PAPER ABSTRACTS
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ABNAS, QAISAR, University of Wisconsin-Madison, (Panel: Informational Role of Mass Media in the South Asian Nations)
"Foreign Policy and Media Coverage: Pakistan Television's Coverage of Grenada and Lebanon"
Within the complex web of international relations, often countries find themselves politically close in some aspects and distant in others. The international relations of Pakistan and the United States fall into this pattern. This study focuses on the Pakistan Television's news coverage of two international crises involving the United States: the truck bomb explosion in the U.S. military garrison in Beirut, and the U.S. invasion of Grenada. The study is one month content analysis of Pakistan Television news telecasts from 16th November to 16th October, 1983. The study shows that more coverage was given to the Grenada as compared to the Lebanon crisis. The coverage of Grenada reflects a balanced treatment as seen by an official medium of a Third World country. The coverage does not include editorial comments, though it indicates official stand of Pakistan on the issues.

ABNAS SALEHA, University of Wisconsin-Madison, (Panel: Symbolic Treatment of Women: Current Research on South Asia)
"Depiction of Women in Pakistani Mass Media: A Review of Current Research"
The portrayal of women in Pakistani mass media has recently emerged as a significant area of research for social scientists of South Asia. The current data indicate that projection of women through mass media has been over glamorous, negative and stereotypical. Particularly, the images of women emanating from TV and films fall in the realm of illusionism and show business. It is evident that instead of being used as vehicle for social change, mass media help maintain social status quo by belittling productive and constructive roles of women in social life and national economy. The survey data also indicate that male respondents do not encourage or approve presentation of females as workers as compare to roles of mothers, daughters and housewives.

AGHARYA, HARIHAR PRASAD, Cornell University, (Panel: Investment for Water Resources Development by Rural People in the Hills of Nepal)
"Local Capabilities and Limitations: A Case of Drinking Water Movement in Rural Nepal"
This paper examines some cases which suggest the capabilities and limitations of various categories of actors in rural Nepal in constructing, maintaining, and utilizing their own drinking water schemes through individual and cooperative efforts. The cases suggest that tremendous organizational, managerial, technical, innovative, and sometimes even financial capabilities exist at the local level which need to be creatively utilized by development planners. However, the limitations of local actors should also be carefully examined. Usually they are not concerned or capable in the matters of improving public health; equitable distribution of tangible and intangible benefits between sexes, ethnic/ caste groups, economic classes, and geographical locations; high technological, financial involvement; and management of violent conflicts. Through the analysis of existing local capabilities and limitations, it can be suggested that the government can play crucial supportive roles in the development of rural potable water if involved only in matters that are beyond local capabilities, concerns and preferences.

ADAMS, ROBERT R., Virginia Polytechnic Institute: See LEUSCHNER, WILLIAM A.

ADENWALLA, MINO, Lawrence University, (Panel: Bangladesh & Her Big Neighbors)
"India and Bangladesh: The Founding"
This case study and analysis of India's role in the founding of Bangladesh attempts to pin-point the former's attitude and behavior toward her neighbors on the subcontinent, at moments of crisis and tension. Such moments test the self-proclaimed policies of major nations. There are many versions of India's role, especially her own and that of the U.S.A. Before drawing its own conclusions this presentation will examine both. Therefore it will also be concerned with the impact of super-power rivalry on national relations within the sub-continent. This factor ( the role of the super-powers) often gets ignored. However, on occasion it plays a vital role.

AHMAD, AQUEEL, Northwestern University, Evanston, Il., (Panel: Modern Science in the Asian Context)
"Institutionalization of Modern Science in South Asia: A Basic Framework"
This paper will examine the development of modern science in South Asia, with special emphasis on the contemporary period in a historical perspective. Using a comparative approach, the focus of analysis will be on a selected group of countries, such as India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and by implication, China and Japan, to identify the organizational
patterns and processes of institutionalization of science within these traditional cultures. Areas of conflict and accommodation will be recognized. The role of supportive cultural developments, such as education, ideology and media, in the development and dissemination of science will be discussed. One of the basic assumptions underlying this treatment is that modern science is not, and need not be, necessarily Western science.

ASHER, CATHERINE B., Hamilton University, (Panel: The Indo-Islamic City) *Mughal Regional Centers in Eastern India* In the process of conquering and consolidating the provinces of eastern India, Mughal governors established new regional headquarters. This paper will explore the reasons for the founding of such important centers as Rohtas, Rajasthan and Murshidabad. The embellishment of these cities, best known from architectural remains, will be examined. In particular, consideration will be given to the symbolic meaning that the architecture held for the founder, the Mughal nobility as well as for the local population.

BARRIER, N.G., University of Missouri-Columbia, (Panel: The Press Amid Conflicting National Loyalties) *Nationalism, The Congress and the Punjab Press, 1885-1910* This paper will examine the evolution of the Punjab press, with attention to the role of specific organizations and networks of politicians in running newspapers and attempting to create public opinion. The failure of the Congress to become a vital part of the provincial political system reflected in large part the existing parochial and communal patterns dominant in the Punjab, and the press played an important role in that process. The paper will be based upon the files of the Panjab and the Thiene, as well as autobiographies and British records (primary Selections from the Punjab Press, and political files).

BASHIER, ELENA, University of Michigan-Ann Arbor, (Panel: South Asian Landscape) *Causative Constructions in Telugu* Telugu has several types of causative constructions—both productive and non-productive. Synchronously, the most productive type is a periphrastic form consisting of a (non-past) verb ditransitive form consisting of (non-past) verb ditransitive form consisting of the infinitive of the main verb plus ditu 'do'. Partially productive are the morphological causatives in -ina and -iu, and periphrastic forms consisting of the infinitive of the main verb plus % alphabet 'put, place'. Non-productive forms include a very few suppletive pairs, and morphologically related sets embodying formerly productive processes. Telugu causatives in general are discussed in relation to the notion of "implicativeness" of causative verbs; the concepts of manipulative and directive causation; and the notion of the "affected agent".

BASTIEN, DAVID, University of Minnesota, (Panel: Innovative Approaches to the Teaching of South Asian Languages) *Perspectives and Practices: Innovation in Language Teaching and Learning* Over the past twenty years, tremendous advances have been made in the area of language teaching. For a number of reasons, including the simple proliferation of new teaching practices and methods, the state of actual language teaching has tended to lag far behind the 'state of the art'. This results in students who are less effective in learning than they might be, often finding language study to be unrewarding and irrelevant drudgery. This paper will discuss the major new perspectives, practices and debates in language teaching, learning, and acquisition. Special attention will be focused on new perspectives on the student-teacher relationship and languages as a medium of communication; and new practices such as Curriculum's Counselling Learning, Lozanov's Suggestopedia and Stoic's relaxation methods, Ashok's Total Physical Response method, and Terrell's Natural Approach.

BATRA, HARISH, University of Wisconsin-Whitewater: See BHARGAVA, ASHOK.

BHANDARI, BISHNU, University of Wisconsin-Madison, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics) *Socioeconomic Characteristics and Nutritional Status of Nepalese Children in Chitawan* The study is an investigation of the prevalence of protein-calorie malnutrition and its correlation with socioeconomic characteristics among rural children under six years of age. The anthropometric measurements of 350 children were taken and the heads of the households were surveyed. The Gomez, Waterlow and MUAC (mid-upper arm circumference) indices are used to determine the nutritional status of children. Some 60 to 85% of the children suffer from mild to severe malnutrition. About 10% of the children suffer from third degree malnutrition. The girls have a slightly better nutritional status than the boys. The same is true with the children of the lower caste people. Kshetri children suffer from chronic undernutrition. The variables such as the amount of land farmed by the family, cash value of total crop production, caste, gender and education show a weak or inconsistent relationship with malnutrition variables. Possible reasons for the lack of association between socioeconomic variables and child malnutrition are discussed, accompanied by some policy recommendations.
BHARGAVA, ASHOK, University of Wisconsin-Whitewater, (Panel: Business Climate in India)  "Economic and Financial Climate and Resources"

The purpose of this study is to examine the economic situation and financial institutions as they relate to the business climate. The paper will address two distinct issues. The first part will deal with economic changes in macro variables over the last 35 years stressing rates of growth and bringing out the potential for continued sustained growth. The second part deals with the financial markets and financial institutions in the rural and urban areas over the same period of time as the macro-economic variable.

BINFORD, MIRA REYM, Quinnipiac College, (Panel: Aesthetic Issues in Indian Cinema)  "India's Two 'National' Cinemas—Some Aesthetic Paradoxes"

Popular Indian cinema blends its foreign influences with elements from traditional folk theater to create a successfully indigenized hybrid form. Its ability to function as a genuine national cinema derives from the effectiveness of this hybrid form in communicating with its "seemingly" mass audience. India's New Cinema, on the other hand, is largely cut off from India's mass audiences. A dynamic movement of considerable stylistic and thematic diversity, with a substantial body of films of significant social comment, New Cinema has developed in highly conscious opposition to the commercial cinema. Although New Cinema's social concerns and its aesthetic of cultural rootedness make it appear more authentically Indian than the commercial cinema, its narrative conventions alienate it from the mass audience. This paper contrasts the stylistic and thematic approaches of India's New Cinema and commercial cinema, and suggests that New Cinema, in a situation not without parallels elsewhere, exists as a special kind of second "national" cinema, representing India internationally with distinction, but self-limiting in its potential reach at home.

BLAKE, STEPHEN P., University of Minnesota, (Panel: The Indo-Islamic City)  "The Foundation of Shahjahanabad: Political, Economic, and Symbolic Aspects"

Choosing a site, founding, planning, and constructing a new capital is a complex process that involves many factors. To untangle that process and to examine some of the factors involved in the founding of Shahjahanabad—the new city built by the Emperor Shahjahan between 1639-1648—is the aim of this paper. Why move at all? This is the question that needs answering first of all. What was wrong with Agra? Secondly, why choose the Delhi area? What made it so attractive? Besides the obvious—that is, Delhi's status as cradle of capitals—there was the religious significance. Many Sufi saints had been buried in the area and Delhi had become over the years a pilgrimage center. Third, what were the implications of establishing a new capital so close to the old? Were Agra and Delhi rival centers, competing for population, trade, and manufacturing facilities? Finally, what about the symbolic or cosmological aspects of the new city? In many civilizations the capital is seen as an axis mundi, the center of the world and the meeting place of heaven and hell. This concept characterized medieval South Indian cities, and capital cities in China and Southeast Asia. Did it apply to Shahjahanabad as well?

BRAND, MICHAEL, Harvard University: See LOWY, GLENDON

BRECKENRIDGE, CAROL APPADURAI, Stanford Humanities Center, (Panel: On the Social History and Relations of Money in South Asia)  "Changing Conceptions of Money in Pre-British South India"

Changes occurred in the classification systems of South India between the 16th and 18th centuries. Money provides one arena in which to examine such changes. This presentation seeks to identify the shift from money as an instrument of enumeration and as a subclassification of the larger category of 'numeral' (in the 16th century) to money as an instrument of exchange and as a category distinct from number (by the 18th century). This categorical shift may in part be attributed to changes in the nature of the relationship between the pre-British states and the military.

CARTER, MARTHA L., Madison, WI, (Panel: Gandhara Art and Iconography)  "An Unknown Mudra in Gandhara Art"

Deities represented in Gandharan Buddhist sculpture and on Kushan coin reverses occasionally exhibit a mudra of blessing similar to the Christian benedictio latinea. Although this gesture has been confused with the later vitarka mudra, it has nothing to do with teaching or speech, but is a sign of benediction and protection. In later Buddhist art the Gandharan blessing (sri mudra) became amalgamated with more evolved forms of the dharmacakra and vitarka mudras in China and Japan, although vestiges of its earlier function are still evident. So too within medieval Hindu iconography transmutations of the Gandharan mudra can still be found. The same gesture was also commonly utilized in pre-Islamic Sogdian art where it descended directly from Kushan models.
CHATTERJEE, DIPANKAR, University of Utah, (Panel: Nisanga Karma)  
"The Concept of Nisanga Karma"  
In this paper I shall analyze the concept of nisanga karma, and elucidate its meanings, especially as the concept is used in the Bhagavad Gita. Though the Gita states that even the wisest do not know the distinction between 'action' and 'inaction', it attempts to give several meanings of "disinterested action" - e.g., a disinterested action is one which is not attached to objects of sense; which is indifferent to success and failure; which maintains perfect equanimity; which is not 'fruits-oriented'; which is universal without distinction of 'mine' and 'thine', etc.

CLAUS, PETER J., California State University-Hayward, (Panel: Who (What) Controls the Spirit: South Asian Spirit Possession Rituals)  
"Reflexivity and Control in Spirit Possession Rituals"  
A general model of spirit possession ritual is proposed which involves a sequence of invocative and evocative acts. Specific rituals, ranging from conventional to spontaneous, are viewed in relation to the general model. Techniques of score analysis are developed to examine how spirits are defined by the parts played by the different participants in the ritual. The parts will be compared with regard to the degree of fixity. Parts more closely expressing and impersonating the spirit are less fixed than those controlling the spirit. In coordination with the more fixed parts, the expressive parts are encouraged to progress toward greater virtuosity by constraining the spirit in roles increasingly reflecting conventional scripts, often in the form of role traditions, and at the same time adding to the complexity of the performance.

COKE, M.T., University of California-Berkeley, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: Nepal: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics)  
"The People of Nisyang: Ethnic Identity in the Nepal-Tibet Borderland"  
The paper presents an abbreviated form historical data as well as field research data to depict the complexity of processes of ethnic identification among the Nisyang people ("Menang") of Nepal. The historical data to be considered consist of approximately twenty documents issued by the authorities in Kathmandu in connection with the administration of the Nisyang region during the past two hundred years. The field research data involve patterns of economic activity, structures of local political organization and networks of kinship among residents of the Nisyang valley as well as among Nisyang residents of Kathmandu. The data reveal a complex process of identity negotiation involving Tibetan, Gurung, and Nisyang identities among the Nisyang people. The complexity of such processes, in turn, calls into question various assumptions commonly made about the phenomenon of ethnic identity in the Himalayas.

COURTRIGHT, PAUL B., University of North Carolina-Greensboro, (Panel: Death, Women, and Regeneration in the Hindu World)  
"Sacrifice and Regeneration in the Ritual of Sati"  
The ritual of sati (sukhakarma) provoked great controversy in late 19th and early 20th century until it was outlawed in 1829. This paper will explore the symbolism, mythology, and ritual dimensions of the sati tradition. Special attention will be given to the claims made for the ritual that through the sacrifice of the wife the husband's karma was improved and that the marriage relationship would be preserved into the next BIRTH. Themes of sacrificial death leading to regeneration through rebirth, the special powers of the wife, and the exercise of those powers in the face of the inauspicious conditions of the husband's death will be explored. The continuities and contrasts between the ideal of the sati and the realities of its practice in the early 19th century will also be considered.

DERR, BRUCE W., Syracuse University, (Panel: Three Villages Past and Present: Totagada, Khalapur, & Karimpur)  
"Ham Garibi Log: The New 'Poor' in Karimpur"  
An examination of traditional and modern sources of indebtedness and their ramifications throughout all levels of the Karimpur economic scale. Discussion of how the 'old rich' can easily become the 'new poor' through utilization of various low interest loan schemes, increased conspicuous consumption, and an over-riding concern with the maintenance of status.

DE SILVA, K.M., University of Peradeniya, (Panel: Changing Division of Labor in South Asia)  
"The Buddhist Revival"  
This paper surveys the historical background to the Buddhist revival in Sri Lanka, and the links between Buddhist resurgence and Sri Lankan nationalism. Buddhism inspired the first phase of the Sri Lankan national revival which occurred in the last quarter of the 19th century. But politics and constitutional reform assumed a more secular note in the early 1940's, and the link between religion and nationalism was played down because of its potentially divisive effects on the Sri Lankan polity. This connection assumed a more aggressive form from the mid-1950's, and while its major impact was seen in the upsurge of Sinhala-Buddhist self-confidence, it was also seen that its negative effects were pro-
foundly divisive and contributed greatly to the current ethnic tensions and contributed greatly to the current ethnic tensions in the island. The Influeuce of the Buddhist Sangha (clergy) on the Sri Lankan politics reached its peak during the period 1955-1959. Although it declined thereafter somewhat, they the 'Sangha' still remain very much a permanent "second chamber" in the country's political affairs.

