ABSTRACTS

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UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON
ABBAS, QAISAR, University of Wisconsin-Madison, (Panel: Cultural Imperialism and the Media Dynamics in South Asia)
"A Dependency Approach to Cultural Imperialism: The Media Penetration in Pakistan"
"Cultural Imperialism", basically a Marxist approach usually pertains to the issues of foreign television penetration in the Third World nations. The current rhetoric on the topic entails quibbles and inaccuracies on theoretical grounds. The topic demands definitions and clarifications of concepts and demarcation of cultural boundaries in the discussion. The new approach will include a post-Marxist approach of dynamics to television issues only, rather it will discuss print and electronic media, media technologies with political-economic dimensions within the sphere of political economy of communication and development. In the Pakistan setting, mechanisms of media imperialism influence political, economic and socio-cultural spheres of national life. On one hand they affect the life styles and value system domestically, on the other, they determine economic relations with other nations externally.

ABBAS, SALEHA, University of Wisconsin-Madison; See ABBAS, QAISAR.

AFROZ, SULTANA, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics)
"Afghanistan in U.S. - Pakistan Relations, 1947-1960"
The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, and Pakistan's status as the "frontline state" calls for a re-examination of U.S. policy toward Pakistan and its impact on Afghanistan in the light of a careful explication of the historical record, based on examination of extant primary sources of U.S. - Pakistan relations. Pakistan's dispute with Afghanistan over the "Pathanization" issue since 1947 and the growing demand for Pakistan's inclusion in the Western defense system in the fifties complicated U.S. policy toward the two South Asian countries. The Pak-Afghan dispute made the U.S. and U.K. wary of providing arms supplies and loans to Kabul whose sovereignty from the Russian influence was essential for the defense of South Asia. Afghanistan was considered a potential aggressor against Pakistan in a more real and Immediate danger than any Soviet threat to Afghanistan. The Soviet threat became more real as the perceptions of the "Great Game" were forgotten by the West. Suspicions of America's arming of Pakistan, Kabul turned to Soviet overtures for modernization of the primitive state and to control Pakistan as a buffer between Kabul as the capital of the state. An impartial American policy only benefitted Russia which, finally established its challenged authority in Afghanistan in 1979.

AHMAD, TAMHINA, Assistant Editor, Holiday, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics)
"New Concept of Regional Unity: SAARC"South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation was formed in December, 1985 by leaders of seven South Asian countries to pool economic and human resources for upliftment of one billion people living in the region. The association binds together seven heterogeneous nations - India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, and Maldives with conflicting interests. Since its launching it has made slow but sure development towards mutual cooperation between states. Bangladesh which originally acclaimed the idea hopes that with increased cooperation in various technical, scientific and cultural fields tricky bilateral problems would be resolved and set the trend for meaningful understanding in the region.

AHMED, RAFAИE, University of Wisconsin-La Crosse, (Panel: South Asian Geography: Changing Trends and Patterns)
"Variability of Premonsoon Rainfall in Bangladesh"Bangladesh, with its small but rich agricultural land (total agricultural area - 22.25 million acres) and large population (estimated population - 100 million) is faced with an acute shortage of food supply. The economy of the country is mainly dependent on agriculture which, in turn, relies on rainfall. Obviously, the major crop season coincides with the rainy monsoon season. However, this season is plagued by the occurrences of several floods every year, resulting in a large-scale damage to the crops. An increase in the acreage of agricultural crops and their productivity during the premonsoon season, March through May, offers a partial solution to the problem. Water available from rainfall during the premonsoon season could be utilized for better agricultural uses through proper planning and management. This paper presents the mean monthly and seasonal rainfall in Bangladesh during the premonsoon season and their coefficient of variation, which will serve as an inventory of the rainwater resources of the country during this season.

AKHTAR, NAIMA, Allahgarh University, India, (Panel: Women and Strategies of Development in South Asia)
"Bias Against the Women in South Asian Development Strategies"State strategies of development, both in agriculture and Industry, have resulted in an increase in landlessness, increased dependence of women on wage work which is seasonal, reduction in their earnings and the invisibilisation of their work. The economic devaluation of women and their lack of access to productive resources further strengthen the view that women and female children are economic liabilities. The most disturbing pattern of the result of such strategies is the declining sex ratio which due to higher female death rates. This is because of the unequal access to food and health care within the family. Other indicators provide strong supportive evidence: extremely low level of female literacy, no say in reproductive choices, absence of laws more conducive to women development.

ALAM, MOHAMMED BADRUL, Cornell University, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics)
"Anatomy of Communal Riots: The Contemporary Scene"Communal riots have been a feature of Indian political life throughout this century. It is said that some communal riots did occur during the Mughal era and British Raj. Nonetheless, the fact remains that the character and nature of communalism has changed in recent years, particularly during the last two decades. The
Internal shifts in the nature, orientation and location of communal riots bear testimony to it. In this context, it is also important to understand those local factors that are crucial to spark off the deterioration of social relations that communal riots necessarily entail. In this paper, the author has mentioned several distinctive features of a riot, especially in recent times. (a) Communal riots have become fairly prolonged affairs recently. (b) Communal riots these days are much more planned affairs than used to be the case. (c) Riots over the last two decades have become considerably more violent affairs resulting in greater loss of life and property. (d) The ecology of communal riots during the last two decades has undergone a change. Riots no longer tend to occur in small towns. In fact, communal violence and tensions have concentrated into what would generally be regarded as developing commercial and industrial centres. What is it about these towns or cities that makes them particularly prone to communal tensions? An attempt has been made to find an answer to this and other questions by analyzing the demographic, economic and social structures of these towns.

AMAYA, RANJAN NARSHINGH, University of Southern California, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics) "Comparative Analysis of the Impact of Modernization on the Motivation for Fertility Control In Nepal, Pakistan and Bangladesh"

The purpose of the paper is to identity empirically the casual linkages between specific modernization processes and the demand and supply components of motivation for fertility control in Nepal, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The dependent variables are the demand for children Desired family size; Age at marriage, years; First birth interval, months; Second birth interval, months; Not secondarily sterile (other = 0); Months breastfed; Last closed interval; Proportion of pregnancy wastage; Proportion of child mortality. The independent variables are the modernization processes: Wife's education, years; Husband's literacy (can read = 1, others = 0); Urban-rural residence (urban = 1, others = 0); Husband's occupation; Husband's employment status; Wife's work experience before marriage; Wife's work experience after marriage. The importance of modernization variables on the components of motivation is identified by regressing all the independent variables on each of the modernization variables. The empirical findings are that modernization via enhanced education and occupational change decrease the demand for children and modernization does also change the supply of children chiefly via its impact on age at marriage, infant and child mortality, and lactation. The policy implication from its findings are also discussed.

ANDERSON, WALTER K., The Department of State, (Panel: Security Issues In the Indian Ocean Basin) "Indian Ocean: Zone of Peace or Arena for Competition"

The focus of my paper will be interests of the two superpowers -- the US and the USSR -- in the Indian Ocean region. The security Interests of the two powers are competitive and cooperative, depending on the nature of the issues. The Indian Ocean littoral states have reacted in various ways to this outside interest. They have not been able to forge a united front in large part because of disputes among themselves. Indeed, the resulting instability among the littoral states has been the driving force behind the involvement of both superpowers in the affairs of the region.

AZMI, MUHAMMAD R., Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics) "From Neutrality to Alliance: Pakistan's Foreign Policy, 1947-1953"

In the first years of its independent existence, Pakistan pursued a policy of neutrality vis-a-vis the two power blocks, which was by no means easy in the tense circumstances of the Cold War. Given Pakistan's natural Western orientation, a legacy of British colonial rule, and the inherent suspicions with which Islamic Pakistan and Communist Russia viewed each other, it was significant that Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan sought and received an official invitation to visit the Soviet Union. He may well have been the first leader of any non-Communist, newly independent state, not excluding India, to be so honored. However, the much-savored visit to Moscow never materialized; instead, Liaquat availed himself of a later invitation to visit Washington. That marked the beginning of a shift in Pakistan's foreign policy away from neutrality and toward an alliance with the United States. This gained momentum after Liaquat's assassination in late 1951. In about two years, Pakistan was firmly in the Western camp. This paper analyzes the causes, circumstances and the course of this historic transformation, which had serious ramifications for Pakistan as well as for India, and for American and Soviet policies toward South Asia.

BAGGI, DEIPICA, Southern Illinois University-Edwardsville, (Panel: Gender Roles In Rural India - Multi-impacted Issues) "Rural Domestic Fuel Crisis - The South Asian Model"

The paper investigates the impact of fuel and firewood crisis on rural households, particularly women. The study is set in a micro-region in India. The data deals with (1) the types of fuel common in use, (2) the nature of gender responsibilities for provision of fuel, (3) women's burden in provision of fuel, and (4) the household's awareness and involvement in the new energy plans. The paper identifies three major types of fuel crisis; one of firewood scarcity, the other of the use of cow dung as the alternative fuel, and a third of Kerosene as the lighting fuel. In all of this crisis, women have come to bear the greatest burden. the new energy options, coming from the government, are yet to reach the rural poor. If they have, they are yet unaffordable for this section of the society. The paper concludes making a plea for a priority energy planning for the rural poor, which can only be accomplished by integration of the women's element in the Rural Energy Planning.

BAIPAI, DR. SHIVA G., California State University, Northridge, (Panel: Subsaharan Political Institutions In Premodern South Asia) "Post-Sultana Political Intermediaries In North India: A Survey of Literary Works"

Sample literary literature on politics from North India contains a wide variety of information on subordinate forms of political authority. The context in which such topics are particularly discussed relate to the concept of state, the organization and functions of government, territorial conquest as well as the exercise of political and judicial authority by the feudatories. In the extent studies such evidence has not been adequately util-
lized. This paper will discuss important literary sources bearing on subservient or "feudal" administration and compare the normative prescriptions on political organization in these texts with the contemporary information from Inscriptional sources. The purpose of this paper is to define more closely the nature of feudal polity in North India during the period after the fall of the Guptas, when decentralized forms of Imperial organization dominated for five hundred years.

