibition led to the discovery of an 18th-century set of 147 castle maps detailing the provincial domains of daimyo. With the unification of Japan under the Tokugawa shogunate at the start of Edo period, daimyo were forced to relinquish autonomous control of their respective fiefdoms and serve the ruling shogun. Daimyo were regularly ordered to make maps and records of the land under their control so that the shogun could assemble comprehensive spatial information about the country. This gesture of submission led to the development of the genre of castle maps, or *shiro-ezu*. Two examples of *shiro-ezu* on display include a map of Tsuwano Castle in Iwami province (Shimane Prefecture) and Oshi Castle in Musashi province (Saitama Prefecture) (figs. 3a&b). As this group of images was made by multiple artists, the styles of these two maps are quite distinct. The *map of Oshi Castle* is almost abstract with only the blue moat pathways, yellow road networks, and black castle walls suggesting space as compared to the *map of Tsuwano Castle*, where elevation and other area features are carefully rendered. While the maps in this set include relevant military information such as the location of the inner enclosure (honmaru) and even compound dimensions, they were most likely produced out of formality as they are somewhat simplified compared to other examples of the genre.

All the maps, landscapes, and cityscapes on view at the Cantor were created for distinct yet interrelated purposes. After viewing the diverse grouping of prints, maps, and paintings included in *Mapping Edo,* one should walk away with a sense that the various locations depicted in these works were not, in fact, isolated destinations, but rather part of a larger nexus of Edo-period social and political place-making.

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