DHARWADKER, VINAY, University of Chicago, (Panel: Texts and Textual Practices in South Asia)
"Contemporary Text Theory and the Kabir Canon"
Recent Western theories of the text, especially as formulated by French and American "poststructuralists," have displaced our notions of the stability and boundedness of individual works as well as of genres. They force us to reexamine the role of the text in communication, placing in a radical perspective some of the decisions usually taken by editors, commentators, and translators. This paper uses these theories to investigate the scholarly debate of the past three decades on the Kabir canon, with brief references to the Sikh scriptural tradition, the medieval Marathi saints, and contemporary Hindi and Marathi poetry.

DIMOCK, EDWARD, University of Chicago, (Panel: Texts and Textual Practices in South Asia)
"The Sound of Silent Guns: Reflections on a Poem by Jibanananda Das"
This paper explores some of the problems of interpretation raised by modern Indian poetic texts, using Jibanananda Das's "In Camp" from the Bengali as an illustrative instance. At one level, the structure of the poem reveals several disturbing and idiosyncratic paradoxes and ambiguities; at another, its thematic concerns invoke a literary tradition which includes Vaishnav lyrics, the Mahabharata, and Buddhist Tantric songs. The relation between the poet's possible intentions, his text, and the reader's response to the poem's imagery thus becomes increasingly complex as we seek to construe what constitutes "the poem itself."

DIRKS, NICHOLAS B., California Institute of Technology, (Panel: Ethnoecology and related approaches to Indian culture)
"Power, Territory and Hierarchy: The Royal Subcaste in a Tamil Little Kingdom"
Political power and historical conditions of dominance strongly influenced the social organization of lineage, territory and marriage within the royal subcaste of Kallars, as well as the general structure and ideological foundations of caste relations in the little kingdom of Pudukottai. This paper explores the systematic nature of political inflection on the royal subcaste and examines the discourse of power as generated from ethnohistorical fieldwork among members of this group. The paper will further consider the importance of reproducing power and history into ethnoecology, and will argue that much contemporary social theory about India—from Weber to Dumont—has been predicated on the peculiar conditions of a colonial society.

DIRKS, NICHOLAS B., California Institute of Technology, (Panel: Workshop on the Social History and Relations of Money in South Asia)
"Commodity Fetishism and Political Form: Money and the Old Regime in South India"
This paper enunciates the need to investigate more closely the structure of evidence concerning the growing use of money in parts of India during the 17th and 18th centuries, as well as the general significance of money in a larger historical, ethnographic, and theoretical context. Too often this evidence has been evaluated solely in terms of the question of the presence of money, inferring on its mere presence either (or both) the ubiquity of its use or the associated eclipse of "pre-monotoped" forms of social relations. In this paper I examine some evidence of increased money use in a Tamil little kingdom only to find that much new money was used in local ceremonial contexts and often functioned to permit the continuance of old regime forms beyond the period of their maximal political utility. Although increasing commercialization implied on the traditional balance of relations between local mercantile groups and landed dominant chiefly groups, no major structural changes resulted until well into the British period because political forms remained fundamentally intact. However, the extension of a cash oriented structure of revenue extraction and a cash based system of military organization, first under the Nawab of Arcot, and then more systematically under Tipu and later the British, heralded major changes for the way in which money attained importance in characterizing, if not totally defining, social transactions. Still, money alone did not cause caste or village organization to dissolve, though it was an important component of larger structural changes in political and social forms.

DONALDSON, THOMAS E., Cleveland State University, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics)
"Vajrayana Buddhist Sculpture of Orissa"
The contribution of Orissa to Vajrayana and its varied iconography is overwhelming and numerous scholars even attribute its origin to Orissa. Although Buddhist remains are extensive, only one major excavation has been carried out and there is no detailed study of
the Buddhist art of Orissa. Included among the more interesting Vajrayana images discovered throughout Orissa are examples of Arapacana Manjusri, Aparajita, Cunda, Heruka, Kurukulla, Manjusri, Manjusri, Marici, Parnasaberi, Rakta-Lokesvara, Sambara, Trilokavajraya, Vajradharma, Vajrakara, Vajra-raknaka, Vajrayalanalaka, Vajrapani, Vajraraga, Vajrasattva, Vajra-Tara, Varahamukhi, and Yamari, with many of the images deviating from known canonical prescriptions. In respect to Marici, one of the most popular deities, it is possible to trace an evolving iconography whereas with the more esoteric divinities such a development is not possible due to the limited examples of such images. Although the deities are seldom represented with their Prajna, such a union is symbolically represented by the vajra-raknaka-mudra. Two particularly interesting groupings, one at Ratnagiri and the other at Haripura, are poignant testimony to the popularity of Vajrayana. The images at the first site represent Vajraraga, Vajradharma and Vajrasattva whereas the more popularly represented complex images at the latter site are more difficult to identify. The paper concludes with an image of Guhye-Manjuvarja which corresponds closely with examples from Kashmir.

EDWARDS, DAVID B., University of Michigan, (Panel: Afghanistan Update: The Refugees and The Resistance)

"Ideology and Conflict in the Afghan Jihad"

Utilizing ethnographic and oral historical materials collected during 18 months of fieldwork in Peshawar, Pakistan, this paper will examine Islamic leadership as it has evolved in Afghanistan. Attention will be paid to both the changing role of sufi clerics and the introduction of more modernist theological and political trends into Afghanistan from the Indian subcontinent and the Middle East. Based on this discussion, it will be argued that the development of the political party structure has fundamentally altered the nature of Islamic leadership in Afghanistan, particularly the traditional balance between religious and tribal organization. This argument will be supported by an analysis of the impact of political parties in the border province of Pakistn.

EDWARDS, DAVID B., University of Michigan, (Panel: Afghanistan Update: The Refugees and The Resistance)

"The Conflict of Leadership in the Afghan Jihad"

In Afghanistan as in other parts of the Islamic world, the tradition exists of the charismatic religious leader taking up the banner of jihad to unify the faithful and repel the infidel Invader. Whatever the actual historical role of legendary Afghan leaders like the Mulla of the Mullah and the Mulla of Shor Bazar, they retain a mythic stature for the Afghan people who conceptualize their present struggle against the Soviet-backed regime in Kabul as a religiously sanctioned jihad. In contradiction to tradition, however, no charismatic leader has arisen to ride the nation of the Invader. Rather, the popular resistance remains enmeshed in ideological conflict and organizational confusion. Utilizing ethnographic data and oral historical materials collected during 18 months of fieldwork among Afghan refugees in Pakistan, this paper will examine the myth and reality of Islamic leadership in Afghanistan. Attention will be paid to both the changing role of sufi clerics and the introduction of more modernist theological and political trends into Afghanistan from the Indian subcontinent and the Middle East. Based on this discussion, it will be argued that the development of the political party structure has fundamentally altered the nature of Islamic leadership in Afghanistan, particularly the traditional balance between religious and tribal organizations. This argument will be supported by an examination of the impact of political parties in one key border area of Afghanistan.

EGNOR, PEGGY, Hobart/William Smith, (Panel: Ethnosociology and related approaches to Indian Culture)

"Love in a Tamil Family"

The nature of "love" (ampu) is an issue to the participants in Tamil culture but much thought, and through which they try to understand many of their notions toward one another. Central to the Tamil concept of love is the idea that, because it is inherently boundless and rule-breaking, it is often paradoxical and not what it seems. In this paper, some aspects of the life of one large Tamil family will be described, with spousal reference to the ideology of love as that family expresses it and carries it out.

ELDER, JOESPHER W., University of Wisconsin-Madison, (Panel: Ethnicity, Trans-national; and Sub-National Conflicts in South Asia)

"Dynamics of Ethnic Violence in Sri Lanka"

This paper provides a brief historical background to the emergence of the Sinhala and Tamil ethnic communities in Sri Lanka. It indicates how, following the independence of Sri Lanka, majority rule and political processes affect changes in the relative status of Tamils and Sinhelas in Sri Lanka, changes that ultimately contributed to increased levels of hostility between the two ethnic groups. The paper traces the events leading to the conflict outbreaks of violence in the summer of 1983, examining what types of the government of Sri Lanka has taken to avoid renewed outbreaks of violence. The paper concludes with an analysis of the effectiveness of the government's actions, the nature of Tamil resistance to those government actions, and the likelihood that the conflict will spread to the Indian subcontinent.
ELLINGSON, TER, University of Washington-Seattle, (Panel: The Practice of Ritual and Performance in South Asia) "The Gam Pyakhem of Pafan: A Classical Newar Ritual Dance in Nepal" One of the richest and least known classical artistic/ritual traditions of South Asia is the Newar dance tradition of the Newar civilization of Nepal. Ranging from abstract solo dances to comedy to modern theatre, pyakhem reaches its fullest expression in the elaborate masked dance dramas. In these rare surviving forms of classical Indian Sanskrit theatre and Indian Buddhist ritual practice blend with Newar culture and cosmology to create special forms which artistically and ritually restructure the experience of performers and community. The Gam Pyakhem is a Buddhist Tantric dance composed by a Newar king and a Buddhist priest in the 17th century. In the style of centuries-older Indian Buddhist dances, performed by high-caste Buddhist priests, it combines Sanskrit ritual and historical dance with Newar comic interludes. In their transformation to embodiments of Indigenous Newar and Hindu-Buddhist deities, the dancers create a geometric embodiment of the geography and cosmology of Nepal, transforming it into a mandala framework for attaining Buddhist Tantric realization. (Part 2 of TWO INTRODUCTORY STUDIES ON THE NEWAR PYAKHAM. See also Linda Itis, "The Jali Pyakhem of Harisiddhi").

ENAD, HAFIZULLAH, University of Hawaii, (Panel: "Afghanistan Update: The Refugees and the Resistance") "The Underground Political Parties and Their Armored Struggle in Afghanistan" The paper discusses the armed struggle of the Afghan patriotic forces headed by several major underground political parties in Afghanistan. These political parties have been conducting both military and political activities against the Soviet occupationist forces and its puppet regime. These parties largely rely on their own resources and on mass support in their struggle. Outside organizations from the U.S., Pakistan, Saudi Arabia often try to take credit for supporting them but can't substantiate their help. The paper further discusses the strategy and tactics of these political parties in the course of the Afghan national liberation struggle and discusses their domestic and international policies and tries to estimate the scale of the military operations conducted by the patriotic forces in Afghanistan.

EMLICH, JOHN, Brown University (Panel: The Practice of Ritual and Performance in South Asia) "Possession and Mimasis as Interacting Modes of Masked Performance" Two contrasting modes of masked performance seem to exist. One is the mode of the use of the mask as a spiritual conduit, facilitating and theatricalizing the possession of the wearer by an enticed (or coerced) "visiting" spiritual entity. The second mode proceeds essentially by imitation-Heracleitus' mimesis-using the aesthetic displacement inherent in masked performance to essentialize the behaviour imitated and project images of greater refinement or (often) comic exaggeration. The first mode is commonly associated with exorcistic rites, while the second is usually linked to entertainment and social criticism through satire. In practice, these two seemingly opposed traditions of masked performance show a great deal of interaction and lateral movement. Traditions may shift historically from one of these modes to another usually, though not always, in the direction of secular and aesthetic play. Often one of these modes may color the other. Within certain traditions, the choice of mode may be determined by external circumstances (the time of day, the audience in attendance, the presence or absence of a consecrated mask, the "purity" of the dancer), or it may be left open, to be determined in the flow of performance. The modes may even well alternate within a given performance. In discussing the interaction between these two performance modes, examples will be drawn from Grissian (India) ritual and theatrical practices, supported by videotapes and slides. 

ENGLISH, RICHARD, Columbia University, (Panel: Approaches to Nepal Culture History) "Considerations of Tibeto-Burman Scripts in Himalayan Cultural History" Written forms of the Tibeto-Burman dialects spoken by the Rai and Limbu of eastern Nepal, and the Lachen of Sikkim are known to be extinct. This paper considers the origins and application of these "indigenous" scripts as particularly ethno-historical developments. That is, they emerged within the context of encroaching cultural domination by Sanskrit traditions in Nepal and Tibetan traditions in Sikkim. Despite any widespread literacy among the speakers of these dialects, the existence of written forms of their languages represents an important dimension of indigenous historical and ethnic consciousness. The languages are several by which Sanskrit and Tibetan traditions were to dominate these Indigenous groups are contrasted in an effort to suggest some analytical themes applicable to the cultural history of the entire Himalayan region.

EPSTEIN, T. SCARLETT, University of Sussex-England, (Panel: Workshop: Changing division of Labor in South Asia) "The Changing Roles of Rural Women: an Overview" In view of the fact that in Third World economies labour is the one factor of production which is available in abundance and women compose more than half the rural population there, it seems surprising that so little effort has so far been made to involve rural
women in development programmes. Why are women overlooked? And how are the roles of rural women changing despite the lack of societal concern with their part in the development process? This paper sets out to seek answers to these fundamental questions. It uses data collected by 11 Asian doctoral research students who, as members of my "Action-oriented study of the role of Women in Rural Development", conducted anthropological-style investigations in Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Sri Lanka between 1978 and 1982.


"The Play of the Goddess: Possession and Performance in the Cult of Seramwall"

Seramwall, the lion-riding goddess whose cult extends throughout the greater Panjab area of northwest India, is experienced by devotees in various contexts and manifestations, the most dramatic of which is her possession of human vehicles. The Goddess takes on "divine" form, enters the woman, and begins to "play" with her. This type of possession is seen not as an affliction, but as a sign of grace, a granting of her sacred vision in response to the faith and devotion of her devotes. The performance aspect of Goddess possession is illustrated by a look at possession of women within a single Panjab family over three generations. These women, called Matas (Mothers), have become the focus of a small but increasingly organized following throughout the Panjab and Haryana. They have built their own temple and are worshipped both there and on tour as manifestations of the Goddess. This small cult is developing its own cultural performances which are connected with the larger cult of Seramwall. In this paper, Goddess possession is treated primarily as a religious expression which must be viewed within the ideological and ritual context of the Goddess cult and popular Hinduism in general. Interpretation of the phenomenen is offered on three mutually dependent levels--theological, cultural, and individual. Possession is a means for the Goddess to participate in the world of humans and for the medium and her audience to participate in the Goddess' divinity.

FARR, GRANT M., Portland State University, (Panel: Afghanistan Update: The Refugees and Resistance)

"Intellectuals as Refugees and Insurgents"

Among the refugees fleeing Afghanistan are intellectuals. Largely from Kabul, they cannot, or will not, live in the refugee camps and thus they do not receive refugee rations or aid. As refugees their plight is largely forgotten and some live in urban areas of Pakistan in difficult situations. Also, they are viewed by the Afghan resistance groups with suspicion and at times their lives are endangered. This paper will examine the causes and consequences of the situation of the intellectuals among the refugees and propose some resolutions.