BAJRAJNAYA,BHISHNA NANDA, East West Center, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics)

"Historic Towns of Kathmandu Valley - Architecture and Planning Concepts"
The paper will first bring out the unique characteristics of the historic towns of Kathmandu Valley such as economic use of available land and incorporation of the socio-cultural needs of the people in the city planning. It will show how the traditional towns of the valley are different from the western towns in terms of the city-structure, land use and population density. The paper will also discuss the planning and design of traditional houses of Kathmandu which reflect the unique living patterns of the local Newar people. An analysis of the government's efforts in preservation and revitalization of the historical towns will be made and appropriate measures for further improvement in the area will be suggested.

BASU,SUSAN NEILD, Rochester, New York, (Panel: Changing Conventions In the Creation of Identity In Tamil Literary Texts)

"Biography and the Construction of Individual Identity: The Pachalyappar a Death and Littiran"
The life history of Pachalyappa Mudaliar, an eighteenth century merchant and religious donor, is apparently one of the earliest biographies written in Tamil. Dating from the 1850s, It had a double objective: to extol the public accomplishments and private virtues of its subject and to justify the posthumous allocation of his estate for the support of modern educational institutions. In the author's view, Pachalyappa's life of personal integrity and devotion to religious and cultural values exemplified the ideals of modern education and offered a role model for Tamil youth of the nineteenth century. Though not an indigenous genre, life histories such as this one gradually gained popularity during the turn of the century, particularly as a format for defining the individual identity among the educated elites of South India. With its emphasis on personal attainments in education and professional life, on "character" and public prominence, biography as a literary form reflected the requirements and values of the colonial political and social order which nurtured these elites. It helped to promote a concept of individual identity to a large degree removed from caste and sectarian affiliations and increasingly defined by relationships to the institutions of the colonial order.

BEANE, WENDELL CHARLES, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics)

"The Dialectic of Mythology and Philosophy in Sakta Hinduism"
The tension between mythology and philosophy in Sakta Hinduism is a phenomenon present in all major religious traditions. It is variously implied and/or encompassed by such familiar terms as little tradition/great tradition, popular/priestly, exoteric/esoteric, or, in technical terms, purana/darsana. Granting that these seeming dichotomies are, by and large, only tendencies, the best way to eliminate them is by an underlying dynamic interaction that marks their capacity to elude rigid categorization. Although there are certainly goddess-affiliated myths without philosophy, the Sakta-oriented texts and their comments are also characterized by an interweaving of--to borrow a phrase of Raphael Patai's--"popular-mythical" and "philosophical-mystical" Ideas, images, and symbols. This paper concerns itself with that interweaving. It thus seeks to answer, for example, how is it, in the Sakta case, that a distinctively female conception of divinity as the ultimate object of religion can coexist with several Indian systems of philosophy whose own aim is, finally, the transcending of the formal delineations in favor of a transmythical Absolute (= Brahman). This phenomenon of interchange and interaction itself will be shown to be consistent with the character of the Goddess herself in her manifold depiction in the Puranas, Tantras, and Sakta Upasnas. It begins with (1) what might be called an historical-religious necessity: the human need to map the ultimate infinite in such a way that gives reality to the ultimate reality, and then, (2) leads on to the realization of the elements of philosophy inherent in mythic forms. But, in the process, it is argued (4) that there are elements of contradiction, paradox, and confluence which both bolster and gainsay the claims of Sakta sectarianism. One is, finally, encouraged to reconsider the claim that philosophy transcends mythology (as, supposedly, religion does magic, or science does religion) within an historical and hermeneutical perspective. In conclusion, the way in which the dialectic proceeds raises anew not only the question of the relation of mythology to philosophy, but language to reality, and systems to experience.

BEDI, SUSHAM, Columbia University, (Panel: Examples of Women's Characterization Found in Modern Hindi Short Stories)

"Portrayal of Women Protagonists In Mohan Rakesh's Plays"
Mohan Rakesh's female protagonists are stronger characters than his male characters. Whether it is Savitri in Adhik In Anek Ghare Bura or Mallika in Ashed Ka Ek Din and Sunder In Lahon Ke Rajhans however they end up as losers left in pain and agony after losing their men. These women are earthy and materialistic whereas his men are in a perennial search for the meaning of existence. This paper examines the psychological, cultural and philosophical aspects which are responsible for creating these characters. It also looks at the way these characters are depicted in the other genres, i.e., his novels and short stories.

BENADE, JUDITH ANNE, University of Wisconsin-Madison, (Panel: Examples of Women's Characterization Found in Modern Hindi Literature)

"Female Role Pattern In Mrudula Garg's Short Stories"
Mrudula Garg's short stories fall in a category squarely between serious writing and popular light-weight fiction. She receives a tremendous amount of feedback from her readers in India, who comment on their perception of the viability of the characters and situations Garg addresses. Garg responds to this input by re-shaping subsequent storylines. A survey of the kinds of female characters found in Garg's stories thus will display both Garg's growth as an author through her formative publications and also the types of topics, choices and concerns which interest the public reading Garg's stories in magazines and books.
BERNIER, RONALD M., University of Colorado-Boulder, (Panel: Topics on The Art History of Pakistan) "Himalayan Arts in Wood: A Search for Origins"
While the regional identity of Himalayan art has long been recognized, its international frame of reference is too often ignored. Examination of the carvings found on wooden buildings in Northwestern India, especially Chamba, reveals inspiration from Central Asia, the Islamic world, and other areas to help define the Himalayan region as a crossroads. Wooden monuments that date from as early as the seventh century in Himachal Pradesh were remote enough to escape the zealous destruction that eradicated so many early arts of North India, and this alone gives them special value. At the same time they have high quality, with tantalizing memories of Gupta, Rajput, and much more distant visual traditions. Details of such monuments as the temple of Lakshama Devi in Brahmbar and the temple of Hidimb Devi in Manali are taken as clues to reconstruct the map of exchange that linked northwestern India and Nepal to the Silk Road and beyond.

BHANSLAL, KRISH, Mississippi State University, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics) "Cultural Diplomacy of India in Pursuit of Its Policy of Nonalignment" Nonalignment is the doctrine of national interests and national independence. It was enunciated when the world was getting divided into two competing and conflicting power blocs. It was predicated on the assumption that though India was weak, it had the potential to be a major power in the future. It was also based on the assumption that India's priorities—economic, social and political reconstruction—were different from those of the political cold war. Realizing that membership in any of the two power blocs would sacrifice its independence and interest, India decided to pursue the policy of nonalignment. The policy of nonalignment, unlike neutrality with which the former is confused, is not passive and isolationist. On the contrary it seeks cooperation among nations and believes in active participation in international politics to promote its national interests. The leaders of the Indian government have been fully aware of and proud of their country's variegated and rich cultural heritage. My paper examines cultural diplomacy of India to achieve the objectives of its policy of nonalignment.

BIELEFELDT, CARL, Stanford University, (Panel: Nagarjuna & His Successors: Perspectives on 'Middleism' ) "The Causes and Conditions of an East Asian Middle Way" An exemplification of the Chinese Tien-t'ai school's reading of verse 24:18 of the Madhyamaka Karika, through an examination of Tien-t'ai philological discussion. In the Hiao-ta lien hua hsuan' t'ai hsien't'ai tao tao tao hsuan t'ai, the twofold chain of dependent origination. The paper will attempt to show how the discussion employs the logical categories of the four alternatives (catuskoti) and the spiritual stages of the path to display a hierarchal range of interpretations of pratitya-samutpada and a characteristic Tien-t'ai approach to the understanding of Nagarjuna's middle way.

BLACKBURN, STUART, University High School, San Francisco, (Panel: Non-Historical Texts and Ahistorical Identities) "Consensus, Coherence, and Commentary: A Folk Ramayana from Kerala" The subject of this paper is a folk Ramayana performed as a shadow puppet play in Kerala. An analysis of the long oral commentary to the verses (from the medieval Tamil Kampamalaya) shows this to be a consensus text which promotes integration between Malayalam and Tamil cultures. The second part of the paper examines the relation between commentary and total text. The conclusion reached is that the commentary creates coherence by placing individual verses in relation to the total text, and this has implications for a general understanding of the relation between commentary and text in Indian literary traditions.

BUCK, DAVID C., Elizabethtown Community College, (Panel: Changing Conventions in the Creation of Identity In Tamil Literary Texts) "As Love Ripens: Momentary Identities in Akapporul" Iraiyanar Akapporul is an ancient Tamil text on the poetics of love, which pointed a new direction in the continuing development of classical Tamil. It details the progress of a woman and a man in love from the setting of their lovers is set out early in the text. They are definite of the lovers' roles in and reactions to life situations throughout a sequentially ordered series of dramatic moments. All elements necessary to establish the lovers' identities as they interrelate during these narrative moments are developed, and the moments themselves are arranged as in a flowchart, with their own interrelationships explained. Yet the precise identity of the lovers' characters remains tied to the specific narrative moment at hand. As elusive as the lovers' characters is the identity of the text itself: it is composed of three distinct strands. The first is the given text, Iraiyanar Akapporul; the second is Nakkilar's classical commentary on it; and the third is a set of nearly four hundred stanzas, which constitute the poetic work Pantik-Kovel, illustrating the proper poetic treatment of the narrative moment. A number of other stanzas from classical Tamil books are also added as examples.

CAMERON, MARY, Michigan State University, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Research Topics) "The baidya healing tradition in Far Western Nepal" The Baidya of Far Western Nepal are the primary source of treatment for chronic and acute illnesses among children. This village study from Bajhang in the Baitadi Zone is based on in-depth interviews with local baidyas and relatives of ill children, particularly mothers. Results indicate a widespread use of herbal cures, belief in the efficacy of herbal treatments and nutritional recommendations given by baidya, and the common practice of treating mothers for nursing children's illnesses. The paper argues that the baidya tradition is more common among the predominantly Hindu communities of western Nepal than a shamanistic tradition.

CHAKRAYARTY, SUMITA S., University of Illinois, Urbana, (Panel: Cultural Imperialism and the Media Dynamics in South Asia) "Post-Colonial Indian Cinema and the Question of National Identity"
The cinema in post-Independence India became a site of struggle for the cultural definition of "Indianness." The attainment of Independence signalled efforts at decolonization and the search for a national identity. The underlying impetus (and problematic) for the production of a distinctive political and cultural identity was two-fold: to reject symbolically the recent historical experience of colonization and colonial definitions; and to cope with values arising from that historical experience in the new India. On the cultural plane, the problematic became embedded in the notion of "authenticity," an ontological reaching for the "truth" and essence of the Indian experience with posited a number of dichotomies: remote past/recent past, Indian/foreign, pure culture/hybridized culture. These were not simple dichotomies but embodied further contradictions. The paper explores how these dichotomies structured the discourse centering on the cinema and its role in modern Indian society.