GADON, ELINOR W., University of California-Santa Barbara, (Panel: Omnibus: South Asian Landscape)

"The Balagopolastuti and Early Krsnaabhakti in Gujarat"

The earliest known representations of the Krsnallia in Indian miniature painting are in the illustrated folios of the Balagopolastuti (Hymns of Praise to the Youthful Krsna), an early 14th century manuscript of Gujarati provenance, painted in the Western Indian style. The Balagopolastuti is an anthology of four-lined Sanskrit hymns attributed to the poet Bvsmangala which have as their theme the loving adoration (bhakti) of Lord Krsna. The Balagopolastuti series is the only known primary source for studying the Krsna cult in its early stages of development. The beginning of the Vaisnava Revival in Gujarat. The balagopolastuti is also the only known contemporary document for the study of Vaisnavism in Gujarat in the 15th century. An analysis of the relationship between the text and pictures in the Balagopolastuti demonstrates that it was conceived as an illustrated hymnal, intended to serve as a meditative aid for the viewer. Poems were intendedly arranged for painting, in order to provide a visual focus for worship. Analysis of the relationship between text and painting also provides insight into the changing character of krsnaabhakti during the medieval period of Gujarat, and would appear to be a direct commentary on Book Ten of the Bhagavata Purana, the canonical scripture of Krsnaabhakti. Two new themes emerge as interpretations of Puranic material. The first is the celebration of those tender moments in the intimate relationship between mother and child, so familiar from family life. The second is the explicit eroticism of Krsna's relationship with Radha and the gopis. The illustration of these themes in the representation of Krsna is not represented as either a cult image or as the focal figure in a narrative panel illustrating one of his Lilas, as he had been before, but as one figure in an emotional relationship. This new approach to the illustration of the Krsnallia reflects a new devotional attitude, that of an intimate emotional relationship between the devotee and his god which will become the focus of the major sectarian traditions that develop in the following centuries. My study provides another perspective on the situation of miniature painting in India. By giving priority to the cultural context, my analysis considers the place and painting in the overall culture, and does not impose Western values and categories on connoisseurship.

GOLD, ANN GRODZINS, Oberlin, Ohio, (Panel: Who (What) Controls the Spirits: South Asian Spirit Possession Rituals as Performances)
"The Feeling of a God, the Blemish of a Witch: Dimensions of Possession in Rajasthan"

In rural Rajasthan possession is a commonplace phenomenon, occurring routinely in domestic settings as well as more dramatically in the context of shrines. Two sorts of externally imposed but internally transformative powers are sharply distinguished: when a person is inhabited by a deity it is said that the "feeling" of that god "comes" to them; when gripped by a malign force, they are said to have a "blemish", or a "blackness" and to be "possessed" or "devoured". Although a total disjunction in consciousness between vehicle and possessing power is well evidenced, the person who becomes possessed is also always implicated, substantially or blemirally, by their role whether as victim of malevolent sault or intimate of divinity. Approaching possession as performance, this paper explores such complexities of character as well as dynamics of audience response, and considers the continuities between participants' experiences and their non-theatrical lives.

GOONATILAKE, M.H., University of Kelaniya, Kelaniya, Sri Lanka, (Panel: Values and Visions in Sri Lanka: Practice and Performance)

"The Context of the Sri Lankan Mask"

Very few of us realize that the masks of Sri Lanka and her masks traditions are an extraordinary cultural phenomenon—one of the outstanding contributions, our 'island civilization' has made to the Asian cultural spectrum. There does not appear to be any parallels in India, where the use of elaborate, stylized or conventionalized wooden masks is so rare that it is unrecorded. The closest traditions in Asia are those of the trans-Himalayan region-Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Tibet, Mongolia etc.—and those of southeast Asia—e.g. Indonesia, Burma and Thailand. The Himalayan and Southeast Asian traditions are part of the Buddhist Lamalai, others say they have their origins in folk cultures. In Sri Lanka, by contrast, the masks belong to the local folk religions or have become a part of ritual and theatrical strands at the level of the folk, sometimes in a purely secular context. The ritual masks are basically made of wood and exist in three distinct contexts: religious, ritual, ceremomal and theatrical spectacle. The best masks belong to the two contexts. The rituals are either exorcistic or curative. The ceremonial dances and dance-dramas are social rather than demonic or exorcistic in character.

GORDON, STEWART, Hollywood, CA., (Panel: Workshop on the Social History and Relations of Money in South Asia)

"Monetized Paraganas of 18th Century Central India"

Recent attempts to study monetization in India have been rather stronger on theory than data. This paper, in contrast, taps the Patwa Daftar, the most detailed 18th century records of India, for an on-the-ground look at developments in money use in Khandesh and Malwa. These two subhas were "heartland" Mughal Empire, before being conquered by the Marathas, and are, thus, an ideal area to examine what we mean by monetization—what villages, towns, and individuals. The data on money use come from taxes, fines, dovers, sales of rights, the cash gathered up on raiding expeditions, paid to soldiers, and the purchase of provisions. The focus will be on the Aga-Sarat truck road (running through Burhanpur) and its effect on a corridor some 20 miles on each side. It appears that this corridor was heavily involved in cash crops, trade, and specialized and sophisticated industrial activity. This monetization even affected tribal groups near the road. Areas outside this corridor were, as we shall see, less monetized.

GOUTTIERRE, THOMAS E., University of Nebraska-Omaha, (Panel: The Potential of Afghanistan's Society and Institutions to Resist Soviet Domination)

"Zahir Shah and The Question of Unity In the Afghan Resistance"

Of the various issues upon which Western analysts and the media focus when studying war in Afghanistan, the most persistent is the issue of unity within the Afghan Resistance. Since the appearance of numerous Resistance groups following the occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union in December of 1979, attempts at developing a single and unified command have failed. Some analysts see this as a major obstacle to the objectives of the Resistance, others caution that unity of command could cause military liabilities. However, almost all observers agree that a unified front that might serve as a symbol or representation for the Resistance forces inside and outside Afghanistan would be advantageous. No organization or individual has been able to emerge with the capacity to bring all the various groups together. The single individual mentioned most often concerning the matter of a unified representation or symbol is Zahir Shah, the former king of Afghanistan (1933-1973). Still the most popular individual with the greatest number of Afghans within Afghanistan, Zahir is a controversial figure among the Resistance groups in Pakistan and with Freedom Fighter units inside his country. Efforts toward organizing a representational front initiated by him and those supporting him have yet to bear fruit.

This paper will examine the circumstances surrounding Zahir Shah and the Afghan Resistance and whether or not there may be a role for him in the pursuit of unity within that Resistance.

GRAHAM, JACK W., Southern Illinois University—Carbondale, (Panel: The Outlook of Education in Nepal)
"The Challenge to Higher Education in Nepal"  
The early education in Nepal was that provided in that Hindu and Buddhist temples and monasteries. Some form of education was evident as early as the 6th century. Modern higher education started in Nepal with the founding of Tri-Chandra College in 1918. Since that date, education has grown to include over 60,000 students on over 60 campuses of Tribhuvan University as organized in 11 separate Institutes. It is a challenge to keep higher education developments in balance with other developments of the country. Yet the two are very much dependent upon one another. Some of the specific challenges include: providing the best type of educational opportunities for secondary school graduates, refining the technical and vocational schools to meet the manpower needs of the country; developing part-time educational opportunities; determining the place of theoretical and applied education; re-evaluating the use of English in graduate education; and improving the program of faculty development.

GULZAD, SULTAN, University of Wisconsin-Madison, (Panel: Ethnicity, Trans-National, and Sub-National Conflicts in South Asia)  
"Afghan Mujahideen, Sub-National Conflicts, and Complexities of U.S. Involvement"  
This paper provides a brief analysis of the major groups comprising the Afghan Mujahideen in Peshawar, Pakistan. It traces their political backgrounds and contributions to the development of various versions of fundamentalism in Afghanistan. Special attention is focused on the Islamic Alliance, consisting of five different groups, each holding different views of Islamic fundamentalism, and each aiming to restore its view of fundamentalism to Afghanistan. This paper examines the future prospects of the Islamic Alliance, its viability if it should acquire power, and implications this may have regarding U.S. support for the Mujahideen.

HAMELY, GAVIN R.G., University of Texas-Dallas, (Panel: The Indo-Islamic City)  
"Delhi Under the Shahi Sultans"  
In 1346, when Delhi was captured by the Tughluq Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Din Aybak, the capital of the Delhi Sultanate was moved to Delhi and from 1206 the city became the headquarters of an independent sultanate, thereby embarking upon what would become, in retrospect, its long history as a Muslim "Imperial" capital. Little survives above the surface to delineate the first phase of Muslim occupation and consolidation (down to 1290): the Qutb al-Islam mosque and the Qutb-Minar; the Tomb of Iltutmish; the foundations of the Darbargah Qutb Shahib and the Hazrat-I Shahib, the so-called "Tomb of Babar" and, further off, the Sultan Qutb. These monuments do not in themselves reveal much about 13th-century Delhi or why the city developed so rapidly as the focal point of Muslim power in northern India. If the wisdom of hindsight be disallowed, it is conceivable that some other recently-established centre of Muslim control in the general area between the Ravi and Ganga e.g., Uch, Multan, Ajmir, Samana, Bayana, Baran or Gwalior-might have emerged as a predominant regional centre. This paper will examine the factors which contributed to Delhi's primacy under the Shahi sultans.

HANSON-BARBER, A.W., Middleton, Wi, (Panel: Approaches to Nepal Cultural History)  
"The Role of the Guru in The Vajrayana: A New Interpretation Based on Nepalese Sources"  
Most of our knowledge of the position of the guru is based on Hindu and Tibetan sources. Dismissing the Hindu notions on this subject as inappropriate in a discussion of Buddhism, the focus is on the development of the position of the guru in Tibet. So far as we know, these notions have been translated to western audiences. This notion has developed from an extreme form of "transmission" originating in India with Naroopa and Tiloopa. It is further developed with the acquisition of political power by holy figures in Tibet and culminates in the notion of the Tuiku. In contrast to this, the Newar tradition does not maintain a theory of the guru as deity. Instead, in its reading of the texts of the Vajrayana, it understands several different interpretations of the guru notion depending on the context. The first is that of the Buddha Vajrasattva as the guru to all individuals. The second is in importance is the notion of the internal guru which is in fact Vajrasattva. The least in importance is the human teacher. However, the lack of political power for the Newar guru has developed the notions associated with the relationship between guru and disciple according to different lines than those above. This is seen as the relationship of any student to a teacher in the classical Indian pattern where abusive behavior of the guru towards the student is not acceptable. Finally, it is argued that this is probably the correct interpretation for understanding this phenomenon even in Indian Tantric Buddhism.

HAYNES, EDWARD S., Duke University, (Panel: Men, Environment, Land, and Power in Rajasthan)  
"Changing Land Use and Land-use Ethnic in Rajasthan, 1950-1980"  
This paper will examine the shifting degree of human interaction in the Rajasthan natural environment over the last 130 years. Human decisions to act (or, more rarely, not to act) to alter their natural surroundings are an important factor in an ecologically fragile zone such as Rajasthan. The data base for this paper will be a set of decennial statistics (1950-1980) for each of the present districts of Rajasthan; these areas will be studied in their 1970 forms, as aggregate units reflecting pre-integration political units, and presence eight major vegetation and land-use classes, groupings which can be further refined into twenty sub-categories for more detailed examination of the
changing natural environment. The aim of this paper will be not only to describe and define the precise nature of human impact in the change in Rajasthan's environment over time, but to suggest to what degree Rajasthan/Rajputana, with a very different political organization and history from that of other areas of northern India, held and translated into policy a different ethic of land use and resource access.

HEITEZ, HANK, University of Wisconsin-Madison
"Roundtable/Workshop on the Practical Art of Literary Translation"
This roundtable/workshop will be concerned with practical issues related to improving the literary quality of translations from South Asian languages. Those actively involved in translation should select one particular problem of interest (semantic or formal) and bring a brief illustration, preferably worked for distribution in the workshop. This should consist of a short poem or brief passage of prose in the original language, together with a word-by-word literal translation and a more polished "literary" translation. General discussions will be held on the various questions raised. All interested participants are welcome.

HENDERSON, CAROL, Columbia University, (Panel: Man, Environment, Land and Power in Rajasthan)
"Livestock Production: Policy, Pressures, and Responses"
This paper examines shifts in the livestock population of Rajasthan since 1900. During this period, the number of livestock of all species has increased, and there have been shifts in the proportions of each. At the same time, policy makers and planners have consistently recommended reducing the number of animals in order to avert ecological disaster. It is suggested that models of livestock population growth must take into account the role that livestock perform in the integration of the subsistence and market sectors of the rural economy. In order to understand these growth trends, instead of examining only the subsistence aspects of livestock production, this paper uses livestock population statistics for the arid zone districts and data drawn from a village study to illustrate some of the factors which channel the selection of species and promote the non-subistence utilization of livestock and livestock products.

HERTEL, BRADLEY, Virginia Tech, (Panel: Teaching Workshop: Imaginative Approaches to South Asia)
"Gender Differences in Attainment of Supernatural Powers by Hindus of Rural Northern India"
This paper is an exploration of the characteristics commonly associated with the attainment of supernatural powers in this world and the next by Hindus in eastern Uttar Pradesh and western Bihar. Primary attention will be given to gender but other characteristics including caste will also be considered. Our analytical framework is based on the concept "metaphoric parallelism" (Winter, 1977: 27) which holds that the social world is mirrored in prevailing understandings of the supernatural world; and on Das and Uberti's (1971) observation that interpretations of the sacred in India require attention to both the positive and negative. Linkages between the supernatural and mundane worlds are examined in terms of differential access to various shaman roles and categories of spirits.

HILTEBEITEL, ALF, George Washington University, (Panel: Death, Women, and Regeneration in the Hindu World)
"Death and Regeneration in the Draupadi Cult"
This paper will deal with rituals in the Draupadi cult of Northern Tamilnadu that involve the symbolic deaths and revivals of participants who impersonate characters in the Mahabharata. That Draupadi is implicated in these regenerations has implications for understanding the role of the Goddess in Hindu South India, for it results from transformations of epic scenes and relationships that "originally" have nothing to do with such themes. I will discuss certain variants of this ritual within the Draupadi cult as well as related myths, and also take note of similar rituals and myths in the region and surrounding areas.

HIRSCHMANN, EDWIN, Towson State University, (Panel: The Press Amid Conflicting National Loyalties)
"Shaping a Nation: The Role of Robert Knight"
The Republic of India, as the principal successor of the British Raj, has proved its legitimacy by shaping itself along European ideals and values. The role of the Anglo-Indian editors is usually ignored, and yet they provided the models for criticizing the imperial system from within. No editor left a greater legacy than Robert Knight, founder of both the Times of India, of Bombay, and the Statesman, of Calcutta. From 1857 until his death in 1890, this controversial man dug his trenchant and incisive pen into every public issue of the day. Beginning as a defender of British rule, Knight gradually soured on the Raj and, in the end, applauded the formation of the Indian National Congress and its demand for representative government. By showing Indians how British standards and values could be used to attack the empire itself, he shaped and channeled the nationalist movement in this crucial formative period.
"Fishermen, Prawns, and Politics in Sri Lanka"

Traditional maritime Anthropology in Sri Lanka has emphasized the village-level social changes which result from the introduction of capital-intensive technical innovations among coastal fishermen. Field research in Sri Lanka's northwestern coastal region suggests that other factors are equally important in attempting to characterize the social life of Sri Lankan fisher-people. In particular, ethnic-religious differences which have been magnified by the current political situation are expressed as conflicting interpretations of: rights to common resources; access to marketing arrangements; distribution of power among fishermen; and development strategies of the Ministry of Fisheries. Such conflicts link the "politics" of everyday life on the water and onshore, to the communal politics which currently dominate Sri Lanka's national experience.

"Bangladesh and Pakistan: A Case of Realignment"

After the gruesome civil war in Pakistan, that led to the creation of Bangladesh in 1971, it was widely speculated that Bangladesh, because of its geographical location, its cultural and linguistic characteristics and its economic contingencies, would of necessity become an ally if not a satellite of Indian hegemonic ambitions in the region. The recent developments in Bangladesh foreign policy aimed at realignment with Pakistan and a shift away from the acceptance of Indian hegemony appear as anomalies. In this paper it will be argued that the most likely explanation of this shift in alignment has to do with structural reasons as well as class interests within Bangladesh. In this context the historical and cultural ties with Pakistan, the consolidation of the military bureaucratic governing elite in Bangladesh and the uneven and unequal development of socio-economic ties with India will be posed as explanatory factors.

"The Jala Pyakham of Harlsiddhi: A Classical Newar Ritual Drama in Nepal"

One of the richest and least known classical artistic/ritual traditions of South Asia is the pyakham dance tradition of the Newar civilization of Nepal. Ranging from abstract solo dances to comedy to modern theater, pyakham reaches its fullest expression in the elaborate masked dance dramas. In these, the surviving forms of classical Indian Sanskrit theatre and Indian Buddhist ritual practice blend with Newar culture and cosmology to create special forms which artistically and ritually restructure and experience of performers and community. Reputedly the oldest masked pyakham is the Jala Pyakham of Harlsiddhi. This dance theatre is famous for its historical content, and for embodying all the gods, Hindu and Buddhist, of Nepal. Harlsiddhi is itself a uniquely sacred village, with a special lineage of local priests who become the gods of the dances. Simultaneously the most classical and the most ritual of the Newar pyakham traditions, the Jala Pyakham vividly exhibits a fundamental unity of art and ritual in the interaction of dancers and audience during a performance. (Part I of TWO INTRODUCTORY STUDIES ON THE NEVAR PYAKHAM. See also Ter Ellingson, "The Gai Pyakham of Patan").

"Communications and Power: The Indianization of Reuter's, 1914-1947"

In the early '20s, both Government and nationalist politicians recognized the need to reach more of the Indian people in order to support their claims to speak for all of them. As a result they were forced to re-examine the means by which they could get their particular message across to this expanded constituency. The content and movement of news throughout India, and between India and Britain, and India and other parts of the world became a significant element in this process. In this context, the old assumptions about the mutually beneficial relationship between Reuter's and the Government of India were considered, challenged, and to some extent set aside. It became clear that the interests of Reuter's as a multinational business were increasingly different from those of the Government. The latter's subjects were the former's clients. As each gave more and more attention to the question of the survival of their monopoly interests, it became clear that the company had a chance to survive, even if the Raj did not. The paper will deal with the assertion of the distinctive role of the press and news services in the context of the nationalist struggle; and the developing ties between Reuter's and nationalist leaders and newspapermen. The role of the Reuter's controlled Associated Press of India will be given particular attention as the news emerged within India and the strategic link between Reuter's British and Indian identity.

"Male Outmigration and Matri-weighted Families: Mehrabad, a Punjabi Village in Pakistan"

The paper which is based on anthropological fieldwork discusses the impact of male emigration on the reorganization of domestic groups and the changing role of females in social networks in a Punjabi village. It is specifically concerned with assessing the activities of village females in terms of changes in domestic group and village structure. The phe-
nmen of male outmigration is not new in the Punjab. Its increasing importance lies in
the greater distance and longer periods of migration. Consequently, the women are
deprived of their menfolk and families are becoming a more important part of the house.
Sex role complementarity still exists but women play an increasingly important part in
the intra-familial arrangements.

JONES, KENNETH W., Kansas State University, (Panel: Fundamentalism and Gender
Relationships)
"Socio-Religious Movements and Changing Gender Relationships Among the Hindus of British
India"
The most widely accepted interpretation of socio-cultural change in British India is one
of 'progress', an uninterrupted march towards 'modernity'. This vision is particularly
strong among literate Hindus who prideously point to reform measures that emancipated Hindu
women from a wide range of social and customary disabilities. Socio-religious movements
from the Brahmo Samaj's victory over sati through campaigns by many groups against female
infanticide, child marriage, and the ban on widow remarriages plus a variety of efforts to
promote women's education are all given as examples of historical progress. Yet within
this period a counter trend can be found as male led movements attempted to retrieve 'bad
customs' such as obscene songs sung at weddings, public bathing by women, puberty rituals
for girls and certain festivals, all of which were performed by women primarily for
women. These movements appeared to have been asserting greater male control over women than
had existed previously. This paper will explore the implications that arise from both
historical trends with particular emphasis on the possibility that both technological and
social change produced a reassertion of male dominance within Hindu society. It will
also examine the nature of religious authority used to justify progress of change, and the
implications of this study for developmental theory with its tendency to equate techni-
ological 'progress' with social justice.

KALAYIL, ANN P., University of Wisconsin-Madison, (Panel: Ethnicity, Trans-national, and
Sub-National Conflicts in South Asia)
"Baluchistan: A Nation in Embryo?"
This paper discusses the evolution of Baluchistan nationalism within Pakistan and Iran.
Political, economic, and social inequalities, coupled with various forces of modern-
ization, have intensified the demands from various sectors of the Baluchis for their own
nation. This paper shows how the 1973-1977 period of insurrections in Pakistan increased
Baluch demands, since that period called into question the viability of Pakistan as a
nation-state. The paper indicates that, for the moment, Baluch sentiments appear to be
pacified. However, under certain conditions, they may become turbulent again in the
future.

KANRA, NAVE W., University of Southern California, (Panel: The Potential of
Afghanistan's Society and Institutions to Resist Soviet Domination)
"Stages in Sovietization of Afghanistan"
in this paper the micro-mechanism of Soviet strategy is explicated in six stages, as
follows: 1. Anti-colonial solidarity; 2. Economic and Cultural Penetration; 3. Military
Aid and Training; 4. Military coup and Establishment of a Marxist Government; 5.
SoLoziation of the economic, political and social structure; 6. Satellitization and
Integration into the Soviet System.

KASSEBAUM, GAYATHRI RAJAPUR, University of Washington, (Panel: Kannada
Lyricist-Musicians: Known and Unknown"
"Sanmardaya Pada: A Genre of Traditional Non-Classical Music in Karnataka, India"
Sanmardaya Pada is a genre taling between folk and sound Indian classical music. It is
usually performed at home on occasions of daily worship, marriage and other life cycle
(like birth, puberty) events. Only women sing Sanmardaya Pada while doing house work or
at daily worship. The song texts are in vernacular Kannada and describe marriage events,
Lord Rama-Sita, Lord Krishna-Radha, Lord Venkateswara-Padmavathi, etc. Musical analysis
reveals that Sanmardaya Padas are in Tala (rhythmic cycle), even though the performers
'struct' the tunes. But most of the tunes have essential melodic characteristics which
resemble karnatak raga's. The paper is based upon upon musical examples recorded in South
Mysore and some areas of Bangalore City, Karnataka State in 1981-82. In the paper I will
present selected song translations and some musical aspects of Sanmardaya Pada.

KEMP, SHARON F., University of Minnesota, (Panel: Workshop: Changing Division of Labor
In South Asia)
"How Work is Perceived. The Choice: Hunger or Humiliation"
Although an increasing number of rural women want to find work to contribute to the
family income, they say they cannot find work because there are no jobs. Women are
actually raising two issues; the lack of jobs available to women, and the suitability of
the work in relation to their own status. Women's status is discussed briefly in relation
to three partially congruent prestige systems: caste, land ownership and education, and in terms of their own preferred identity as mothers. Traditional caste and field work are then examined to illustrate the gender division of labor and how gender differentially influences perceptions of work. Women's assessments of work show a hierarchical ordering based on both economic and status considerations by which present day work opportunities are examined. It is shown that work of suitable status is unavailable to most women. Women then face the moral dilemma of low status work or worsening family economic conditions.

Khan, Zillur R., University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, (Panel: Bangladesh and Her Big Neighbors)

"Bangladesh and the People's Republic of China"
The Pakistani Civil War of 1971 witnessed interesting shifts in PRC's foreign policy toward East Pakistan. When East Pakistan emerged as an independent nation of Bangladesh, PRC's policy toward the newly independent nation hardened as demonstrated by the recurring Chinese veto against Bangladesh's admission into the UN. Aware of the precarious balance that a small country must maintain in relation to its big neighbors, Dhaka attempted to move closer to Beijing via US-Pakistan corridor without distancing itself from New Delhi. The chief focus of this paper will be Bangladesh leadership's role in coping with the geopolitical constraints of a newly emerging small country sandwiched between two big counteracting neighbors.

Khanza, Satti, University of California-Berkeley, (Panel: Questions in Form In Indian Cinema)

"The Poetry of Nuktibodh In Print and on Film"
In 1980, the Madhya Pradesh Kala Parishad commissioned the filmmaker Mani Kaul to make a film on the life and works of the Hindi poet Nuktibodh. Mani Kaul traveled through the towns in which Nuktibodh had lived, studied the poet's work and completed in 1982 a 90-minute feature film called STAWA SE UTARNA ADHI (Arising from the Surface). Mani Kaul's particular enterprise was to maintain in the film the expressive and evocative quality of Nuktibodh's poetry so that nothing was reduced or flattened. Critics found the resulting film more austere than Nuktibodh's poetry. The film raised the question of appropriate distance between audience and complex cinema. Was the medium of cinema so easily gratifying that the viewer had to be kept at bay before something complex could be devised on a film? The aim of this paper is to compare the structure of implication in Nuktibodh's poetry with the devices for creating dulo-visual resonance in Naut Kaul's film and to speculate on the nature of complexity in lyric poetry and in cinema.

Kolenda, Pauline, University of Houston, (Panel: Three Villages Past and Present: Totagadda, Khulapur, and Karimpur)

"Status of Women in Khulapur"
Ashok Mitra's hypotheses concerning the likely changes taking place in the status of women in India are discussed in light of data from Khulapur. In brief, the question is: Is paid mental work for women in rural India declining?

Kurin, Richard, Southern Illinois University, (Panel: Ethnosociology and Related Approaches to Indian Culture)

"Humoral Thought In Hindu and Muslim Ethnoscociologies"
South Asian Hindus and Muslims both use humoral concepts to describe and interpret qualities of personal, social, and religious action. Over time, these categories have been modified and transformed. This paper traces the many humoral attributes as well as the rationale for making them common to both communities. Analysis of personality characterizations, ethnic group typing and acts of worship reveals how such commonalities are conceptually articulated with and accommodated into different Hindu and Muslim metaphysical frameworks.

Layne, Linda C., & Rossiter, Angeline, Harlan High School-Chicago, IL, (Panel: Teaching Workshop: The Role of Bengali Women In Village Life)
We plan to discuss the general factors that influence the quality of life of rural Bengali women in Bangladesh. General aspects of their social status and condition, with special emphasis on the purdha system will be presented. The exclusion of women from social roles has reinforced the myth that women do not work, do not want to work, or will not be allowed to work and given the opportunity. The participation of women in agricultural production and other income producing activities will be presented to help eliminate the myth enhanced by the purdha system. We will show Bengali rural women not only as members of families but as a growing force in Bengali life with their own unique problems, needs, interests and aspirations. Since this panel is aimed at elementary and secondary teachers we will offer visual aids in the presentation such as maps, a bibliography, posters and teaching lesson outlines. Along with our panel presentation and discussion, we will present a slide presentation on the women of rural Bangladesh.

Lee, Yu-Min, State University of New York, College at New Paltz, (Panel: Gandharan Art & Iconography: The Art of Pakistan's Peshawar Valley & Related Areas)
"The Wreath-bearing Bodhisattva in Chanderan Art"
Avalokitesvara is one of the most important Bodhisattvas in Buddhist pantheon. However, only a few Bodhisattva images in Gandharan art have been identified as Avalokitesvara. The aim of this paper is to propose that besides the form of Padmapani (Lotus Bearer), Avalokitesvara is also represented as a wreath-bearing Bodhisattva in Gandharan art.

"The Interfacing of Forestry into Nepal's Development Planning"
About 10 years ago several major actions were suggested to further the management planning of forest and range resources to improve the land in the country of Nepal. This paper reports on 1) how these actions were implemented, 2) the overall strategy used in mobilizing donor forces to assist in halting the rapid degradation of Nepal's environment, and 3) the multi-faceted and integrated project supported by the U.S. Agency for International Development. The interaction of these activities has had a significant influence on the policies, laws and planning of Nepal forest resources and also on other forestry development in the region. The point is made that the foresters in concert with the people have agreed to a plan of action, adopted policy and are enacting laws based on sound environmental principals which has the potential of reversing an environmental threat that was developing for centuries.

"Galactic Polity and the Anthropology of Hindu-Buddhist Relations in the Himalayas"
Religious tradition in the Himalayas has often been characterized as "the Indo-Tibetan Interface". This paper considers this subject using C.R. Tambiah's notion of "galactic polity" to define the continuities and contrasts between the Brahmanical and Buddhist organization of religious tradition. The Kathmandu Valley civilization provides the central focus for this analysis, since for the last 1300 years Hindu-Buddhist interactions have been a distinctive feature of Newar culture. Furthermore, the long-standing presence of Tibetan Buddhist institutions and more recent Shah state Hinduism in the Valley complicate the situation as well as precipitate the need for theoretical clarity. By considering the confluence of religious institutions, royal alliance, and the meaning of "religious fluid" to the lay polity, we propose analytical themes that help clarify the ethnohistorical analysis of Himalayan religion.

"Fatehpur-Sikri: New Directions and Interpretations"
Fatehpur-Sikri is one of the best known, but least understood, cities of Mughal India. Begun by Jalal-ud-Din Akbar in 1569, Fatehpur-Sikri was abandoned as an imperial capital 16 years later, in 1638. Although many of Fatehpur-Sikri’s buildings survive in excellent condition a great deal of confusion exists concerning the city’s urban structure and functions. Akbar’s principal palaces and administrative buildings, for instance, have yet to be properly identified nor is there a reasonable explanation for the city’s complicated plan. In examining the archaeology of Fatehpur-Sikri in conjunction with Persian, Mughal and European sources several new ideas concerning Fatehpur-Sikri’s organization and development will be presented. In doing so two points will be emphasized: that the city’s architectural history spans almost 100 years—from the early 16th century through the early 17th century and that the key to comprehending Fatehpur-Sikri lies in understanding the relationship between the imperial complex, the Jama masjid and the principal residential areas.

"Storing the Product, Selling the Image of 'Woman': Content Analysis of Indian Advertisements"
This paper will discuss advertisers’ use of women’s images to sell products. It will explore how these images reflect and reinforce gender stereotypes which could undermine the status of women. The discussion will be based on a content analysis of advertisements in a selection of Indian magazines.

"Administrative Decentralization and Rural Development in Bangladesh: A Review of Upazilla Administration"
This paper reviews the basic concepts and theoretical framework of administrative
decentralization. It discusses its importance to achieve decentralized development with primary focus on rural development in the context of Bangladesh. The paper then critically examines the evolution, implementation, and current working of Upazilla. Bangladesh is characterized by a colonial administrative legacy of the British which was perpetuated by the Pakistán regime. Changes made in pre-liberation Bangladesh and efforts taken in post-liberation period proved inadequate in making administration responsive to people's need. Rural development has been a constant concern in Bangladesh, and during the last three decades Bangladesh has adopted several approaches which reflected a deep pre-occupation of rural development measures. These approaches had very little input for the rural masses. In such a condition the present regime has decentralized the administration at the district level. Upazilla (upgraded thana) is the institutional approach with a proposed philosophy of carrying out rural development in Bangladesh. It is not time to evaluate the effectiveness of the Upazilla due to its short time frame of experience as an approach. However, whether the Upazilla would fulfill its promise depends upon its viability and continuation with the country's future government.

MAJEEB AKHTAR, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, India, (Panel: Ethnicity, Trans-National and Sub-national Conflicts in South Asia) *Ethnicity and Political Conflicts in India*

In India, ethnic sub-nationalism has been much more successful than nationalism. This is so because, instead of it being used for socio-economic development, nationalism has mostly been used to suppress ethnic and regional groups. The overall emphasis in the Constitution is to condition the growth of ethnic-regional identity, and a great number of factors have been excluded in nature which are not accorded recognition. Consequently, regionalism is a dominant feature in the Constitution framework. The Constitution was inspired by the ethnic-subcultures and by the economic inequality between different ethnic-regional groups. The uneven and imbalanced development pattern only helped in aggravating the traditional apprehensions among ethnic-relations. In ethnic conflicts — be they Hindu-Muslim and Hindu-Sikh communal conflict, or anti-migrant agitations like in Assam or sub-regionalism of Telengana magnifying cultural differences becomes a political technique by way of defining cultural (and consequently, political) identity. The strategy is to convert cultural differences into cultural conflicts. Such conflicts come to surface when ethnic groups try to use political power to overcome their fears of economic defeat and cultural subordination by more enterprising and skilled ethnic groups.