CLOTHES, FRED W., University of Pittsburgh, (Panel: Non-Historical Texts and Ahistorical Identities) "The Role of Texts for South Indian Immigrants in a U.S. City" This paper explores the role of "text" in the lives of some South Indian immigrants as they identify as "South Indian." The study focuses on two sets of issues: the role of the written text in the exercise of rituals, derived from the Pancharastragam tradition, in the Sri Venkatesa Temple of Pittsburgh; and secondly, the role of oral texts, particularly stories of ur (hometown), jati (family heritage), and natu (region) in informing the kumam (quality) of individual South Indian immigrants. In the first instance, it is clear that for priests and Jaffna elites, parakrama (custom and "performance") takes precedence over pustakam (written text), though it is still appropriate to ask how the text is used, when, by whom, and in what form. In the second set of issues, there is a frequent evocation of stories of home-town, family or ethnic region, for the purpose of self-description. The study, still in progress, is exploring what kinds of stories are evoked, in what contexts, by whom, and for what purpose.

CLETUS, NORMAN, University of Chicago, (Panel: Spirit and Voices in Indian Song) "Dramatized Voices in Tamil Bhakti Poems" Perhaps more than any other genre of traditional Indian poetry, bhakti poetry is a poetry of the first person. However, the Tamil bhakti corpus also includes a large number of poems which belle this generalization. These include poems "spoken" by three of the female characters who are associated with classical Tamil love poetry. This paper will explore the Tamil bhakti poets' use of dramatized narration and examine the ways secular commentaries have responded to the dramatized voices heard in these poems. It will also address the relationship between these voices and the poets' "own voices" heard elsewhere in the texts in which these poems are found.

D'MANATO, ANDREA, University of Wisconsin-Madison, (Panel: South Asian Geography: Changing Trends & Patterns II) "Geographic Implications of Government Policies on Migration in Nepal" Regional shifts in population in Developing Countries create many problems for national governments in allocating development resources. Government spending can exacerbate existing regional disparities, reinforcing uneven distributions of wealth, aid and population. This paper explores the relationship between migration and national policy in Nepal. A multiple regression model is used to examine how specific resettlement and investment policies affect the direction and magnitude of population movement. An understanding of this relationship may provide insight into how government policy can be used to direct both physical and financial resources on a national level.

DEDAHAIURY, SUKANTA, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics) "Fascism and Decolonization in India" This paper analyzes the impact of Fascism, both as an ideology as well as a historical phenomenon. It argues that the Indian nationalists' attitude towards Fascism introduced an element of ambivalence in the Indo-British discourse. An ambivalence was added to the Congress proposal to support the British war effort even at the height of the Indian Independence movement. The paper focuses on two nationalist leaders in India who were most vocal in their suggestion for Indian co-operation in the British war effort: Jawaharlal Nehru and M.N. Roy. Both these leaders were Staunch anti - Imperialists, both had definite Leftist leanings, and both showed a similar antipathy towards Fascism. However, their conception of the nature of Indian support for the British in the Second World War was far from identical. Nehru's participation in the war was incumbent on British declaration of Indian independence, while M.N. Roy was willing to join forces with the British unconditionally. The paper examines the role of the two leaders in the Congress party and their influence on the ideological orientation of the two leaders and that in actual effect, both were guided by a sense of political expediency.

DEW, BRUCE W., Syracuse University, (Panel: Family & Household Structure Over Time: Four Village Restudies) "Karimpur Families Over Sixty Years" This paper will examine the structure and composition of village families over the period 1925-1984. Offering the same time-depth of the papers in this panel, we can see adjustments that are made by families spanning three generations and encompassing a period in which there were a number of external forces exerting themselves on village families. Among those factors which will be looked at are a declining death rate, the effects of land reform and consolidation, changes in the traditional socioeconomic arrangements such that outward migration is favored, and a greater awareness and desire for birth control. These factors will be examined across the breadth of Karimpur's widely divergent socioeconomic caste structure. Of particular concern will be the indications from the Karimpur data that families in the early decades of the 20th Century were not predominantly joint, and that over time the size of families within all groups has increased.

DUPREE, LOUIS, Senior Research Associate, Islamic and Arabian Development Studies; Visiting Professor of Anthropology and Political Science, Duke Univ., (Panel: Sovietization: The Afghan and International
Responses
"Afghan Responses to Sovietization"
Several patterns will be discussed. Soviet penetration of Afghanistan began after the Third Anglo-Afghan War of 1919, when the Afghans recognized the new Bolshevik regime and vice versa. After World War II, particularly after 1955, the Soviets began to assist the Afghans on a large scale, in the fields of economic, military, and educational development. But the Afghans also received significant development assistance from the USA and Western European countries to maintain a healthy balance on the world political scene, or hit- and-run, "without sides," as it was called in Dari (Afghan Persian). The Americans virtually controlled the educational system, but large numbers of Afghan students, both civilian and military, were sent to the USSR. Some came back pro-Soviet, but they were a distinct minority. Dissident individuals trained in both the USSR and the West banded together in anti-monarchy groups, several of which participated in both the 1973 and 1978 coups. The Soviet invasion of 1979 changed the fact of Afghanistan, and it will never be the same. The Soviets dominate the educational system, the military and secret police, and virtually dictate the day-to-day operations of the ministries. More important, thousands of young Afghans, male and female, have been sent to the USSR for education in an attempt to create cadres loyal to the USSR and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. And the Soviets have tried to enlist all Afghan scholars, writers, poets and journalists into the Sovietization campaigns. Possible results of these Sovietization efforts will conclude the paper.

EGGOR, MARGARET TRANICK, Hobart and William Smith Colleges, (Panel: Spirits and Voices in Indian Songs)
"Merger and Splitting of Persons in Tami Songs"
One interesting feature of many Tami songs is the way in which different characters, whose different voices are represented in a song, may merge, split, and trade places with each other in the song. In the absence of any formal signal that such a change is taking place. Often, for instance, there is a sliding of the singer's voice among different grammatical persons ("he" becomes "you", "she" becomes "I"), in such cases intense emotional attachment among actual persons (living, dead, or divine) animates the song. Minglest of bodies and spirits is both cause and consequence of this attachment. This paper will examine several Tami songs to see what the representation of different voices within one voice and the presence of different persons within one person have anything to do with each other for Tamil people. It will be suggested that struggles for embodiment in words and struggles for embodiment in flesh do have much in common.

ELLINGSON, TER, University of Washington, (Panel: Music, Dance, and Drama in Nepal)
"Mathematical Forms in Newar Buddhist Music"
The music of Newar Buddhist ceremonies and sacred sites is a complex classical art, as stylistically unique and formally sophisticated as the art and architecture of the Kathmandu Valley temples, and in fact related to them in more than circumstantial ways. Developed equally from the panchatraditional traditions of South Asian Buddhism and the unique geographical setting and civilization of central Nepal, the music combines structural principles derived from Indian models with forms particularly suited to the environment and worldview of its Newar creators and performers. Structuring music according to mathematical formulas is a principle known from other Buddhist cultures. Among Newar Buddhists, one can hear transformations of the classical Indian concept of Tala rhythmic cycles into more elaborate, exponentially-based cyclic forms. Perhaps the most characteristic form of mathematical structuring in Buddhist music is the ordering of sections and places according to the principles of geometry. In Newar music, structures of this type derive from the ritual geometry and geography of the Valley and its sacred sites, and form part of an artistic-ritual complex that unifies music, dance, architecture, iconography, meditation, pilgrimage, and other elements into a multimedia, multidimensional web of interlinked concepts and performance forms and practices.

ELLINOOD, DENIT C., State University of New York at Albany, (Panel: Perspectives on the Indian Military)
"Professionalism and Politics: Traditions of the British Indian Army"
Between 1857 and 1947 the British placed strong emphasis for the Indian Army upon both professionalism and non-involvement in politics, related themes which continued in the Indian Army after Independence. For sepoys, professionalism meant long-term service, training in the arts of warfare in India, paternalistic discipline, and regimental loyalty. These sepoys were drawn from classes which generally were little affected by politics. Other Indian officers participated in these same traditions, they also needed to have ability to lead, resourcefulness, and practical knowledge of Indian army operations. In addition, officers were expected to have the social and moral qualities of "gentlemen." On the political side, professionalism meant aloofness from political activities and interests and acceptance of the superiority of civil over military authority. Loyalty to the Raj was required, of course. These patterns were effectively enforced up to World War II, but they began to break down in some areas thereafter.

FARR, GRANT M., Portland State University, (Panel: Sovelization: The Afghan and International Responses)
"Current Situation Among the Refugees in Pakistan"
It has been over six years that the large Afghan refugee influx into Pakistan began. This paper reports on a trip by the author in the winter of 1985-86 into the refugee camps near the Afghan border. Many changes have taken place as the Afghan refugees have adjusted to the realities of camp life. They have developed a camp culture that relates the tensions, conflicts and strains of camp life through song, verse and story. There are growing political problems between the refugees and the Pakistan refugee authorities resulting from the Government of Pakistan's constant desire to reduce refugee population counts through repatriation schemes. New refugees are faced with special difficulties attempting to register and find camp space since registration now takes several months. This waiting is particularly a problem since the newly arriving refugees are often in much worse shape than were previous refugee arrivals. The refugees have also come to distrust their own leadership in Peshawar when they see as enriching themselves while they suffer in the camps. Within the refugee community the major until of support continues to be the extended family although the family is now being supplemented by the government and non-government organizations. This paper has attempted to describe the situation as it begins to assert itself. These problems are examined in light of comparative refugee experiences and predictions are made regarding the future situation of the Afghans in Pakistan. Finally implications for American foreign policy in the region will be made.
FELDMAN, SHELLEY, Cornell University, (Panel: The South Asia Seven: Conflict to Cooperation)
"SARC: Dependency or Cooperation?"
South Asia is one of the last areas of the world to have organized and institutionalized a regional cooperative effort. Initiated in Dhaka in 1980, SARC recognizes seven member countries: Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, the Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. While it is recognized that SARC differs from the expressed homogeneity of ASEAN, EEC and the East Africa Community, only scant attention has been given to the economic and political dependencies which characterize its member countries. Drawing on available aggregate economic data and political indicators, this paper examines the costs and benefits among SARC members, highlighting the nature of these dependencies within the region.