MANUEL PETER, University of Wisconsin-Madison, (Panel: Traditional Music in Twentieth-Century Contexts: South and Southeast Asia) *Dadar Commercialization and Classicization of a Folk Music Genre in the Twentieth Century*

Dadar is one of the most popular and influential light-classical forms of North Indian music. This paper presents a cursory overview of daras from the perspectives of style, text, mode, religious and class affiliations, and it examines the genre's close relationship to, at once, folk, classical, and pop music. The affinities of daras to folk music are most evident in its meters, melodies, and the absence of explicit norms governing exposition of mode such as exist in art music. Conversely, among the classical elements in daras is its occasional use of classical rags, stylistic idiosyncrasies, instrumentation, and the fact that it is often performed by classical musicians in formal public concerts. At the same time, daras has existed as a light-classical form long enough for its traditional exponents—courtiers—to establish its own distinctive norms, relating, for example, to text, rhythm, and its unique treatment of Urdu meter. In this century, the flexibility of the genre, its accessibility, and its ambiguous class and religious affiliations have made daras one of the prime sources of inspiration for Hindi film music.

MARGLIN, FREDERIQUE APFEL, Smith College, (Panel: Death, Women, and Regeneration in the Hindu World) *Regeneration and the Single Goddesses in Purī*

The festival of the New Body (nabakalebars) enacted every 12 years approximately in Purī, Orissa, enacts the 'death' and 'rebirth' of the three deities of the Jagannath temple. This festival will be studied in the light of certain theoretical issues concerning women, death, and regeneration. In particular, the theories advanced by Maurice Bloch and Jonathan Parry in their book Death and the Regeneration of Life (CUP 1982) will be critically examined in the light of the data from the Purī Festival. Women and sexuality often play a role in death rituals. What is the significance of female sexuality in mortuary ceremonies? Such questions will be raised and looked at in the light of the role played by various goddesses in the ritual of the New Body. Several single—i.e., non married—goddesses in the ritual play a crucial role at several key points. The role of the single goddesses in death and regeneration will be elucidated.

MARTIN EDWARD D., Cornell University, (Panel: Investments for Water Resources Development by Rural People in the Hills of Nepal)
Indigenous Water User Groups for Irrigation Management in Nepal* 

Irrigation is the most critical factor enabling intensive agricultural production in the hills of Nepal. In most cases, irrigation systems include more than a single household and, thus, require coordinated collective action for their operation. Nearly all of the irrigation systems in the hills of Nepal have been constructed and are managed by the irrigators themselves. Wherever there is a functioning irrigation system, there is an organization for managing it. This organization must mobilize resources and carry out the specific tasks of water acquisition, allocation, and distribution. Farmers in Nepal have organized in different ways to effectively accomplish these irrigation system tasks. Future government-sponsored irrigation development in the hills will nearly always be in areas where there is an existing irrigation organization, and an awareness of these organizations and appreciation of their capabilities should facilitate more effective irrigation projects.

This paper will present the variety of organizational forms and principles observed during 21 months of field research in the mid-hills of Nepal and analyze some of the differences.

MC Mahon, Robert J., University of Florida, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics)

*The United States and Nehru, 1947-1964*

This paper analyzes the evolution of American attitudes toward India's Prime Minister in the period between Indian independence in 1947 and Nehru's death in 1964. It contrasts the comparatively static attitude of Nehru toward the United States during these years with the wild fluctuations in official American views of and policies toward India. Its central argument is that changing U.S. assessments of Nehru's supposed reliability to the United States in its global struggle against communism best explain the often dramatic shifts in U.S. policy. Thus, the most leading American diplomats throughout this period Nehru simply was India to understand him was to understand the nation. Thus at the root of the often contradictory policies toward India pursued during the administrations of Harry S. Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, and Lyndon B. Johnson were changing assessments in Washington of the attitudes, ambitions, and aspirations of India's paramount leader. Inversely, those assessments turned on the critical question of where India stood in the East-West conflict.

Mendez, Jesus, Barry University-Miami Florida, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics)

*Nationalism and the Role of a British Cultural Organization in the Developing World: The PEN Club in India and Argentina in the 1930s*

The PEN Club—an organization of poets, essayists, and novelists—was founded in London in 1921 by Aby Dawson Scott. Within a few years, the PEN had international chapters in the major Western European nations and in the United States. During the decade of the 1930s, the London PEN became interested in opening centers in the major cities of the developing world. The PEN centers in Bombay and Buenos Aires came to be among the most successful of the international chapters. This paper will examine the reasons behind the London PEN's desire for international chapters in the developing world, the aspirations of Indian and Argentine Intellectuals and their reasons for wanting to be associated with the London PEN chapter, the interesting parallels during the 1930s in the relations of India and Argentina with Great Britain, and the impact and legacies, both cultural and political, of the Bombay and Buenos Aires PEN Centers in their respective national contexts. Liberal use is made throughout the paper of primary source materials from the archives of the PEN Club.


*Princes, Artisans, and Architects: Colonial Building in Princely India, 1860-1920*

This paper examines the architecture of India's princes to ascertain how far and in what ways these men responded to changing styles of building in British India. During the half-century after 1860 the British developed a distinctive architectural style, known as "Indo-Saracenic," that sought to incorporate India's past into Britain's imperial architecture, and so represent Britain's Raj as legitimately India. Central to this enterprise were the princes, who, in the British view, ought appropriately to construct their palaces in this style which symbolized their ties to their past as a martial elite. Some princes preferred, however, to define themselves in European, and others to persist in old artisanal styles of building. But, if they wished to retain their predominance, the princes could not simply continue unchanged in their own ways. They had to come to terms with the political aesthetic the British sought to impose upon them.

Miller, Barbara Stoler, Barnard College, (Panel: Texts and Textual Practice in South Asia)

"Obscured Lines in Time: On the Textual Traditions of Some Sanskrit Kavya"

An examination of the transmission of selected texts, including the plays attributed to Bhasa, the dramas of Kalidas, the Gita Govinda, the Caurapancasika, and the poems attributed to Bhartrihari. Attention will be given to contextual traditions, historical factors, critical judgments, and religious intention.
MILLER, JOAN, Yale University, (Panel: Ethnoscology and Related Approaches to Indian Culture)

The Developmental Acquisition of American and Hindu Cultural Conceptions of the Person

Data collected on modes of everyday social explanations among American and Hindu children and adults reveals the existence of culture-specific age trends in the types of reasons emphasized in explanation and in areas of explanatory concern. With increasing age, Americans move toward a greater psychological focus, while Hindus become more sensitive to social influences on behavior. These trends are interpreted to reflect children's gradual acquisition of conceptions of the person emphasized in their respective cultures. Implications of such results for understanding the developmental acquisition of cultural understandings are explored.

MINOR, ROBERT N., University of Kansas, (Panel: Three Interpretations of Hinduism: Do They Bespeak a Cohesive Tradition?)

"The Ayurvedic System of Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan"

This paper will focus on the process by which Radhakrishnan came up with his own universalistic definition of Hinduism. It will also examine the way in which Radhakrishnan deals with the varieties in the Hindu tradition in his, Radhakrishnan's, attempt to reveal a coherent Hinduism in harmony with his own view.

MITHRA, PRITI KUMAR, University of Hawaii-Honolulu, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics)

"The Agonies of an Agonizer: 'Rebel Poet' Kazi Nazrul Islam of Bengal and the Orthodoxies He Encountered: A Socio-Political Analysis"

Kazi Nazrul Islam (1899-1942-1976), famed 'Rebel Poet' of Bengal, startled the Indian literary world with his radical ideas and numerous disobediences in the 20s of the 20th century. Expressing his dissent through fiery poetry and a convention-shattering lifestyle Nazrul offended at least five orthodoxies that operated at the time in the political social cultural and intellectual spheres of life in the country: 1) the British colonial establishment, 2) the Gandhian mainstream of national struggle, 3) Islamic religiosity and intellectual authoritarianism, 4) Hindu social prejudice and cultural chauvinism, and 5) the Tagore-centered literary orthodoxy in Bengal. The poet made specific attacks against each of these orthodoxies to receive definite responses from each. The paper approaches these dialectics in terms of a dissent-orthodoxy dichotomy. It also tries to throw new light on the quadrangular (Gandhian, "terrorism", communal and sociocultural) politics of the time, the dynamics of contemporary Bengali literature, and, above all, the problems of intellectual freedom in a situation where a plurality of orthodoxies make too many demands on the creative individual.

MOFFATT, MICHAEL, Rutgers University, (Panel: Ethnoscology and Related Approaches to Indian Culture)

"Recent Anthropological Paradigms for the Study of India"

There are many general similarities between Dumont's structuralism and Marriot's ethnoscology: an appeal to Indic culture as the starting point for analysis; an image of India in opposition to the west; and interest in general principles or presuppositions which cut across great tradition/little tradition distinctions; a strong interpretation of the significance of the texts at the folk level; an argument for particular pervasive principles or processes and a denial of the relevance of the western concept of the person. Both approaches are also often seen by critics as excessively abstract, idealist and relativist. There are major differences as well, in the particular formulated after structuralism, partly in reaction to it, partly as a continuation of its general agenda. More than structuralism, ethnoscology continues to generate an impressive range of culturally specific fieldwork--see the other papers in this panel.

MOORE, MELINDA, Chicago, (Panel: Ethnoscology and Related Approaches to Indian Culture)

"The House is the Center: Geography and Relatedness in Kerala Hindu Culture"

Among the Nayar and Namboothiri castes of Kerala, an elaborate house is found alongside a unique pattern of social organization. A Hindu ethnotheory of the points of the compass is applied to field data on these houses, showing that they are systematically divided into areas for persons in varying bodily states and for deities and other beings. The structure of such houses is shown to be relevant to the issue of what a Kerala matrilinage (travad) is, as well as to the problematic nature of marriage among Kerala's matrilinage castes.

MORENA, MANUEL, Northeast Illinois University, (Panel: Ethnoscology and Related Approaches to Indian Culture)

"Virgin, Wife and Widow: Complementary Performances and Perceptions in the Marthysram Festival of Tamil Town"

The intersection of the full moon of Mací with the Maha asterism marks the high point of the Marthysram festival in the Tamil town of Palani. For 30 days prior to this juncture, the goddess Marthysram undergoes physical transformations in terms of themlc verbs--she suffers excess of heat, becomes cool, and finally moderately warm. The goddess' initial state of overheat is said to be the result of the current hot season. This state of
Excessive openness poses a threat to the goddess. These worshippers engage in a series of counteractivities to bring the goddess into a moderate state, not too hot and not too cold. These counteractivities entail the marriage of the goddess to a mysterious male, and finally a state of widowhood. Worshipers of the goddess comprise many different categories of Hindus, predominantly Farmers and Merchants, Brahmin priests and Untouchables. This paper analyzes the series of transformations of this goddess, and the accompanying performances and perceptions of her worshippers. Seen in its totality, the festival appears as a complementary set of counteractivities to make the goddess visible to her multi-faceted worshippers. It also uncovers aspects of the nature of the goddess's worshippers who define themselves in their performances and perceptions of the goddess.

MORRISON, CHARLES, Michigan State University, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: Recent Research)

"Soldier-Scholar: The Academic Warrior: The Indian Researches and English Career of Sir Richard Carnac Temple"

Among British officials of the Raj who developed avocational interests in aspects of Indian civilization, few were more seriously involved in research on as many topics as Sir Richard Carnac Temple (1850-1931). He made contributions to the study of law, language, religion, art, architecture, numismatics, history, folklore, and technology in South Asia. Unlike many anthropological dilettantes and colonial publicists, however—he included his own more famous father (a Governor of Bombay and later a Member of Parliament)—Temple steadily improved the quality of his scholarship throughout his career in the Indian army and as a military governor and colonial commissioner. This put him in a position to build what was in effect a second research career during his long "retirement" in England after leaving India at the turn of the century. This paper traces the range and ramifications of Temple's scholarly interests and discusses his significance as a transitional figure in the development from "amateur/administrative" to "professional/academic" research in the western study of South Asian society and history.

MUNDOCHEN, PAUL, Western Illinois University, (Panel: Three Interpreters of Hinduism: Do They Bespeak a Cohesive Tradition?"

"The Hinduism of Sri Aurobindo"

The Hinduism of Sri Aurobindo relies on the ancient philosophical tradition of Advaita Vedanta, but Aurobindo did not encourage Hindus to keep looking to the past. Indeed, Hinduism for Aurobindo meant integral yoga—a system in which the technological advances of the modern world are integrated into the eternally-true metaphysical system of the old. The paper will explore the way in which this hybrid Hinduism is made manifest, and the degree to which it is faithful to tradition and to modernity.

NAZINGER, B.A., Cornell University, (Panel: Investment for Water Resources Development by Rural People in the Hills of India)

"Water Usage for Irrigation and Micro-Hydro Power Generation in Rural Nepal: An Investigation of System Management Alternatives"

Although Nepal is very poor economically, she is blessed with an abundance of hydro-power wealth. Little of this potential has been developed to the present time. One form of development which is taking place, however, is the installation of micro-hydro turbines in rural areas. When these installations were initially implemented in the 1960s, their primary task was to provide a simple solution to the problem of providing electricity to small settlements. However, in recent years, there has been an increase in the number of installations, and the potential for utilizing these systems for irrigation purposes is being realized. The decision becomes more complex when it is noted that irrigation has traditionally been a communal activity whereas many of the micro-hydro schemes are under private ownership. In making decisions where two highly vested but diametrically opposed interests are represented, conflict has often been the result. The gravity of the situation is underscored in an observation made by one recent survey stating that, "There is a great danger of turbine schemes coming to a halt on account of water use conflicts." Based upon the author's field experience, this paper examines some of the criteria used by rural Nepalese in making the decision as to whether the available water supply ultimately goes to the crops or to the turbine. Also considered are water management decisions in the case of the "ghatta"—the traditional flour mill which has existed for centuries. By examining the ghatta and considering other alternative forms of water system management, strategies for conflict management within the micro-turbine/irrigation system are explored.

NAIDU, G.M., University of Wisconsin-Whitewater, (Panel: Business Climate in India)

Business Climate in India: Marketing Aspects

The paper will discuss the evolution of marketing infrastructure as it relates to the economic development of India. Included in the paper: marketing practices, marketing opportunities for industrial and consumer products, market for transfer of technology and legislation affecting marketing. The paper offers a retrospect and prospect of business climate from a marketing perspective.

NEFF, DEBORAH L., Madison, WI, (Panel: Who (What) Controls the Spirits: South Asian
Spirit Possession Rituals as Performances)
"Manipulation and Control of Power Through Aesthetics and Mythological Authority In Pampin Thulial, a Cobra Possession Ritual of Rural Kerala"
The phenomenon of spirit possession is linked at in relation to conventions of aesthetic content perceived as necessary to obtain the desired outcome of the ritual (various manifestations of the deity’s power) including the prescribed rendering of the pictorial representation of the deity, the genre-specific form of musical accompaniment which is suggested by local myths, and songs that contain the specific form that possession takes. The ways in which oral tradition, including local variants of Hindu mythology and particular (sung) texts explain and support ritual form and action are also considered. Both manipulation and control of power through aesthetic elements and control through mythological authority are examined in relation to traditionally proscribed performance conventions as well as possibilities for individual innovation.