GADGIL, DR. S., KULKARNI, GORE, and GUPTA, University of Poona, India, & IUP, Indian, PA, (Panel: South Asian Geography: Changing Trends & Patterns)
"Rainfall and Temperature Distribution for Pune City: A Multiple Time Series Analysis"
Two approaches are presented for the analysis of rainfall and temperature variations for twenty-six center in Maharastrah, India. The first approach examines the periodicity in rainfall and temperature during the last 25 years. The second one is an attempt to calibrate a multivariate model predicting rainfall based on the maximum and minimum temperatures.

GEORGE, DR. IVY, Gordon College, Wenham, MA, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics)
"The Implications of the 1966 National Policy on Education (NPE) for the Social and Economic Development of Chinnalappattu, a South Indian Village"
This paper attempts to examine the implications of the national policy on education for the development of the people in Chinnalappattu and thereby casts some light for the educational development of India at large. First, I provide an overview of this proposed social policy as it was presented to the Parliament in May 1966. The NPE has been hailed as a radical departure from earlier educational policies because of its stress on the eradication of illiteracy, on the need for a national curricular framework and the Navodaya Vidyalaya Scheme which provides talented youth from socially disadvantaged groups with an opportunity for advanced education. Second, I describe the impact of the prevailing educational system on the people in Chinnalappattu. This is done in great part on the basis of interview with adults in the community, and also a follow-up of students who have graduated out of the system. In light of existing conditions in Chinnalappattu, I conclude that the NPE is very much "old wine in a new bottle," both philosophically and substantively. The goals of the NPE are incongruent with the needs and the goals of the people there, and in order for their democratic development, the need for alternative approaches to education are called for and are discussed.

GOLD, ANN GROZINS, Cornell University, (Panel: Spirits and Voices in Indian Songs)
"Choreographed Conversation in Rajasthan"
Many Rajasthani songs, although performed chorally without role-playing, represent two- or three-part conversations or serial dialogues: a barren wife plaintively addresses her taunting in-laws and is comforted by a compassionate deity; a husband baffled by childbirth's mysteries asks sister, mother, brother's wife and servant for an explanation; a soul reluctant to depart its body argues with death's messengers. While performed in harmony and unison, Rajasthani songs frequently portray interpersonal misunderstandings, conflicting attitudes, domestic and religious cross-currents. Sung conversations rather than reflecting day-to-day verbal exchanges, treat themes that often are unspoken in ordinary discourse.

GOMES DA SILVA, JOSE CARLOS, University of Lisbon, (Panel: Transgressive Sacrality in Hinduism)
"Hierarchy and Transgression"
The social and religious system of Orissa raises some interesting problems, whose complexity defies the usefulness of key conceptual tools of ethology. It is well-known, for instance, that the most important religious role in the Panases is that of the Dhars - those low status, nevertheless, is strongly underlined. Such a seeming paradox is at the core of major questions raised by the ethnographic context of Orissa. It invites us to discuss the very notion of hierarchy. To analyse the subject in a broader perspective we intend to deal with a few examples borrowed from the Mahabharata. It will be shown, in particular, that the groups of personages identified in the framework of the three functions ideology (Dusez) do not reveal a rigid hierarchical structure. This demonstration generates new questions which may deepen our views and enlarge research perspectives. Having identified the problem, we will next analyse aspects of oriva traditions in which the marks of Indo-european ideology, such as described by Georges Dumazeil, are clearly recognizable. Again it will appear that the hierarchical scheme does not provide the most coherent view of the facts. Hierarchical thought tends to lessen the role of elements placed at the bottom of the series, although ethnographic reality often emphasizes its importance, namely in religious contexts and in ritual circumstances.

GORE, DR., See GADGIL, DR.

GOSHAM, DR. OMKAR, Tufts University & Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India, (Panel: South Asian Landscape)
"Indian Entrepreneurship in the Late Colonial Era: Eastern India, 1918-1950"
This paper attempts to trace the growth of Indian entrepreneurship in the modern industrial sector in Eastern India during the period 1918-50. Contrary to popular opinion, we show that Indian, especially Marwari, entrepreneurs were very much in the ascendency during the period and the British managing agencies, though still large in size, were, indeed, in a position of decline. We explore this phenomenon through detailed examination of company level data for several major industries in Eastern India - notably jute, cotton, and others. We examine the reasons for (a) the growth of Marwari entrepreneurship (b) the decline of the apparently all-powerful European managing agencies and (c) the growth and subsequent stagnation of Bengali entrepreneurship which rose in response to economic nationalism. We suggest that entrepreneurship in Eastern India requires a much richer treatment of these forces than what it has got in the past.
GUPTA, DR., See GADGIL, DR.

HAFIZ, BRIG M ABDUL, Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies, (Panel: The South Asia Seven Conflict)
"The Security Questions of South Asian Regional Cooperation"
The recently launched South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), unlike other regional cooperation arrangements like the ASEAN, GCC in the developing world and the EEC, OEEA in the developed worlds, by design does not have its nookings in political and security issues as such. Even then certain regional and extra-regional security issues might impinge on the cooperation process in the region. Incongruent and a symmetrical security perceptions, mutual suspicions and incipient arms race, domestic turncoats and most importantly, the common and overarching burden of poverty are some of the regional security issues. The extra-regional issues are increasing militarisation of the Indian Ocean and increased superpower involvement in the prosperity of South Asia. Where would SAARC fit in such a security environment? For one, SAARC as a programme burden of poverty and to that extent it would contain some of the major problems of insecurity in individual countries as well as in the region. Secondly, as cooperation in socio-economic fields gains momentum, SAARC process is likely to contribute to confidence building and restoring of mutual confidence. This is also expected to remove some of the major hurdles to regional peace and stability.

HARPER, LOUISE G., (Panel: Family & Household Structure Over Time: Four Village Rerstudies)
"Brahman Family Census Material, A Comparison: 1954-1964"
This paper examines the Havik Brahman population of Totagade village of Karnataka, South India. Comprising approximately 23 percent of the village population, these Brahmans are dominant in all respects. Increasing in number from 25 to only 30 over these past thirty years, the distribution of family types nevertheless reflects current social stresses being reacted to. This paper will describe the changes in distribution and composition of these Brahman families in their active social context.

HART, LYNN M., McGeLL University, (Panel: Women's Ritual Art of South Asia)
"Kumonori Women's Ritual Art"
Women's ritual art has generally been overlooked by researchers working on South Asia. This paper introduces ritual art as it is done by women in South Asia by presenting a case from the Kumonori Hills of Uttar Pradesh. The first part of the paper presents Kumonori women's ritual art, showing viewers what the images are, when they are produced, and where they can be found in villages and cities. A number of examples of these images are given, explaining how the images comprise a ritual art system. Then the psychological function of this art is discussed, considering the ways in which women use the production of these images within ritual contexts to control and order their lives and those of their husbands and other family members; to maintain communication with the deities and keep them under control; and, most generally, to help maintain the smooth functioning of the world. The ritual art images play a particularly powerful role in life cycle ceremonies, providing symbols in graphic form which help to form and change the person by representing new rules of conduct for each successive step in life.

HAUNER, MILAN, University of Wisconsin-Madison, (Panel: Conflict and Regional Cooperation in South Asia)
"The Significance of South Asia for the Soviet Eurasian Empire"
1. South Asia (SA) is part of Moscow's global strategy, depending always on the actual assessment of the "correlation of forces". 2. Soviet strategic interest in SA has undergone considerable change: it followed a "treaty" legacy between 1918 and 1941 (subversion & wars), a "wait-and-see" approach after World War II, "collective security" since mid-1960s for two reasons: to encircle China and to undermine US presence along Eurasian rimlands and in the Indian Ocean. After 1978 most radical change in the region. Recent "Central Asian" (Southern) TID in existence (test volenykhy chastvyl=theatre of military operations), to fill the enormous gap between two main TIDs: the "Soviet Pact Region" in the West against NATO, and the Far Eastern Front against China, "Role of India". 4. The "Southern Tier" both before and after the invasion of Afghanistan. Defensive or offensive strategy? 5. Most vulnerable Soviet frontier from "hot" to "cold" politics; the "Soviet security line" and long-term objectives. Is the Soviet Empire trying to extend control to a new potential 'goestategic realm' of the world (after Saul B. Cohen) with more than one billion people and access to at least 55% of world's oil reserves?

HAYNES, DOUGLAS, Dartmouth College, (Panel: Modes of Protest in South Asia)
"From Avowal to Confrontation: Merchant Protest in Precolonial and Colonial Surat"
This paper examines the mode of protest employed by high-caste merchants in the city of Surat from the seventeenth century into the twentieth century. It argues that continuing concerns with the attainment of political protection and the maintenance of mercantile integrity underlay collective action by merchants from the Mughal period up through the first series of Gandhi agitationgs in 1919-1924. Following (but also qualifying) a model developed by Michael Adas for Southeast Asian peasant protest, the paper suggests that the merchants continuously altered the forms of protest they used in pursuing these concerns as they adjusted to changing character of their state. In general, it posits a shift from what Adas terms "avowal" modes of protest—rejections of obligations, symbolic and real migrations, and shifts to alternative political patron—towards confrontational challenges to colonial rule linked with provincial and national agitationgs. Because of the traders' preoccupations with maintaining social order and upholding elite notions of personal dignity, however, they never adopted violent forms of collective activity. Even as they engaged in more confrontational conflicts with the colonial regime, they found much use for techniques of "non-cooperation" which had always been part of the older avowal modes.

HEESTERMAN, J.C., Kemi Institute, Lede University, (Panel: The Transgressive Basis of Hindu Spirituality)
"The Notion of Anthropophagy in Vedic Rituals"
Anthropophagy is mentioned only as an abomination. Hence the human victims of the purosadhads are to be released after the fire has been carried round them in the usual way (SB.13.6.2-13). Since sacrifice means food, the exercise with the human victims seems rather pointless. The question is what reality was originally behind this ritualistic construct. There are a few passages that may shed some light on this
question (KS.247797:4; 34.841:17; 34.114:4.14; T5.7.210:2.4; AB.23.11). They tell us that partaking of the meat of the goat or imitated the eye of the Soma sacrifice and the acceptance of food and gifts at a sattra are both equated with "eating a man". This man (or his substitute) is the diksita (as different from the sacrificer). The diksita as well as the sattra descend from the transgressive vrat, the consecrated warrior (Indo-Ir. Jour. 5; 1962, pp. 11-15). As such, being vowed to death, he must free his life in the sacrificial death arrangement by others in order to become himself a significant sacrificer. Till such time he has only himself to offer in sacrifice. Failure, therefore, spells death. The human victim is the consecrated warrior whose fate is exemplified by the skull buried under the fire altar.

HILTEBELT, ALF, George Washington University, (Panel: Transgressive Sacredness) "Sacrificial Structures and Transgressive Themes in the Tamil Drupadi Cult" This paper will attempt to show how within the larger sacrificial dimensions of the Tamil Drupadi cult, shaped both by sacrificial idoms of the Mahabharata and by village sacrificial traditions that develop upon Drupad as a "village god," certain very striking transgressive scenarios are played out. One focus of such themes is Drupadi herself, in portrayals of her disembasement in the dice match and disrobing scenes, in her forest exile and period of concealment, and her role on the Mahabharata battlefield. To a certain extent the transgressions that concern Drupadi are mythic rather than ritual. The second focus for transgressive themes falls on Drupadi's various guardians - Pottu Raja and Muttal Ravvanan, most notably and for these figures, the transgressions are more ritualistically significant, though also including a rich mythology. It will be argued, however, that it is the sacrificial idoms that make these transgressive dimensions vital to the cult, whether they be primarily mythological or ritual.

HOPKINS, JEFFERY, University of Virginia, (Panel: Nagarjuna & His Successors: Perspectives on 'Middleism') "Dzongs-ka-ka's interpretation of different views of Emptiness Among Nagarjuna's Chief Commentators" Buddhist scholars past and present, speak of two main schools of thought: the parpa (commentaries) and the maha-madhyamika). In India the Niguma School (thel 5gyur, prasangka) was founded by Chandrakirti and the Autonony School (rang rgyud pa, svatantrika) founded by Bhavavake. However, the names for the two schools were not used in Madhya but rather were coined in Tibet based on Chandrakirti's argument against Bhavavake that it is not suitable to use autonomous inferences (rang rgyud kyi rjes dpag, svatantr-anuma) and that consequences (thel 5gyur, prasangka) are sufficient. Because even the names of the two schools were coined in Tibet, one might think that the doctrinal differences aduced between these two schools would be worked in a tentative way; however, in certain scholastic literature within the Ge-luk-ba order of Tibetan Buddhism, especially their tenets literature, there are hard and fast statements about the respective tenets of these schools such that one might get the impression that these positions were clearly stated as such in Indian works. According to Dzongs-ka-ka (1357-1419), the founder of the Ge-luk-ba order, there are persuasive reasons in Chandrakirti's and Bhavavake's writings for coming to the conclusion that they differ with respect to defining emptiness, specifically with respect to defining the misconceived status of pha bshad. In order to appreciate the subtlety of Dzongs-ka-ka's interpretation, it is helpful first to realize how thin, even how illusory, the evidence is; perhaps only then can we see Dzongs-ka-ka's interpretative skills at work. In this paper, I shall introduce this evidence and summarize briefly my analysis of the controversy between Chandrakirti and Bhavavake about commonly appearing subjects.

HUNTINGTON, JR., CLAIR W., University of Michigan, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Research Topics) "The Akuthbaya and Early Indian Madhyamaka" The Akuthbaya is traditionally attributed to Nagarjuna, as an auto-commentary to his Madhyamakasutra, but there are a number of problems with this attribution. Examination of the relevant materials in Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese preserves the following: The Chinese were aware of this tradition concerning an auto-commentary on the Madhyamaka Sutra titled Akuthbaya - Kumarravija reported this information in his biography of Nagarjuna composed (or translated) in 402 CE. Close comparison of the Tibetan Ge-las 'jigs med and the Chinese Chung lun indicates that both commentators are direct descendants of an original Maitreya source that was known at least as old as the 4th century. All the evidence suggests, but nowhere conclusively proves, that this source is the text referred to in Kumarravija's report.

HUSAIN, MIR ZOHAIR, University of South Alabama, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics) "Zulfikar Ali Bhutto: An Unconventional Islamic Revelalist?" This paper discusses former Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's prominent role in contributing to an Islamic revival in Pakistan during the 1970s. The paper makes three major contributions to our understanding of leadership in the Muslim world and Islamic Revivalism. First, Bhutto's intentional, and sometimes even unintentional, use of Islamic rhetoric and symbolism in domestic and foreign affairs, illustrates a fascinating aspect of his leadership. Second, it shows us that some nominal and pragmatic Muslims in influential positions, like Bhutto, can and do play a catalytic role in Islamic revivals when they engage in the politics of Islam. Third, it alludes to the dangers inherent when such nominal Muslims engage in the politics of Islam. In due course, this involvement not only undermines their credibility and legitimacy, while further enhancing that of the religious-political groups, but it also fuels the Islamic revival which ultimately destroyed him.

ILTIS, LINDA L., University of Washington, (Panel: Music, Dance, and Drama in Nepal) "Intermedia Transformations of a Newar Ritual Narrative" Oral recitations of sacred texts and religious stories constitute a range of musical performing genres which provide rich sources of material and accommodate access to merit for both performers and audiences in Nepal. The interpretation of one story may be expressed in genres ranging from a low caste gane bard's ballad; and from an estoric, masked ritual dance drama to a panchen stage dramatization with musical interludes. The audience of one form may become the performer in another context, and the performers in one context become the audience for the other. We find that the stories are made accessible to the entire community through performed musical transformations.
KEMPER, STEVEN, Bates College, (Panel: The Textualization of Historical Identity) "The Sinhalese National Chronicle and Representations of the Past" The Sinhalese national chronicle, the Mahavamsa, was begun in the sixth century C.E.; the events it describes reach back to the Lord Buddha's third visit to the island, and Vijaya's founding of Sinhalese society. Whatever its role in previous centuries, at present the Mahavamsa furnishes images and figures that inform Sinhalese conceptions of ethnic identity and political purpose. This paper will show how these images—sacred persons and places—invite the creation of material representations—relics and Buddhist temples.

KHAN, ZILLUR Rehman, (Panel: The South Asian Seven: Conflict to Cooperation) "The Origin and Growth of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation" Tracing the origins of cooperation between seven South Asian countries to the dreams, ambitions, initiatives, and operational common sense of late President Ziaur Rahman of Bangladesh, the author would cast the stages of growth of what started out as a seemingly impractical concept of regional cooperation into the light of comparable experiences of countries in Africa, America, and Asia. Any possible implications of a successful fruition of cooperation movement for the superpowers as well as China will also be examined.

KOHLS, M.S., MANGA, Punjab University Patiala, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics) "Dragon Steps Out of Himalayas: Developments in the External Relations of Bhutan" Till almost the close of the decade of 1950s Bhutan—the Dragon Kingdom—remained confined to the Himalayas. But the events in her most well-known neighborhood—Tibet—almost compelled the ruler to give up the closed door policy. With the joining of the UN in 1971 another chapter in the evolution of the external relations of Bhutan opened. With diplomatic relations with Bangladesh and Nepal, and non-resident relations with a few European countries Bhutan, of late, has been trying to play an Independent and even an assertive role as a nation-state. From this point of view her most recent decision to have direct partial communication with Beijing on the settlement of the boundary dispute is of utmost significance. It is indicative of the altered self-perception as also of the strategic environment of the Kingdom.

KOLENDA, PAULINE, University of Houston, (Panel: Family & Household Structure Over Time: Four Village Restudies) "Joint Family Dynamics from the Perspectives of Thirty Years Later" This is an attempt to specify features of joint family dynamics revealed by the comparison between families examined in detail in the Spring of 1984 and the shape of these families as they were reported to be in the census of 1954 done in village Kholapur, as well as information on their former states as revealed in field notes.

KOPPEL, K.A., McMaster University, (Panel: The Textualization of Identity: Changing Conventions in the Creation of Identity) "Assessment Versus Ascription: Textual Considerations of Status in a Savitri Matha's Quest for Acknowledgement" Although many texts produced by members of the Dharmapura Adhinam of the Tanjavad District of Tamilnadu, India, the Varnasramaandrika is somewhat unusual. Most of the other texts deal with philosophical issues or ritual practices. This text, a compendium of Agamic and Sattvic authorities compiled by Tiruvampalatekkar (early 18th century), the seventh in the line of the swa's preceptors, is different, however. It focuses on the question of status, or more specifically, on who has the right to assume certain of the highly codified roles outlined by the Hindu social system. The main issue at stake is whether a Sadra is entitled to take on for himself a role—and thus a status—traditionally accorded to a Brahman alone. Given the author's own non-Brahman status (which had a bearing on the very legitimacy of his institution), his conclusions can be anticipated. However, his arguments call for a reappraisal of how caste was understood in pre-colonial South India. Tiruvampalatekkar never questions the validity of varna categories but argues instead that other values can offset their pervasiveness. This paper will examine the circumstances in which the text was compiled, raise the underlying issues at play, and explore the logic of Tiruvampalatekkar's sometimes surprising interpretation of his own identity.

KULAKALI, Dr., See GADDIL, Dr.

LA BRACK, BRUCE, University of the Pacific, (Panel: South Asians In the United States: Some Methodological Issues) "Indian Immigrants in the United States and Anthropology: Issues and Opportunities" Although numerically significant only since the late 1960's, there have been South Asian passenger immigrants in the U.S. since 1904, notably on the West Coast. For a variety of reasons (departmental reluctance to sponsor, funding, size of communities, attitudes towards field-work locales) anthropologists have been slow to recognize the historical complexity and socio-cultural diversity of overseas South Asians in America and to take advantage of domestic research opportunities. South Asianists generally have not applied their skills to enhance, expand, or clarify research interests previously limited to the sub-continent. Numbering over 600,000, the South Asian component in the U.S. is heterogeneous and expanding rapidly; however, it is almost ethnographically unknown. Community studies focusing on areas such as marriage and kinship, religious practices, culture change, socio-linguistics and language maintenance, economic adaptation and specialization, intergenerational value conflicts and shifts, cultural boundary maintenance, and voluntary associations are practically nonexistent, although there are currently numbers and regional concentrations to justify, and make rewarding, intensive field studies.