NIYOGI, PUSPA, University of Calcutta, (Panel: South Asian Landscape)
Buddhism In South-East Bengal (c.a.d. 500-1200)
South-East Bengal became a prominent center of Buddhism long before the rise of Buddhist Pala dynasty. The pre-Candra Inscriptions recovered in this area record eras of land in favor of Buddhist institutions. Similar evidence in regard to other parts of Bengal is wanting; the recorded donations were made in favor of Brahmans or their religion although the Buddha is invoked in their inscriptions and the Buddhist Dharmaguptaka symbol is used, as evidence of their personal faith in Buddhism. The Buddhist Candra of S.E. Bengal made grants in favor of Brahmanism like the Palas of Gauda. Some are of the opinion that the Candra kings may have repudiated the Buddhist faith and adopted Hinduism. But it may be remembered that they called themselves Paramasamghata till the end of their reign. In fact the Buddhism which they followed was not a negation of Hinduism but represented to a large extent a blending of the two in consonance with the spirit of the age to which they belonged. That Buddhism was active in this region in the different periods concerned is evidenced from the Chinese accounts; the available inscriptions recording gifts of lands in favor of Buddhist institutions; archaeological explorations and excavations in this part of Bengal, specially the Mainamati-Lalma range and its neighborhood. A noteworthy feature of continuity and growth of Buddhism in S.E. Bengal was the rise of some flourishing Buddhist centers in this part of the country.

NORBU, THUBTEN J., University of Indiana-Bloomington, (Panel: Tibetan Scholars Tibetan Culture, Society and Religion: In Commemoration of Twenty Five Years in Exile)
"China’s False Image of the Tibetan Question"
Based on my travels to Tibet in 1980, this paper provides an update of the current situation under the Chinese Rule. It will examine China’s interest in resolving the Tibetan Question and show that their policies have undergone no major changes. It will also look at what policies are available in view of the need on the part of many Tibetans to rectify the situation.

"Ancestor or Evil Ghost? Contesting Paradigms of Ritual Performance in a Hindu Village In Nepal"
Numerous problems in a local descent group, and the failure of various primary remedies in an especially serious case of illness, set the stage for explorations of the cause to be traced to a more intractable, ancestral ghost. This calls for elaborate, cumulative rituals to identify, and transform this ancestor to a deity. When the intense drama and themes of this Invocation do not prove possible, a shaman is challenged to act through contrasting rituals and themes to remove the spirit now differently conceived. The character of these differing designations are convincingly asserted and displayed, and engaged therapeutically in a forceful orchestration of interrelated ritual media and cultural themes.

PALAT, RAY ARVIND, State University of New York-Binghamton, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics)
"Popular Revolts and the State In Medieval South India: A Study of the Vijayanagara Empire (1360-1565)"
The extraordinary incidence of popular revolts during the reign of Devaraya II indicates an intensification in the extraction of surplus by the Vijayanagara state. Further indications of the concentration of state power during the Vijayanagara era are provided by evidence of the decline of the relatively autonomous local and supra-local institutions, the administrative division of the Empire into provinces and revenue-districts, etc. The extraction of surplus was also facilitated by the introduction of the nayakara system—the grant of revenue-collection rights to individuals by the State in return for specified sums of money, and the provision of men and horses. In the face of popular revolts, the State and its agents attempted to maintain their levels of monetary income by promoting agricultural development and by the direct cultivation of estates. While these strategies tended to lead to a market-integrated economy, they proved to be inadequate to arrest the tendency towards a crisis in peasant agriculture, which ultimately led to the fall of the Vijayanagara Empire.
"Buddhist Rationalization in Nepal's Thak Khola Region"

The literature on Thak Khola contains extensive discussion of the adoption of Hindu social and religious practices in the region, particularly by the Thakaksee Thakalis who have migrated to urban areas. Data collected during 1981-83 in a Thakali village of Ponchhage indicates that Buddhism is not in eclipse among all those still remaining in Thak Khola, and that a process of "Buddhist rationalization" may in fact be occurring. Replacement of Jhangris by Buddhist Lamas in some ceremonies, curtailment of traditional animal sacrifices at the behest of Golom Lamas, the increasing valuation of celibacy and the performance of austerities among local Lamas, and the appearance in the area of a residential teaching monastery, all point to a greater interest in Buddhism in its other-worldly rather than this-worldly aspects. Ultimately, it may be less meaningful to analyze Thak Khola's religious trends in terms of either "Indulzation" or "Buddhization" than to acknowledge that purely local and shamantic religious practices are losing importance in favor of the more rationalized and universalized values of textual Hinduism and Buddhism, in Thak Khola and perhaps in other high altitude regions of Nepal as well.

"Against the 'Disolving Effects of Trade': Monetary and Non-Monetary Forms of Exchange"

Recent research has begun to demonstrate that monetization affected substantial bodies of small urban and rural manufacturers and agricultural producers as early as the first half of the 17th century. Cash advances for goods directed towards non-local markets involved large populations and in turn stimulated specialization in production and supply of foodstuffs and raw materials. This is simply to emphasize the bottom end of a general process of transformation affecting society at large in the late pre-colonial period and bound up with developments of appropriate media, forms of production, skills and institutions, and specialist cadres concerned with monetary relations. Moreover, this process clearly had a cognitive dimension about which very little is currently known. However, a close scrutiny of the generally accepted argument about the "disolving effects of trade" upon apparently traditional, ascersive and ritualistic systems of payment and exchange, suggests that it be untenable: not only do the disolving effects of trade continue right up to the present day but ritualistic forms of exchange among the same populations and in the same towns and villages, seem equally persistent (which is not to say static). The present argument is an attempt to transcend the unsatisfactory state of current discussion between substantivists and formalists on the one hand, and rationalists and relativists on the other, and also the more general resort to the "disolving" idiom in the literature. It offers a new, but provisional model capable of incorporating both forms of relationship and cognition, and applicable to all complex societies, including those of the "Industrialized west".

"The Anthropology of Illness and Healing In Nepal"

Our understanding of illness and healing in Nepal is shaped by prior conceptions of what constitutes medicine in other cultures. This paper draws on comparative issues in the anthropology of medicine to discuss existing research on Nepalese healing practices and concepts of illness. Following the dominant perspective in medical anthropology, these studies have focused on the cultural beliefs that order the experience of illnesses and explain its causes. Yet people's willingness to experiment with new healing techniques, including ones that draw upon other theories of illness causation, contradicts the importance placed on specific cultural beliefs about the nature of illness. The disjunction between our understanding of what villagers believe and our knowledge of what people actually do raises questions about the nature of medical systems in general.

"The Afghan Character as a Factor in Resistance to Soviet Domination"

The paper will consider the value of national character studies both as theoretical postulates and as practical policy tools. It will then examine the difficulties in assigning national character traits to a country which is multi-ethnic and multi-lingual.
that framework it will examine individual Afghan value systems and beliefs such as the belief that Afghans cannot be conquered. In addition Afghans, particularly non-urban Afghans, have a social, family and tribal organization which is highly impermeable to abridgment of outside customs and behavior. Afghan character traits are strongly magnified by climatic, topographical and historical factors. In addition a process of natural selection has given Afghans great physical endurance and a tradition of physical courage. In case of attempted Soviet domination, Afghan resistance is also intensified by religious beliefs which tend to fortify the Afghan character in its resolve not to be deprived of freedom.

PRADHAN, UJJWAL, Cornell University, (Panel: Investment for Water Resources Development by Rural In the Hills of Nepal) "Water as Property: Its Ramifications"

With the development of facilities for the acquisition and the use of water, there is a fundamental change in the way that it is conceived of as property. Investment patterns augment this water property notion even further. In this paper, an attempt shall be made to show the various principles that govern the right to water use, the relationship people enter into when the water takes the form of property, especially when it has productive utility or potentiality, and the competition and conflict experienced thus. Issues concerning development projects that make water as property, technologies that have water as its use as a crucial input or element, investment strategies, water rights, and conflicts arising from these shall be dealt with. The transactions of this property and the limitations to wider participation due to the water rights shall be reviewed with examples from Nepal. The concept of water as property shall be reviewed in the light of certain irrigation, drinking water, and water turbines in Nepal.

PRAY, BRUCE, R., University of California-Berkeley, (Panel: Questions of Form in Indian Cinema) "The Significance of the Qawwals in Hindi Films"

I propose to examine film qawwals from two perspectives; first, as poetic texts themselves and secondly, in terms of their structural roles and 'significance' (in semiotic terms) in particular Hindi films. These include QAWAL BABA, in which a qawwal (the only song in the film) intensifies by its words, setting and cultural associations, the theme of separation and loss which dominates this film. A lighter example is the recent film YE ISHQ NAHI AISA, in which a qawwal is given a full-blown Bombay treatment and yet serves to provide, in addition to its entertainment value as such, a culturally acceptable legitimation of the society-disapproved love between the hero and heroine.

PUGH, JUDY, Michigan State University, (Panel: Ethnoscology and Related Approaches to Indian Culture) "Subjectivity, Illness and Change: Five Scenes from Contemporary Ayurveda"

Subject-centered accounts of illness experiences of South Asians are examined, gathered in fieldwork on Ayurveda and Unani in North India. Special attention is paid to notions of experience, affect and everyday life, to clarify the subject's assumptions and orientations, and to assess the implications of these for the ethnoscological approach.

RAHEJA, GLORIA G., University of Chicago, (Panel: Ethnoscology and Related Approaches to Indian Culture) "Auspiciousness in North Indian Social Life"

Ethnoscological analyses of South Asian social life have often focused on the "openness" of the Hindu person, and the various flows of substance from person to person that characterize particular kinship and inter-caste relationships. This paper discusses one such "substance", insauspiciousness (nasubh), and its relation to other Hindu cultural categories such as purity and impurity, and provides an analysis of the way in which cultural constructs concerned with auspiciousness and insauspiciousness are implicated in the everyday social life of a village in northwestern Uttar Pradesh.

RAO, MALATHI, University of Wisconsin-Madison: See BASHIR, ELENA.

RIAZ, TARIC, University of Wisconsin-Whitewater, Visiting Professor, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: Part V) "Energy Consumption and Economic Growth: A Case Study of Pakistan"

Energy consumption and economic growth are interdependent, therefore, economic growth cannot be maintained in the face of energy shortages. The expensive energy, therefore, has become a serious problem for the developing non-energy exporting nations. This study investigates the relationship between the energy consumption and the economic growth in the context of the Pakistan economy. The analysis shows that the growth process cannot be maintained in the face of energy supply constraints. The paper then goes on to forecast future energy demands for Pakistan. These forecasts are consistent with the historical growth rate of the country. Finally, a mathematic model has been developed to determine the best energy options, which need to be chosen to satisfy the future energy requirements.
ROSEBERRY, JAMES ROYAL III, Columbia, S.C., (Panel: East India Company Studies)
"Elite Group Rivalry as a Key Determinant in the Conquest of Multan, 1648-49"
In the more colorful episodes of British rule in the Subcontinent, Muslim levies led by Herbert Edwards, a young Political Officer, were instrumental in the suppression of the revolt of Mulrain, Governor of Multan Province in Punjab. There was, however, considerably more than "blood and thunder" to the story. The conflict was essentially a power struggle between two local elites, Muslim military and religious classes that had been supreme in the region prior to the Sikh conquest of 1618 were arrayed against Hindu mercantile and official elements that had risen to power under Khalsa hegemony. Although at the outset of the rebellion Multani Hindus and Muslims banded together against a perceived threat to local autonomy from the Lahore Durbar, Muslims soon realized that their interests diverged substantially from those of the Hindus. By delivering a message from Mulrain's standard while the issue was still in doubt, the Muslim elite established a claim to generous treatment by the British. After the annexation of Punjab by British India, the new regime lavishly rewarded the Multani Muslims by means of land grants, employment, honors, etc. The success of this policy was demonstrated when the Muslims rallied solidly behind the administration during the 1857 Rebellion.

ROSENFELD, THEO, New York University, (Panel: Workshop: Charing Division of Labor in South Asia)
"Industrial Technologies and Industrial Policies in India: Some Contradictions"
One of the main efforts of the industrial development of India in the Seventh Plan is to upgrade Industrial Technology and to modernize existing technologies. This is proposed to be done by identifying "sunrise" industries, especially in the electronics area, and to modernize such existing industries as textiles, cement, jute, paper, iron and steel, automotive, and others. At the same time, India's own capability to develop and use new technologies is to be raised. Yet certain aspects of present industrial policy with respect to both small firms work against those same objectives. This paper will discuss some of these policy issues and conflicts and their impact on India's objectives with respect to industrial technology.

ROSSITER, ANGEL, Harian High School-Chicago: See LAYNE, LINDA.

RUDNER, DAVID W., University of Pennsylvania, (Panel: Workshop: On the Social History of Relations of Money in South Asia)
"Money, Banking and the Nattukottai Chettiar"
Recent studies of Indigenous Indian systems for commercial transaction and financial intermediation focus on colonial entrepots and interior "burgher cities". In these urban centers, a stratum of powerful merchant-bankers maintained inter-regional trade in commodities and credit notes and provided important treasury and remittance facilities for regional and imperial authorities. Such merchant-bankers operated complex organization networks that cross-cut ties of caste and, according to recently published studies, elevated ties of class over ties of caste. The general implication is that caste played little or no role at all in the organization of large scale financial markets in India. The present paper suggest that in some cases, however, even commercial magnates whose business cross-cut caste boundaries relied on caste organization for a significant portion of their credit needs. To support this contention, the paper examines the Nattukottai Chettiar banking system during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The paper gives special attention to transactions of Chettiar financial instruments and corporate qualities of Chettiar commercial organization. It concludes by raising questions about the operation of financial markets in pre-colonial India.

SCHASTOK, SARA L., University of California-Berkeley, (Panel: Gandharan Art and Iconography)
"The Samalaji Sculptures: Assumptions of Gandharan Influence and Their Implications"
Previous scholarship on the 4th century sculptures from Samalaji provides a striking example of how the assumption of a foreign influence, Gandhara, in this instance, has had far-reaching implications for the history of Indian art. Being on the 4th century in one of the more colorful sculptures from this site, the earliest significant body of images from the UNESCO-Gupta period, U.P. Shah's assumption of a Gandharan Influence is linked to the misattribution of these images to a 125-year period beginning in the late 4th century and has obscured their rightful place as 6th century works of great significance in Hindu iconographic development in the post-Gupta period. Moreover, the assumption of a Gandharan Influence at Samalaji has colored both the interpretation of subsequent archaeological discoveries in the region and the place of Western India within the mainstream of Indian art. The examination of the Samalaji sculptures and the cast of the influence theory in this paper returns to the Samalaji sculptures themselves to show that these images are not the product of a 4th century foreign influence on North Gujarat and to suggest that this theory and the resulting early dates assigned these images stem not from intrinsic features of these sculptures, but are closely associated with a Gujarati regional interpretation of Indian art and history.

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SCHLEISINGER, LEE, University of Pennsylvania, (Panel: Ethnomusicology and Related Approaches to Indian Culture)

"Some Critical Remarks on Ethnomusicology"
The strength of ethnomusicology is its intense ethnomusicographic commitment and its imaginatively sensitive approach to new subjects and problems. It has also made valuable arguments against simple oppositional characterizations of Indian culture (egalitarian-hierarchical; pure-pure), and in favor of processual, "fluid" interpretations. Most of these strengths, however, are simply those of good, intense cultural anthropology. What ethnomusicology is lacking is a sense of context, group, sentiment and power. It also leaves unaddressed other issues relevant to most other approaches to India (pride, poverty, development and many others). Particular papers in this panel are criticized in these terms.

SCHMIDT, CAROLYN W., Ohio State University, (Panel: Gandharan Art & Iconography: The Art of Pakistan's Peshawar Valley & Related Areas)

"The Wisdom-Diadem"
The gods and men in reverence stand up to him who wears this wisdom-diadem, show your good actions then-there is the price—and buy, and war, this wisdom-diadem! The Questions of King Milinda, translated from the Pali by T.W. Rhys Davids, 1904. Within the multifaceted complex of Buddhist art, ideas associated with crowned Buddha images have been discussed by a number of scholars. Most frequently, the crown is referred to as part of the royal regalia of the cakravartin, the universal monarch. While this theme of sovereignty is apparently common to Buddhist literature of all periods, its emergence as an iconographic type in art is viewed as having occurred somewhat late, i.e. roughly the 7th or 8th centuries. Further, it is argued that several historians that this formulation can only properly be tied to Mahayana traditions. It is the suggestion of this researcher that a number of Buddha images from Gandhara should properly be viewed as crowned images and that a fuller understanding of the art of this region and others as well can best be achieved through the investigation of the historical concerns which underly the articulation of the crown motif itself. In an effort to enhance our comprehension of the rich iconographic formulations of Gandharan Buddhist art, Buddha crowns will be discussed as to various styles, symbolic content, and the contexts in which they are found.