L'ARMAND, K., Widener University, Chester, PA, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics) "The Devadasis and Indian Music" In previously published reports, we (L'Armand & L'Armand 1979, 1983) have described the social organization of music and of musicians in the city of Madras, South India. One of the groups of performers described as important in the musical life of the city are the Devadasis, who are descendants of women who were dedicated

LEAVITT, JOHN, McMaster University, (Panel: The Cultural Construction of Emotion in South Asia)
"Three Birds and the Emotions in Central Himalayan Belief and Practice"
To conceptualize emotional life, the work on the Central Himalayan hill region of Kumaon (Uttar Pradesh, India) will be based on a symbolic idiom involving polarities of hot and cold, movement and rest, and contrasting excesses of these poles and their balance. This conceptual idiom is also used to characterize a broad range of other contexts of experience: cosmic processes, temporal patterns, social and personal types. The talk will describe the way the play of excess, insufficiency, and balance informs discourse about emotional life, sometimes directly and sometimes through symbolic representations. The particular example will be a story and symbolism of three birds: the raucous crow, associated with excess and anger; the tremulous dove, whose call fills one with sadness and longing; and the sweet-voiced cuckoo. The use of these birds and their songs as symbols in song, story, and ritual is one aspect of a more general process linking emotional life into a broader cosmic and temporal scheme.

LEISSINGER, JOHANNA, Southern Asian Institute, Columbia University, (Panel: South Asian Immigrants in the United States: Some Methodological Issues)
"Class and Class Divisions within the Indian Community in New York City"
Unlike work on Indian in Britain, studies of Indian immigrants in the U.S. have not yet addressed the question of class alignments and class divisions within the Indian immigrant population. The "community" in New York has largely been viewed and viewed itself as professional, middle class and socially homogeneous. This association has had a certain function in creating and maintaining ethnic group identity and unity. At this point, however, economic cleavages caused by differences in social access to capital, education, length of time in the U.S. and the vagaries of the U.S. labor market are appearing. This paper suggests that a polarization is arising from differentiation which allows affluent Indians to exploit the labor of the less affluent, both locally and in India. This pattern may ultimately affect the course of future migration.

LINDHOLM, CHARLES, Harvard, (Panel: Cultural Construction of Emotion in South Asia)
"Emotional Constraint and Social Structure"
This paper seeks to understand the underlying causes for the remarkable emotional constraint characteristic of public expression in two very disparate societies: the court of Louis XIV as analyzed by Norbert Elias, and the tribal world of Swat, Northern Pakistan. Elias claims that the stereotypical lack of affect and the separation between inner feeling and outer presentation found in the French court is due to the centralization of the state and the isolation of the nobility. Swat, however, is relatively egalitarian yet exhibits similar emotional masking. This leads me to argue that such masking has less to do with hierarchy and more to do with situations of intense interpersonal rivalry in highly restricted environments. Nonetheless, hierarchy does have a considerable effect on the goal and style of emotional masking, so that in the French context elaborate masquerades are useful to manipulate the onlooker, whereas in Swat the goal is the simple one of self-preservation, and the style is far less complex.

LISZKA, JAMES JAKOB, University of Alaska-Anchorage (Panel: Transgressive Sacrality)
"Transgression and Transvaluation in Myth"
I begin my paper with a critical genealogy of the formalist-structuralist program of myth interpretation. Utilizing recent developments in phonological theory, I argue that formal, logical opposition ought to be replaced by valutative, polar opposition, which can better account for the dynamic and coherence of the myth. I claim that instead of seeing the myth as the resolution to a contradiction, one ought to view it as concerned with a hierarchical crisis and its resolution—a movement from a disruption of hierarchy to its re-establishment. In this paper I show how this might be synchronized with Northrop Frye's analysis of narration types, understood as different resolutions to the tension between the violence of an order-imposing hierarchy and the violence of its transgression. I try to show how this very same issue is present in the controversy between Rene Girard's and Victor Turner's theories of ritual. Returning to myth, I claim that much of the narrative can be accounted for in terms of this tension between hierarchy and its transgression; I suggest that this can serve a cathartic/ideological function in some cases, but, depending on the vectorial direction of forces in a culture, it may also entail a genuine transvaluation of cultural values.
LUTHRA, RASHMI, School of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Wisconsin-Madison. (Panel: Women and Strategies of Development in South Asia)

"Communication Practices in the Social Marketing of Contraceptives: A Woman and Development Critique"

Several countries in the third world, including South Asia, are currently engaged in the social marketing of contraceptives as part of their overall family planning programs. These efforts are usually funded and guided by several specialist agencies in the United States, but may have strong indigenous direction as well. This paper will attempt to do an in-depth qualitative analysis of one or two of the ongoing social marketing programs, with at least one of these being located in South Asia. The analysis will focus on the ideological implications of the communication practices within the programs, particularly implications for women in the target populations. An attempt will be made to decipher the latent content of communication, to interpret the discourse that is set up by the communication process. From an interpretation of this discourse some conclusions can be reached about the possible consequences of such communication.

MAJEED, AKHTAR, Agharkar, University, India, (Panel: Conflict and Regional Cooperation in South Asia)

"Problems and Prospects for South Asian Regional Cooperation"

Among the factors which hinder the development of regionalism in South Asia are the Indo-centric nature of the region, the colonial legacies, problems of national integration and nation building, underdeveloped economic structure, regime instability, power disparities in the region and the role of the external powers. Notwithstanding the disparities and differences in perception, a large common interest seems to dictate the move for regional cohesion in South Asia. The low level of intra-regional trade has scope for expansion if measures such as cooperation in export production and marketing, monetary and payment arrangements and preferential tariff arrangements are invited. There are prospects for these countries to profitably cooperate in harnessing natural resources. For exploitation of resources of sea bed, South Asian countries offer another incentive for regional cooperation. The South Asian regional cooperation can present a common approach in the International Economic Negotiations, towards development aid and trade concessions etc. This would require adoption of a common stand as a group at the North-South Dialogue, UNTCD, ESCAP and the World Bank etc.

MARGLIN, FREDERIQUE APPPEL, Dept. of Anthropology & Sociology, Smith College, (Panel: Brahmin, King & Transgression: The Sacrificial Model)

"Sacrificial Food: The Relationship between Purity and Auspiciousness"

Looking at the cycle of food in a major Hindu temple—that of Jagannatha in Puri—the paper will attempt to clarify the relationship between the pure/impure axis of values and the auspicious/inauspicious axis of values. The paper will also investigate some related areas of temple practice to establish whether in some contexts the concept of transgressivity should replace that of auspiciousness and inauspiciousness. In my earlier work I have argued that the axis of values represented by the family of words translated by the terms auspicious and inauspicious should be clearly distinguished from that of the axis of values represented by the terms pure and impure. The relationship between the two axes remains to be elucidated. The paper proposes to attempt such a clarification. More recently Elizabeth and Sunthar Visvalingam have suggested that the ideas underlying my use of the terms auspicious and inauspicious would fit much better under the classification of transgressivity. An exploration of this suggestion will be initiated in the paper.

MARTIN, MARIE H., American Numismatic Society, (Panel: Courtiers and Kings: Tales of Wit and Power)

"Bibalai and Akber: Court Jesting and Jousting"

This paper will present a detailed historical background.

MASKARINEC, GREGORY, East West Center, Honolulu, (Panel: New Research)

"Word as Cure: Nepali Shaman Oral Texts"

As part of their training, every Jhakri of Nepal memorizes lengthy oral texts, which they use in a variety of healing, life cycle, and worship ceremonies. These texts are stories that relate such events as the creation of the universe and of the race of man, tales of the first witches and the first jhakri, and of other extraordinary events and exceptional individuals. These texts are known only by the jhakris, and represent both how they see the world and how they attempt to master it. I have tape-recorded, transcribed, translated, and annotated the repertoires of several jhakris of Jajarkot District, Bheri Zone; in this paper I examine these texts for the theories of affliction and curing which they contain, showing the complete interconnectedness of etiology and treatment, and how both are situated entirely in spiritual realms.

MCCARTHY, FLORENCE E., Cornell University, Field and International Study Program, (Panel: Muslim Bengal: The Raising of Bengali Consciousness)

"Nationalist Consciousness among Bengali Muslim Women"

To pursue issues related to Bengali nationalism at the turn of the century is to becomeembroiled in communal based histories or those which emphasize the role of urban elites in shaping and leading the struggle against the British. Such histories stress prominent leaders and major themes and often ignore the forms and expression of nationalist consciousness among the rank-and-file of the Bengali people. The Bengali Muslim women. This paper concerns why more attention has not been addressed to the role of Muslim women in Bengali nationalist movements.

MCCORMACK, WILLIAM C., University of Calgary, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics)

"Two Lingayat Festivals as a Secular System"

Secular citizenship play as bridging human nature and culture, and ritual as constituting identities that link individual and society. Two Lingayat festivals, Nagapanchami (Snake's Fifth) and Silvaratri (Shiva's Night), appear to foreground play and ritual, respectively; but if we view ritual as 'sacrificed' play, then they also have the same deep semantic structure. Sanskritic culture designates the two festivals as belonging to the same category (varta), and we can explain the manifest differences between them in terms of season of performance, nature of principal actors, and status of the god honored. The present suggestion that ritual is 'sacrificed' play in Indian culture is significant for general theory of culture as communication.
MOGLRAY, DENNIS B., University of Colorado, Boulder, (Panel: The Textualization of Identity) "The Nettakalappu Manniyam: A Textual Paradigm for the Tamil Caste Order in Eastern Sri Lanka" The Nettakalappu Manniyam, "The Glory of Batticaloa" (P.W.C. Nadarajah, ed., Colombo: Kelani Nilayam 1962), is a compendium of historical traditions and poetic lists of caste honorifics cherished by the matrilineal Tamils who live in the Batticaloa region of Eastern Sri Lanka. It was probably compiled in its present form under the Dutch administration of the 18th century, and various bits of it are still part of the popular oral tradition. From an anthropological perspective, the text is particularly interesting for its canonical formulations of the ritual privileges and marks of honor accorded to specific castes and matrilineal clans under the regional chieftainship (varnimal) of the Mukkanvar caste, who were given political control of the region after the destruction of Polonnaruwa in 1215 A.D. by the Tamil and Keralite armies of Kalinga Magha.