SCHONER, KARIN, University of California-Berkeley, (Panel: Symposium on the Less Commonly Taught Literatures)

"Rajasthani Literature"
This paper will provide an overview of the literary traditions grouped together under the label "Rajasthani literature." It will begin with a discussion of the cluster of dialects now known collectively as "Rajasthani," looking both at their historical evolution and at their current configuration and status in Rajasthan. Then "Rajasthani literature" will be examined under three headings: 1) the medieval traditions, 2) the folk traditions, and 3) modern literature in Rajasthan. The emphasis will be on genres, both as formal structures and as concerned with particular themes. While accepting the designation of all the medieval traditions as "Rajasthani," it will be pointed out that the earliest works belong to Gujarati, and that many later works are in a mixed language shared by poets of both the Hindi and the Rajasthani area. In looking at the folk traditions, the emphasis will be on the simultaneous reality of subregional diversity and region-wide commonality. The focus in considering the modern scene will be on the emergence of new writing in the major dialects of Rajasthan as the majority of literary production in Rajasthan continues to be in Hindi. To illustrate the paper, samples of Rajasthani literature in the original and in translation will be provided as handouts.

SCHWARTZ, DOROTHY C., Evanston Township High School (Classroom Excursions to South Asia: "Visiting" India by Preparing Travel Plans and Reading Novels)

This teaching workshop will feature presentations of individual projects by high school students who are learning about South Asia. E.T.H.S. juniors Jennifer Beck and Joseph Sebastian will discuss some significant aspects of their 3-week South Asian excursion plans. Then Jennifer will compare glimpses of Gandhi in R.K. Narayan's novel Waiting for the Mahatma with the portrayal of Gandhi in Richard Attenborough's film. Joseph will compare the education of the young protagonist in Narayan's Swami and His Friends with his own experiences in self-help projects in India. Copies of assignments which explain objectives and specific expectations will be distributed.

SHAKURPA, TESPON W. O., Finance Minister of Tibet, (Panel: Tibetan Scholars on Tibetan Culture, Society and Religion: In Commemoration of Twenty-Five Years in Exile)

"Samye Monastery: In Ruins After the Cultural Revolution"
When Beijing unleashed the red guards during the Cultural Revolution, their full impact of this most destructive of all mankind's campaigns was felt in Tibet. Samye monastery, built in 780, was among thousands of holy and historical sites destroyed. The paper will trace the history and physical layout of Samye and discuss the extent to which this historically important site suffered under the wrath of the Cultural Revolution.
SHARMA, ARVIND, University of Sydney, (Panel: Hindu-Muslim Interaction in India) "Hindu Myths in the Context of Hindu-Muslim Interace" This paper will summarize and analyze Hindu myths which developed in response to the Muslim presence in India, as found in the Prithviraj Raso, Bhavishyapuranam, etc.

SHARMA, SANKAR, East-West Center-Honolulu, Hawaii, (Panel: South Asian Landscape-Nepal) "Perspectives on the Prospects for Economic Growth in Nepal" Some of the developing countries are experiencing major economic growth, others are not. Earlier explanations of economic growth and development were based on the neoclassical economic assumptions. Economic growth was attributed to capital, entrepreneurship, and the size of domestic markets. An alternative explanation modifies the neoclassical assumptions. A loss of these factors can compensate for deficiencies in these factors of production. Despite great efforts, Nepal has not been able to achieve the goal of economic development. Thus, focusing on Nepal, this paper examines structural conditions and the problem areas that block the engine of growth and development. First, the economic performance of the country for the last decade will be evaluated. The next section of the paper will attempt to discuss the problem areas of development. Finally, the paper tries to provide some policy prescriptions. The analysis concludes that public policies must compensate for the deficiencies of economic development explained by neoclassical economic theory.

SHAW, J.L., University of Hawaii, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics) "Sentence, Meaning of a Sentence, and Understanding the Meaning of a Sentence" The Nyaya has drawn distinctions among the terms 'sentence' (vākya), 'meaning of a sentence' (vākya-rtha-bodha), 'sentence' (vākya), 'meaning of a sentence' (vākya-rtha-bodha), 'sentence' (vākya), 'meaning of a sentence' (vākya-rtha-bodha), 'sentence' (vākya), 'meaning of a sentence' (vākya-rtha-bodha), 'sentence' (vākya), 'meaning of a sentence' (vākya-rtha-bodha), 'sentence' (vākya), 'meaning of a sentence' (vākya-rtha-bodha). A sentence is an ordered set of meaningful expressions or morphemes which are related mutually by syntactic rules (akankṣa). But the meaning of a sentence is not just the function of the meanings of its parts which are expressions or morphemes. The meaning of a sentence, say, F, is a function of the meanings of F, 'a', and the order of these two expressions which are related by syntactic rules. The conditions for understanding the meaning of a sentence would include semantic competency (yogāyata) between the referents of the expressions which occur in a sentence, and the spatial-temporal contiguity or proximity (sannidhi) between these expressions in addition to the syntactic competency (akankṣa) between the expressions. Moreover, according to the Nyaya, there is no understanding of the meaning of an identity sentence or a contradictory sentence as distinct from the meanings of its parts. Hence we do not understand the meanings of sentences of the form 'a is F' or 'An a which is F is not F'.

SHRESTHA, MOHAN N., Bowling Green State University, (Panel: Geographical Patterns in South Asia) "Urbanization in the Kathmandu Valley: A Historical Perspective" Reconstruction of location and distribution of settlements in the Kathmandu Valley at different periods in time is an impossible task. There are no old maps, no accurate historical documents, and very few archeological excavations have been carried on so far. In this paper, an attempt is made to locate the existence of villages, towns and cities that developed over time using ancient names, festival routes and the location of ancient monasteries. Settlements that were once centrally located grew in sizes and shapes whereas other settlements that lost their trade and commerce due to the changes in the trade routes and the change of regional capital stood still in time or deteriorated and finally disappeared. Recent changes in population and areal extents of towns and cities in the valley are discussed in detail.

SIEGEL, LEE, University of Hawaii, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: Selected Recent Research Topics) "How Many Vaidyas Does It Take to Change a Lightbulb? Satires of Physicians in Sanskrit Literature" The paper deals with the aesthetics of satire, with its social and psychological functions, and with the history and development of a satiric literature in India. The satiric portrayal of the quack is examined as it exemplifies other forms of comic assault, as it is paradigmatic for comic revolts of the hidden degradations of traditional ideals. The doctor, like all conventional butts of satire, has been invested with a power and authority that makes him dangerous. Satire provides protection—its laughter redistributes power.

SIIJIPATI, KRISHNA, University of Wisconsin-Madison, (Panel: Informational Role of Media in South Asian Nations) "Patterns of Public Information Flow in Nepal" This issue is evident that what each citizen in Nepal knows about his nation and the world is largely dependent upon what he receives from the mass media. In other words what the editors put on the mass media will determine people's attitudinal climate which eventually influences their norm and value because they receive given information about parts of the
environment. Researches have indicated that putting news and information on the media is determined by three important factors: 1) editors' perception, 2) institutional policy and 3) news factors. Importance of each factor depends upon the political climate of a nation. In this short paper only one factor, "editors' perception" will be discussed in the context of Nepal. Discussion will be carried on the basis of a questionnaire survey conducted among 48 senior editors of 11 news media in Nepal in order to measure their perception towards the types of news, institutional policies (Government and Media) and news factors.

SIMON, BETH, University of Wisconsin-Madison (Panel: Who (What) Controls the Spirits: South Asian Spirit Possession Rituals as Performance) "How to Talk to Spirits" This paper is an application of sociolingusitic theory and discourse analysis to a specific instance of spirit possession. The case concerns a tantrik of Varanasi, U.P., acting in his capacity as a professional medium. The tantrik, trained to make his selection from the linguistic and paralinguistic possibilities in his speech repertoire, is able to mediate effectively between the local Varanasi resident who is the petitioner and the tantrik's personal deity. The entire possession is viewed as an event; the event is divided into a series of linked, identifiable phases. The progression from one phase to the next is signalled and marked by alternations in particular linguistic and paralinguistic features. Each of these phases is an explicit speech act—a location, having, at the same time, an illocutionary force. In short, the tantrik, by the act of saying something, is also doing something. What is being done, the illocutionary act, results from a combination of situation specific social features and broader conventional assumptions about the nature of these actions.

SJIOBERG, ANDREE E., University of Texas-Austin, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics) Who are the Dravidians? Implications of Recent Findings Over a decade ago I wrote a summary essay, "Who are the Dravidians?" Partly I wish to update this work; more importantly, I wish to emphasize the significance of Dravidian culture for understanding Hinduism. That the Dravidian languages are related to the Ural-Altaic family—controversial hypothesis advanced over a century ago—must not be taken seriously. In addition we have cultural data that, if used with much caution, indicate that the Dravidians (and peoples influenced by them) have displayed, in comparison to the Aryans, certain distinctive cultural patterns. Some striking examples are the matrilineal kinship system among some groups and the primacy given to female over male deities. Most Indologists now concede that certain central features of Hinduism are non-Aryan in origin. But we find a general failure to reconstruct and take full account of this non-Aryan component, which most likely is mainly Dravidian. A reconstruction of Dravidian culture is important in its own right and is vital for an understanding of the development of Hinduism.

SNYDER, JEANETTE, Madison, WI, (Panel: The Practice of Ritual and Performance in South Asia) "Images of Power and Possession in Tibetan & Che Lha Mo" A chen lha mo is the classical, secular theatre of Tibet. Using music, dance, narration, satirical improvisation, costume and masking, day-long performances present plays that are drawn from Tibetan literature and developed within the matrix of Tibetan world views. Among the characters and events in these performances, which are essentially dramas of human concerns, characters and relationships, one encounters many portraits of power, both temporal and spiritual—kings and their battles to tantric masters and their rituals. An examination of some of these portrayals provides insight into Tibetan views of power and possession and their manifestation as revealed through performance.

STANESLOW, PAUL W., University of Minnesota (Panel: Innovative Approaches to the Teaching of South Asian Languages) "Theoretical Considerations in Second Language Acquisition" This paper examines three hypotheses put forth by Stephen Krashen: The Input Hypothesis, the Affective Filter Hypothesis, and the Monitor Hypothesis. According to the Input Hypothesis, we acquire spoken fluency not by practicing talking but by understanding input—by listening and reading. The Input Hypothesis may be the single most important concept in second-language acquisition theory today and may hold the answer to many of our problems in second-language instruction at all levels. The Affective Filter Hypothesis addresses student anxiety, and all of the new approaches to language teaching have the lowering of student anxiety as a goal. The Monitor Hypothesis distinguishes between language "acquisition" and the language "learning". Learning has only one function—as a monitor, or editor, used for self-correction.

STANLEY, JOHN M., Lawrence University, (Panel: Who (What) Controls the Spirits: South Asian Spirit Possession Rituals as Performance) "Bhut Badha and Angat Tene as Ritual Performance" Two distinct types of possession rituals are regularly practiced in Maharashtra. One is a ritual in which "patients" whose illness has been diagnosed as bhut badha (possession by a
ghost) gather at a place of healing power. The healing power is affected principally by the personal factors of time and space, but it can be intensified by certain formalized actions of ritual functionaries. For the most part, however, the ritual action at a healing center is determined by the patients who enter into dialogue with the unseen power and act out a variety of roles of punished ghosts. The other ritual is one in which possession by a god (angat veve) is invited, either by individuals or a group, to enhance both individual and collective well-being. In this type of ritual the possession of the enhancing power is usually invited by established ritual procedures and is carefully orchestrated through symbols, music and gesture. Cases of each type are illustrated and discussed as instances of ritual performance.

STEVENS, MERVIN E., U.S. Forest Service: See LEUSCHNER, WILLIAM A.

SUBRAMANIAM, V., Carleton University, (Panel: Naskara Karma)
"Karma Yoga in the Gita: An Economic Class Background"
This paper examines the economic class background of the Karma Yoga Interpretation of the Gita. Great traditional interpreters, Sankara, Ramanuja and Madhva downplayed Kamayoga and glorified Jnanayoga or Bhaktiyoga. Jnaneswar was the only exception. But the rise of the Indian professional middle class in the 19th century and their eagerness to meet the Western Protestant ethic of work, was the occasion for the glorification of Kamayoga.

SULEMAN, SALEMA, University of Wisconsin-Madison, (Panel: Symbolic Treatment of Women: Current Research on South Asia)
"Depiction of Women in Pakistani Mass Media: A Review of Current Research"
The proposed paper will evaluate pertinent studies on the projection of Pakistani women in the media, including Pakistani newspapers, radio, TV and films. Societal implications of media portrayal of women will also be discussed. The paper will conclude with suggestions for future research in this area.

SURYANARAYAN, INDU, Amerikannada, (Panel: Kannada Lyricists: Musicians Known and Unknown)
"Purandara Dasa—His Message and his Music"
From one standpoint, there is nothing more to be said about the extraordinary genius of Purandara dasa, a simple singer and saint of the 15th century, that has not already been said. Still, it is impossible to resist analyzing and marveling at this man only if it is to rediscover ourselves and the day we live in. For this same reason, Purandara dasa defies history, manages to remain immortal in the minds and hearts of Kannadigas by his clarity of soul and purity of expression. The flow of his devotion was as strong as it was deep, and like a river it enriched the banks and beyond. All his life was spent in singing and devising ways to find God and the meaning of life in a continuous, concentrated thought process. He was single minded in his prayerful attitude towards God. But this did not mean inaction or stillness. His efforts were strenuous and were diametrically opposed to lethargy of any kind. Purandara dasa was highly practical and worldly wise. He takes everyday examples from the lives of ordinary people and analyzes them against the background of God and the devotion due to Him. The 475,000 songs he has composed are in ragas and thalas that are the foundation of modern Karnatic music. We sing his songs and keep him alive as much as we keep God alive in us. Though Purandara dasa enumerated the qualities of God, he sometimes takes objections to some of God's ways; but with the love and devotion he possesses, he comes right back to the position of the true hair dasa. God is the only way for a mortal to attain peace. God's awareness is the only way to live a meaningful existence.

SUTTON, R. ANDERSON, University of Wisconsin-Madison, (Panel: Traditional Music in 20th Century Contexts: South and Southeast Asia)
"The Impact of Commercial Cassette Recording on Javanese Music"
Over the past 15 years, the commercial cassette industry in Java has grown rapidly. Scholars have alluded to the effects of this industry on indigenous musicians, but have not focused on this important issue. A brief overview of the cassette industry in Java provides background for a study of that industry in relation to traditional music in central Java, with focus on the Banyumas region. It is argued that the dissemination of music both in this region and elsewhere in Java is giving Banyumas music greater definition, while at the same time altering indigenous conceptions about it. Musicians residing far from Banyumas have relatively easy access to recordings of the best musicians from Banyumas, and can learn to perform in Banyumas style. The knowledge of other local traditions spread through the medium of cassettes is significantly different from the kind of musical borrowing that has occurred over the previous centuries, when personal contact was the only means for learning. Nowadays, the authoritative source is no longer a person, or group, but this or that cassette recording, with all details fixed to be rehearsed exactly again and again. As a source of authority, with far greater potential for standardizing performance than is possible with written sources, cassettes of traditional music are. It is argued, the single most important force in the current development of traditional music—both its sound organization and its ethos.

TAKLA, TENZING, Purdue University, (Panel: Tibetan Scholars on Tibetan Culture, Society and Religion)
"Max Weber on Tibet: Religion and Polity in a Comparative Perspective"
Although brief and scattered, Max Weber makes several references to Tibet in his series of monumental studies on world civilization. The paper examines Weber's handling of the Tibetan case from two viewpoints: first within the context of Weber's typological schema, and second, its relevance for Tibetan Studies.

TETHONG, TENZIN, Representative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to North America, (Panel: Tibetan Scholars on Tibetan Culture, Society, and Religion)
Opening Address
The address will begin with the historical setting of the refugee problem. It will discuss the 25 years in exile and focus mainly on the achievements of Tibetan Studies and scholars.

TSARONG, PALJOR, University of Wisconsin-Madison, (Panel: Tibetan Scholars on Tibetan Culture, Society, and Religion)
"The Role of the Labrang Institution in Tibetan Speaking Areas"
The Labrang, originally the focus of Tibetan monastic organization, became the personification and institutional basis of the Tibetan government. The Labrang is defined, and its historical formation and role in the Tibetan political economy are discussed. It will be described as a focus of social integration in Tibetan speaking areas.

ULLRICH, HELEN E., University of North Carolina Medical School, (Panel: Three Villages Past and Present: Totagadha, Khalapur and Karlpur)
"A Study of the Effects of Social Change on Depression Among Havik Brahmin Women"
Depression is a disorder which may be affected by life events and cultural change—especially when the change results in an increase in loss of privileges. In this study, the change is from pre-puberty marriage to post-puberty marriage for women. Concomitant with this change has been increased education for both men and women and a switch for a society in which helplessness to one in which women are expected to make decisions about their own lives and about household management. Depression is common both among women married before puberty and after puberty. However, the apparent life event etiology of depression among women in Totagadha differs between the two populations. Women married before puberty are especially vulnerable to death as a precipitant of depression. Younger women are vulnerable to depression because of the responsibility they are expected to take, the consequences of their decisions, and changed cultural expectations. A case study approach will be used to present contrasting types of depression.

VAIDYA, RAMESH, University of Minnesota-Duluth, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics)
"Financial Policy and Development Goals: The Case of Nepal's Construction Projects"
The basic premise of this paper is that the construction industry can play an important role in achieving development goals. However, a construction industry does not emerge merely by expenditures on construction activity; its emergence depends upon a number of policy choices. A model is suggested for analyzing this issue and it is then empirically tested by using primary data gathered from 14 construction projects in Nepal. The results indicate the following relationships: 1) Projects financed by multilateral sources, located in easy terrain, and of large scale, are likely to use capital intensive construction methods, while those funded by domestic sources, located in difficult terrain, and of small scale, tend to use labor intensive ones. 2) Projects financed by multilateral sources, while of large scale are likely to use a higher proportion of foreign materials, while those funded by domestic sources and of small scale tend to use a higher proportion of domestic materials. 3) Projects financed by multilateral sources and of large scale are likely to use a higher proportion of foreign management input, while those funded by domestic sources and of small scale tend to use a higher proportion of domestic management input. It is demonstrated that a comprehensive strategy can be evolved that permits the choice of appropriate policies to accomplish development goals.

VAJRACHARYA, GAUTAM, University of Wisconsin-Madison, (Panel: Approaches to Nepalese Culture)
"Treasure Garden: A Unique Feature in Nepalese Landscape Architecture"
The medieval palace compounds, some of which still exist in Kathmandu valley, have extended backyards which bear an interesting name, Shandarkhal, or treasure garden. Although ancient Indian architectural texts prescribe such a garden inside a royal residence, apparently it has been a part of the forgotten story of Indian architectural history. In Nepal, on the other hand, one of such gardens still functions not only as a backyard but also a safe place for keeping valuable materials. This paper investigates the significance of such gardens during the medieval period in the light of historical documents.

VALENTINE, TAMARA, University of Illinois-Urbana-Champaign, (Panel: Symbolic Treatment of Women: Current Research on South Asia)
"Transcreation of Native Contexts: Indian English and Women*"
This paper is a study of the use of language for understanding the complexities of roles and status of women in Indian society. The examples to illustrate my hypothesis are taken from selected texts from Hindi and from Indian English creative writing. Indian English provides a unique example of an aculturized institutional variety of a second language. Indian English is used "to transcribe" native social and attitudinal contexts. The study thus focuses on the formal characteristics of language (e.g., modes of reference/address status and attitude indicators; markers of 'protectiveness') and discoursal strategies used for linguistic interaction. This paper will discuss how such linguistic markers and strategies are "transferred" to Indian English texts which Indianize the text and make it culture-specific. It will be shown that Indian writers of English have developed a special Indianized women's language which can only be appreciated by considering the underlying Indian attitudes toward women and the Indian use of women's language.

YAMIA, RAVINIERA, University of Udaipur. (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics)

The Emerging Regional Co-operation and Organization in South Asia

Regional organizations have proliferated throughout the world since the Second World War. But this upsurge of regionalism drew a blank in South Asia for a long time. This was due to inter-regional disputes (some of them leading to shooting wars), the predominant position of India which kept her neighbors on the back and now's fears lest her smaller neighbors gang up against her in a regional conclave. The ice was somewhat broken when, in 1980, Bangladesh floated the idea of a regional summit. The "Big Two" of the region—India and Pakistan—were lukewarm at first but fell in line on the condition that officials should meet twice, foreign ministers later and the heads of government twice. Since then foreign secretaries have met 5 times and foreign ministers twice. They have identified 9 areas of cooperation. The time is now set for a summit of the heads of government. The seven countries of South Asia are thus inching towards a framework of regional co-operation. If political will is there, this regional organization (SARC) will be able to work for the welfare of 500 million people of South Asia who are almost 1/5 of the human race.

VATUK, SYLVIA, University of Illinois-Chicago. (Panel: Workshop: Changing Division of Labor in South Asia)

Two Centuries of Change in Muslim Women's Family and Economic Roles in South India

This paper will be based upon a preliminary analysis of documentary and field data on education, occupation, marriage, and fertility within a large andogenous lineage tracing descent to a prominent court official born in Madras in the late 18th century. While the greater part of the lineage continues to reside in Madras, there are significant numbers also in Hyderabad, Karachi, the Middle East, and the United States, which represent successive periods of migration continuing to the present time. While traditionally the women of the lineage were kept in strict seclusion and educated only within the home, events of the past 50 years have brought about dramatic changes, which include their entry into various kinds of extra-domestic employment. The paper will examine some of the causes, consequences, and future implications of these trends and will relate them to concomitant changes in marriage alliances patterns, payment of mehr and dowry, rights of women in inheritance, the incidence of splinterhood, and emigration out of India.

VETTER, ROGER, University of Wisconsin-Madison. (Panel: Traditional Music in 20th Century Context: South and Southeast Asia)

Musicians in Context: Group Structure and Dynamics in a Contemporary Javanese Setting

This paper focuses on the social element of gamelan performance by examining the group of musicians who are attached to the palace of the Sultan of Yogyakarta, where I carried out research in 1982-83. It will examine elements of leadership, status structure, and the number of musicians in this institution as is the sound product they produce in performance. The social structure discussed here is characteristic of gamelan groups in the court-music strata of the tradition, but its elements recur in other strata of the Central Javanese tradition as well.

WADLEY, SUSAN S., Syracuse University. (Panel: Three Villages Past & Present: Totogadhe, Kharapur and Karimpur)

She is Called 'The Village Indira'—the Life Story of a Karimpur Widow

This paper presents literature on women in India has pointed out the lack of leadership by rural women themselves, and the ensuing dismal status of women's political participation, and the lack of success of non-formal educational institutions such as madrasas, in Karimpur, I found a Brahman widow known as the gaon ki Indira—the village Indira—the only woman active in politics from Karimpur and the leader of the Block-initiated conga madrasa. This
paper tells her life story, placing it in the context of Karimpur social life and highlighted, suggesting in part why female leaders are uncommon in rural north India.

WAGLE, N.K., University of Toronto, (Panel: Hindu-Muslim Interaction In India) "Hindu-Muslim Relations in the Religious and Legal Arena in Medieval Maharashtra" Maharashtra from the 14th to the 17th centuries was a marginal area of Muslim power in terms of Muslim population and centralized political control as compared to the Hindu regions in the north. A large portion of present-day Maharashtra came under Maratha (Hindu) control in the 16th century. However, the previous centuries of co-existence of the Muslims and the Hindus had contributed to a situation of mutual adaptation of institutional values and attitudes. Some scholars have referred to the Hindu-Muslim relations in medieval Maharashtra as being 'cordial' and conducive to 'peaceful co-existence' and have propounded theories of 'secularism' and 'integration'. Others have emphasized divergent forces operating within the communities leading to a perennial mutual distrust. The present paper does not deal with such assumptions or theories. Instead, the focus of the paper is on the nature of symbiotic relationships entered into by the two communities which were realistic and mutually advantageous. Illustrative examples will be drawn from the Marathi writings of the Muslim and Hindu 'sants' such as Shaluk Muhammad, Eknath and Tukaram. Law cases involving Hindus and Muslims acting as judges or as litigants will also help clarify Hindu-Muslim relations in medieval (16th-18th cent.) Maharashtra.

WAHID, SIDDIQ, Harvard University, (Panel: Tibetan scholars on Tibetan Culture, Society and Religion) "The Influx of Tibetans into Ladakh: the Historical, Present and Future Contexts" The paper is about the influx of Tibetans into Ladakh. It will examine the early Tibetanization of Ladakh and primarily, the post-1959 refugee exodus. The refugees' activities, their general adaptation to Ladakh, as well as the changes and future prospects will be discussed.

WANNANALI, SUDHIR VYANKATESH, International Food Policy Research Institute, (Panel: Geographical Patterns in South Asia) "Pattern of Service Use in Rural India" The paper notes that although a great deal is known about the economic aspects of farmers' use of some of the production-oriented services (such as banking, credit, transport, storage, fertilizer use, marketing and processing) much less is known about their geographical aspects particularly those of distance, frequency of use and of access. It is argued that the ease, or difficulty, of access to these services also influences the development of agriculture, or the lack of it, in any region. It is also argued that when planned strategically such services have led to obvious advantages in farmers' access to publicly and privately controlled services.

WEISS, ANITA M., University of California-Berkeley, (Panel: South Asian Landscape) "The Power of Tradition in the Modern Industrial Sector: Female Factory Workers in Pakistan" This paper analyzes the current position of women in the industrial labor force of Lahore and the potential for increased participation in the context of perceived cultural norms and redefined tradition, issues which have enabled women to enter the workforce since the mid-1980's (e.g., higher literacy levels, male migration to the Gulf states) are addressed. Divergent viewpoints concerning women's participation in the modern urban economy are discussed, focusing on the two most popular: that forwarded by supporters of the current Islamization program, and that associated with women's groups such as the Women's Action Forum and the Pakistan Women Lawyers Association. The conclusion relates the position of Pakistani women in the country's development experience to large trends and problems which working women face throughout the Muslim world.

WILSON, DOYD, Hope College, (Panel: Three Interpreters of Hinduism: Do They Bespeak a Cohesive Tradition?) "The Hinduism of Mahatma Gandhi" Like other Idealists, Gandhi interpreted Hinduism in a way that made him comfortable--i.e., he made its principles fit his own goals. He then defended his Hinduism by holding it up against traditional teachings and showing that the two were congruent. This paper will explore the theses that in the final analysis he was calling upon his own experience in defining and defending Hinduism.

YODER, ROBERT, Cornell University, (Panel: Investment for Water Resources Development by Rural People in the Hills of Nepal) "Time-tested Technologies for Irrigation in Nepal: Himalayan Folk Engineering Success, Limitation and Possible Extension" Records of irrigated rice being grown in the hills of Nepal date back many centuries. The sculptured rice paddies in the river valleys are evidence of a tremendous effort by the farmers of Nepal to utilize their limited land resource. Not so readily visible is an even larger effort that has required collective action, careful organization, skilled engineering, and outright bravery to divert the water from monsoon streams and convey it
along mountain slopes to the rice fields. Once water arrives in the area of their fields, it must still be distributed according to established rules. This paper focuses on the technologies that farmers have developed to divert, convey, and control water for irrigation. Population growth forces increased agricultural intensity to meet subsistence food needs. It is desirable to expand irrigation facilities. Local technology has often reached a constraint limiting the expansion of irrigation. However, modern technology (cement, steel, and plastic) as advocated by engineers has often failed to bring about expected results. The possibility of engineers borrowing and building upon the indigenous skills and technologies is examined.

Zarelli, Phillip B., University of Wisconsin-Madison, (Panel: The Practice of Ritual and Performance)

"The Presence of Power and the Power of Presence in South Indian Martial and Performing Arts"

As both performer/theatre director and scholar, I have been exploring during the past 7 years both practically and reflexively the processes of performance and action. What am interested in is the "how" of an individual's accomplishment of specific actions, actions, and "states of being" in relation to that action. In the performing, martial, and meditative arts of India each individual sets out on a path toward "accomplishment" of a prescribed set of exercises. In each case these are specific in-body exercises. Through "mastery" of the exercises in a discipline, one eventually transcends the specific bodywork, and achieves a state or level of "accomplishment," a particular state of being-in-the-act-of-doing-the-exercises. In this paper I will be examining the specific phenomena of the training process, and the resultant acts of doing the specific exercises in two forms of South Indian practice: kalarippayathu, martial art of Kerala, and Kathakali, dance-drama of Kerala. I will be seeking to begin to explore how these specific forms of transmission act on the individual and lead to transcendence of the forms, and to "accomplishment" in that form. What does such "accomplishment" bring? I.e., what "power" or "powers" are harnessed in the process itself as the individual continues his practice over the years? How is this process understood on its own terms with in the cultural context? Through this specific descriptive and analytical process I shall address both the "presence of power" in the martial artists, and the "power of presence" in the performer as two aspects of a continuum of action achieved through in-body processes.

Zide, Norman, University of Chicago, (Panel: Symposium on the Less Known Literatures of South Asia)

"On the (Folk) Literature of Gta (Dide)"
The Dide (Gta?) include about 4,000 speakers of that South Munda language, and live in the southern part of the Koraput District of Orissa (and in Andhra on the opposite side of the Machkadon River). To use the term 'literature' for some part or all of the unwritten tales, songs-songtexts, mantras, or whatever of the Gta? would need justification. The Gta? have no similar notion, and the 'sahitya' of Oriya—those (male) Dides that have some education have been exposed to more or less schooling in Oriya, and more or less Oriya sahitya as taught in the schools—would judge has little or no application of the tales and songtexts of their own. I say this even though this area, like so many others in India, clearly shows a great deal of cultural borrowing, and say, some of the Dide tales are, historically, not originally Dide tales, but are borrowed from Oriya (or through Oriya from elsewhere, e.g., Aesop). My work on Gta? (done in collaboration with Professor Khageswar Meherapati of Visva Bharati University) was primarily—originally—focused on the language, and we recorded a number of texts of folktales as exemplifications of linguistic features (below the discourse level). Later the tales themselves took more of our interest. What I do in this paper is characterize a selection of Gta? tales not from the Gta? point of view (I have tried to get some information about what the tales do, what they are used for, how they are performed, judged, listened to, but have not gotten very far) but from my own. Obviously, my judgments of 'irony', 'gratuity', etc., may have little relevance to native characterizations of the stories, but certain comparatively useful descriptions of the prose style, of the motif structure, etc., do emerge. The Koraput area is multilingual (there are at least a dozen languages spoken in this part of Koraput), and the Gta? stories tell us something about—confirm other ethnographic observations, in some cases—about these people in the context of a complex multi-ethnic system.

Ziffren, Abbie, University of Wisconsin-Madison, (Panel: "Why Arranged Marriages Work"

Presentation of this topic begins with acknowledgment that no one outside of a relationship can determine whether a marriage "works" or does not. However, there are subjective and objective indications that marriages among the Tamil people of South India do provide emotional and social satisfactions that an American might find remarkable. In order to understand a marriage system so alien from our own, it is helpful to consider what has happened to the bride and groom in the years preceding the wedding day. In the childhood and adolescence practices are principles that seem conducive to adjustment in married life; Youngsters learn early on to think of the needs and comforts of others before their own, for example. In the general social environment, too, are keys to the ability of people to accept a stranger as a marriage partner: A high degree of trust and love between
parent and child, and respect for elders, seem to be prerequisite to the success of the arranged marriage system.