MCCLAUGHLIN, KANDIS, McGill University, (Panel: Women's Ritual Art of South Asia) "Tradition and Change in the Ritual Art of Mithila" This paper focuses on the ritual art of Mithila, Bihar, perhaps the most widely known women's art of South Asia, most recently featured prominently in North America as part of the Festival of India. A brief review is given of research and documentation on the art of Mithila to date, as well as an explanation of the tremendous impact the recent marketing of women's art has had on both the art and the lives of women who produce the art. A central question is addressed: What are the differences between the ritual art done by women for festivals and marriages in their own families and the work they produce for sale?

MILNER, MURRAY, University of Virginia, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics) "Caste as Status Groups: A Reconsideration of the Utility of "Western" Sociological Concepts" Both Dumont and Marriott reject the utility of Western concepts of social stratification for the analysis of caste. In his book, Dwelling on the Dharmic Way, this paper proposes a general theory of status groups and shows how it can integrate general sociological propositions and cultural ideas unique to Indian civilization. Dumont's concerns with purity-pollution and Marriott's concerns with cultural codes and bodily substances are shown to be more parsimoniously understood when related to the theory of status groups. Dumont's discussion of the relationship between Brahmans and kings is also reconceptualized and related to the theory. This reconceptualization is then used to throw significant analytical light on the rich cultural norms and myths about sexuality. The analysis is intended to illustrate how we might more adequately take into account some of the concerns of interpretive sociology and symbolic anthropology without abandoning attempts to construct general sociological theories.

MOHAPATRA, MANINDRA K., Kentucky State University, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics) "A Social Profile of the Eighth Lok Sabha" This study examines the social background of 1985 Lok Sabha members to examine four major propositions about legislative recruitment in the Indian lower house: (a) dominance of social workers (political workers); (b) under-representation of women; (c) congressional affiliation of ethnic/minorities; and (d) dominance of freshmen. In the empirical data base of 1985 Lok Sabha members (N=509) provided the empirical data base for this analysis. Nearly 24% of the members indicated their previous occupation as "social/political worker." Only 43 out of 509 members (8%) were women. Nearly 76% of the scheduled caste, 88% of the scheduled tribes and 73% of the muslims belonged to the Congress (I) Party. Over 51% of the entire membership had been elected to Lok Sabha for the first term. The 1985 Lok Sabha (8th Lok Sabha) continues to have a similar pattern with respect to the above four characteristics. It appears that the pattern of legislative recruitment into the Indian Lok Sabha deserves a longitudinal study. Empirical data for such analyses are readily available from public documents. Researchers in the field of "Comparative Legislative Studies" may relate the findings on Lok Sabha to the other legislatures in developing nations.

MOISALA, PIIXKKO, Research Academy of Finland, (Panel: Music, Dance and Drama in Nepal) "The Ghato Performance of the Gurungs (Nepal)" The ghato, a dance of three days, represents the oldest musical strata performed by the Gurungs. It is performed also by some other ethnic groups of Nepal. In Gurung usage it is related to worshipping of Himalayan gods in order to get a good rice crop. The main ghato performance takes place in mid-May, during Baisak Purne festival, just before rice is planted. I will pay special attention to changes in the ghato performance practice which reflect the situation of Gurung culture in developing Nepal. Nepalization and modernization of ethnic cultures are drastic processes of present day Nepal. The data were collected in 1973-1976 and again in 1985 in a Gurung mountain village of Lamjung district. I will illustrate my presentation with audible and visual documents.

MOORE, ERIN, University of California, Berkeley, Dept. of Anthropology (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics) "Justice in a Rajasthan Village: The Case of The Stolen Wife" On a hot April morning in 1978, Kamir returned to his home in Nara, a village in the Alwar district of Rajasthan, with the pregnant wife of a washerman who lived ten miles away, Jora. In the months that followed, two men and their villagers attempted to negotiate the settlement of the conflict. Bribery, theft, and kidnapping were part of the strategies employed by both sides. This case illustrates the use of the three dispute-processing forums available to the villagers: the traditional village council (panchayat), the statutory village council, and the state courts. The villagers use a combination of forums and strategies to arrive at a mutually agreed upon solution but the panchayat is the mother forum. This paper is based on field work conducted in Nara in 1978 and 1986.

MUMFORD, STAN, Princeton University, (Panel: The Cultural Construction of Emotion in South Asia) "The Transmutation of Emotions in Tibetan Folk Culture" In Tibetan Lamaist practice categories of emotional experience are constructed to enable lower psychic tendencies to be transcended into higher insights of wisdom. In the folk tradition among Tibetan villagers in
northern Nepal, however, the internal state signify more than personal psychic experience. They convey processes and relations between persons and domains of life. Mental dispositions, inner disturbances and conflicts are correlated with cycles of the natural world, with different social contexts and with specific historical trends. This can be explained by examining aspects of the local divination text Lha-phraya rtsis, particular cases of horoscope interpretation, and folk uses of categories of emotion employed in the household rituals of village Lamal.

MURSHID, DR. TAZEEN MAHNAZ, St. Antony's College, Oxford, (Panel: Muslim Bengal: The Raising of Muslim Bengali Consciousness)
"The Impact of Western Education on Bengal Muslims in the Late 19th and Early 20th Century"
Until the third quarter of the 19th century Bengal Muslims showed little response to Western education although there were some efforts to have English taught at Calcutta Madrasah. The upper classes resisted British intrusions in the educational and administrative structures which turned them into a power in decline. Western education was seen as anti-Islam. Therefore, when Sir Syed Ahmed Khan established Aligarh as the center of Muslim modernism, he faced hostility from the community in terms of Islam. He had a profound influence on Bengal Muslims such as Syed Amir Ali, the Pandits of Karotiya and the emerging middle classes, who founded institutions of learning whenever they could afford them. A two-tier view of the education system prevailed throughout most of the period: a general one for the upper classes, whether in English or the vernacular, and another for the peasants. British desire to find new allies among Muslims meant reinforcing this two-tiered education system: madrasas and madrasahs for the masses and general institutions for the affluent. Only a small section of Bengal Muslims received Western education. Their role in the 19th century is not comparable to the Hindu bhadralok who founded the Brahmo Samaj or were in the process of creating new social norms and values. Some sections, however, began to challenge existing views on female education. It was thus possible for Begum Rokeya Sakhawat Hossain at the turn of the twentieth century to declare that economic freedom alone could set women free. Bengal Muslims were politically very weak until the 1930s. A vocal and assertive Bengal Muslim middle class was emerging only in the second decade of the 20th century through Individuals like Fazul Huq and Nazrul Islam. A secular intelligentsia (the Sikhs group) inspired by a spirit of nationalism was formed in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Individuals who broke existing norms like Nazrul Islam or Humayun Kabir, who both married unconverted Hindu women, were few in number. They could not carry out significant social reform but they forced their co-religionists to question phenomena, challenge givens and arrive at new truths. They were the path-breakers of a set of Western values and beliefs which, to date, never gained universal acceptance and which remains challenged by the Orthodox.

MURTHY, BRIAN J., University of Hawaii, (Panel: South Asian Geography: Changing Trends and Patterns)
"Changing Spatial Organization in Interloch Tamilnadu, 1565-1790"
Research on late eighteenth century Interloch Tamilnadu suggests that money was in widespread use, and that cash relationships had replaced noncash relationships in selected areas, and at certain institutional levels. These developments can be associated with three processes which had a variable impact upon social formations and conciliatory forms of spatial organization after the middle of the sixteenth century: 1) the new political ordering that came from the north with the Vijayanagara state in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; 2) the extension into southern India of a cash-oriented, "mughalized" structure of taxation and military organization; 3) the beginning of the incorporation of certain areas into the world economy, through the increasing demand for cotton goods in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These processes acting in different combinations in different places, led to very different forms of spatial organization than had existed previously. This paper details the operation of these processes and the forms of spatial organization that they produced in the Salem and the Beramahal region of Interloch Tamilnadu between 1565 and 1790.

NARAYANAN, DR. SIYARAMAN VITTA, Dept. of Humanities, University of Roorkee, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics)
"Of Course, Off Course: The Fate of South Asian Studies"
Emphasising the need to appreciate the oneness and the vitality of the socio-cultural and economic linkages of Asia without going beyond mere platitudes and nationalistic oneupmanship is a tragic paradox. The more important reasons for this state of affairs are: the tensions and differences over language, land, ideology, religion, race, personality-cults, modernisation and cultural identity-crisis, lack of 'balanced' texts, and the inadequate stressing of the relevance of such studies in the "job orientation" context of today's education. It is necessary, therefore, to examine the meaning, need, success and failure, and the possible avenues to improve the lot of Asian Studies. This forms the crux of the paper that has endeavoured to do so following a survey conducted in some Indian universities of international standing. Asian Studies can be useful and gain respectability, it is contended, only if such evaluative studies are periodically undertaken to draw the subject out of the cocoon of complacency. Phoenix must not merely flutter, but must rise from the ashes.

NIAZI, DR. GHULAM A.K., Embassy of Pakistan, Washington, D.C., (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics)
"Cultural Preservation & Educational Practices in Pakistan"
Like other developing nations which remained under the Imperial Rule, the purpose of education in Indo-Pak Sub-continent was to serve the aims of the ruling power, that is, to produce loyal workers who could carry out the assigned function and run the offices. In addition, schools were established to promote the cause of Christianity, and thus, shake the religious beliefs of the societies under their rule which were heavily embedded in religious traditions. Even in the three decades after the establishment of Pakistan in 1947, education has predominantly oriented towards the preparation of students for universities. The emphasis of University education remained on learning English and European classics and literature and studying the philosophies of Aristotle, Plato, and Rousseau. Pakistan finds itself in the dilemma of most developing nations: having the desire to control the own destiny which is in conflict with the powerful and radiating influence of change with change which bears the stamp of "Global Village", impinges upon every society. There is also a fear that in modernization, an old folk song, a popular folk tale, and unwritten language spoken by a few in the tribal areas, or an old undeciphered manuscript or inscription may be surreptitiously exported. This anxiety to hold on to what "was" has generated a vital interest in the regional subcultures and languages.
NOBLE, WILLIAM A. and SANKHYAN, AD RAM, (Panel: South Asian Geography: Changing Trends & Patterns) "Mastisakha Satisi In the Kannada Tradition"

Many sati goddesses are associated with worshippers in single communities or in small areas. They play significant integrative roles. This factor is well demonstrated by the mastis of Karnataka and the Nilgris. At Kondadahalli, in Karnataka, all the villagers are united in the worship of the masti during the annual festival. Many believe that the determinism which will perform the first plowing. At Chikkuvewa, in Karnataka, the masti is the goddess of the Badagas. They all seek her blessing before getting married. A series of masti temples in North Kanara enable easy access for most inhabitants. Individuals petition the goddesses, make vows, and return with thanksgiving offerings when the petitions are responded to. The standard offering is a colorfully decorated masti statue of wood. While the Badagas (Northerners who came from Karnataka) of the Nilgris have several more local sati goddesses, the annual worship of their Mastithal brings Badagas together from all over the Nilgris. This is also a goddess to whom petitions are made, and gift provided by the sacred buffalo herd at her temple is used in Badaga ritual elsewhere.

O'FLAHERTY, WENDY, University of Chicago, (Panel: Transgressive Sacritlity) "The Assimilation of the Other Through the Mythology of the Horse In India"

Horses are not native to India; they must be imported. Successive invaders — the original Indo-europeans, then the Maghias, and finally the British — brought their horses with them. Yet among villagers, all over India, who have never owned horses, who have never seen their masters on horseback (or, more often, driving chariots), the horse is a central ritual and mythological symbol. The myths and rituals of these villagers differ dramatically from the horse myths and rituals of horse-breeders in India — Rajputs and other rulers, who incorporated into their folklore the 'great-tradition' themes of the Vedic horse sacrifice and the subliminal link of the horse with 'others' in Indian history and the nature of the equine mythologie of the other.

PAHARI, ANUP K., UN-Madison, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics) "Appropriate Technology: A Social Critique"

"Philosophical Foundations of Tolerance in Hinduism"

Ancient and contemporary, Hindu and Western thinkers, have repeatedly described Hinduism as a highly tolerant religion, both within and without. This paper examines the question why it is so by noting out that tolerance as a value is embedded in the metaphysical beliefs of the Hindus, especially their conception of religious Truth. Tolerance, it will be argued, flows naturally from Hindu metaphysics; it is not something for which one has to fight for.

PAPPU, S.S. RAWA RAO, Miami University, (Panel: Hinduism and Tolerance) "Women's Characters in Krishna Sobti's Fiction"

Krishna Sobti writes about characters who, though they live in fairly conventional settings, have lives that diverge in some fashion from the norm. In all her novels and most of her short stories has scrutinizes and explores the ways in which her protagonists cope with the collision between the normal and unusual aspects of their lives. Her exploration is worth noting because she has a deft sure touch with a sharply honed narrative knife that she takes to her characters' psyche. In this paper I examine the various strategies of Krishna Sobti uses to upset the conventions that order her protagonists world. I also address the implication of this for her protagonists and look at the emotional image of the characters that she has dissected and laid for a reader's perusal.
success because they do not include the principal parties - the USSR and the Afghan people. A more promising approach would be for the United Nations to sponsor the convening of a Loya Jirga, the traditional grand assembly of Afghanistan. This could be accomplished by a United Nations neutral commission backed by a temporary UN peace-keeping force. The Loya Jirga would appoint a provisional government to negotiate directly with the Soviet Union for withdrawal and cessation of hostilities. As the Soviets withdraw, for external aid to the mujahidin would be scaled back under UN supervision backed by guarantees from the permanent members of the UN Security Council to see that afghan and neighboring countries in the region, the Lane and others, would be considered in the formation of a permanent government. The new government would draft a new constitution and negotiate a permanent settlement with the USSR. The purpose would be to restore Afghanistan to its status as a non-aligned neutral country with self-determination for its people and to provide for the return of the Afghan refugees with peace and honor. The United Nations would also sponsor an international consortium led by the World Bank to finance a reconstruction plan for war-torn Afghanistan. Such a plan could restore Afghan freedom and independence, return it to economic viability and give the USSR a face-saving device to withdraw its troops and its support from the unpopular Afghan Communist government.

PRAKASH, GYAN, California Institute of Technology, (Panel: Modes of Protest) "Oral Traditions as Protest"

Historians have traditionally looked at oral traditions as quasaries for facts in order to reconstruct how they reflect their contexts. This paper will attempt a cultural reading of oral traditions preserved by the Bhuiyas — a group that has traditionally worked as bonded laborers of the upper caste landlords in south Bhar — in order to show that if oral traditions incorporated the power relations that constituted their context, they also reconstituted these relations in a contestatory manner. Arguing that power and resistance constituted the very stuff of everyday life, this paper will show that while deploying the language of power the Bhuiya oral traditions also contest the identity that this language gives them, thus questioning the social reality authored and authorized by power relations.

FRITCHETT, FRANCES W., Columbia University, (Panel: Courtiers and Kings: Tales of Wit and Power) "Akbar-Birbal: The Tradition in Urdu"

The tradition of Akbar-Birbal anecdotes [Latif] is a long one in Urdu and Hindi. Such anecdotes center on a pair of strongly contrasted figures: the mighty (Muslim) emperor Akbar versus his (Hindu) court jester Birbal. Since the beginning of popular printing in North India in the 1880's, books of these anecdotes have been a staple of the printed press in various and diverse forms. In the following century, Akbar and Birbal were in the popular consciousness as a result of the popular narrative tradition. This paper will examine the Urdu anecdotes, analyze the anecdotes they contain to see where the focal points of the humor are to be found. Preliminary research has led me to believe that the Urdu anecdotes tend to present Akbar as a complicated, intriguing, grand figure, who may be outwitted by Birbal in specific ways, but generally retains or even enhances his dignity in the process. I will illustrate my arguments with selected latif.

RAOCHA, JOAN A., University of Wisconsin, (Panel: Topics in the Art History of Pakistan) "The Goddess in the Art of Gandhara"

The forms of the goddess in the art of Gandhara are the subject of this paper. It will be divided into two parts. The first will include an overview of the recognized forms of the goddess, noting freestanding versus narrative participates. The second part will discuss forms of the goddess in the sculpture from the site of Nigromag, Dr. Swat. I am currently in the process of preparing the sculpture at the Government of Pakistan, Department of Archaeology. The forms of the goddess at Nigromag include one previously unrecognized aspect, a form of the goddess. The regional nature of iconographic features will be discussed as the paper concludes.

RAMAMURTHY, DR. (MRS.) LEELA, University of California-Berkeley, (Panel: Women and Strategies of Development in South Asia) "Women, Culture, and Management - A Profile of MBA Women Managers in India & the U.S."

This paper explores the impact of culture on women managers in India and the U.S., a traditional society, and a technology oriented, fast paced society, respectively. It is based on responses from the data on the socioeconomic and socio-economic variables collected on a questionnaire on women managers in the two countries during 1984-85. It explores the negative and positive effects of both cultures - an individualistic oriented and a group oriented culture and its effect on women. Job satisfaction, pressures on and off the job, patterns of career growth, acceptance and non acceptance of women on and off their jobs and careers, job mobility, financial growth, old age security, and or alienation, family life style, sexual stereotyping are some of the variables on which the responses were generated. Decision-making power as exercised and accepted by women managers and its various dimensions have been explored. The findings of the study highlight certain patterns of conditioning, relating, communicating, and functioning. It highlights the methods of coping, the personal norms and personal fulfillment. It brings out the differences and the commonalities of the problems and prospects for women managers of today and tomorrow, rise above sexual stereotyping and what they can learn from each other, and from the two cultures.

RYAN, JAMES D., California Institute of Integral Studies, (Panel: Courtiers and Kings: Tales of Wit and Power) "King and Courtier in the Tamil Literary Tradition"

The Akbar-Birbal story cycle has no currency in the Tamil region, probably because of the lack of decisive Muslim influence there over any extended period. Tamil literature from its beginnings however records the words of court poets who frequently use their verbal virtuosity to sway or rebuke kings. The questions asked of Birbal by Akbar in the stories are generally not questions of policy, but more often intellectual exercises presented by the emperor's curiosity or whims. In the Tamil tradition poets are more likely to speak to the
Issues of policy and the king's behavior in general and the transient, powerless nobility are more often seen in direct confrontation with their benefactors. It seems that in the Tamil milieu because of the fact that the kings involved controlled comparatively small areas of land and had much less of the grandeur of the court than a great emperor, the poets were able to challenge the kings more directly and their influence was correspondingly seen more in a political light than in the case of Birbal. It is a measure of their importance in the paradigm of the courts that even today the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu has his own poet (pulavar) who takes the name of one of the Tamil poets of old and gives eloquent disquisitions on policy at political rallies. This paper will investigate in depth the relationship between courtier and king in the Tamil country and contrast it, as far as is appropriate, to that of Birbal and Akbar.

SANTUCCI, James A., California State University, (Panel: Basham Memorial Panel)
"H.N. Stokes and the O.E. Library Criticism"
Henry Newlin Stokes (1859-1942) is a name that is all but forgotten except to those who are well-versed in the history of the Theosophical Society. A most unusual man who came from a prominent Eastern family, entered upon a successful career as a chemist In the U.S. Geological Survey and Bureau of Standards, served as President of the Chemical Society of Washington, D.C., abandoned his profession at the relatively early age of forty-nine to devote himself first to a small occultist organization in nation's capital and later to the Theosophical Society (Adyar), became an outspoken opponent to prison abuses and advocate of parole reform and prisoner aid, Dr. Stokes is vaguely remembered today not for the above but for his scabrous and trenchant comments on the leaders of the T.S., most notably Mrs. Annie Besant and Charles Webster Leadbeater, that appeared in his periodical, the O.E. LIBRARY CRITIC. The present paper will discuss his life as reconstructed from his private correspondence.

SHARMA, ARVIND, University of Sydney, (Panel: Hinduism and Tolerance)
"On Tolerating the Intolerants: Hindu Perspectives"
A religious tradition which tends towards tolerance both internally and externally may, at some point, come fact to face with the Intolerable and be forced to define the limits of tolerance both within and without. Internally, it may need to pronounce on the ethical value of certain practices e.g. animal-sacrifice, sati etc. Externally, it may need to define its attitude towards other religion on issues such as proselytization, use of the State as an arm of religion etc. This paper will examine whether Hindus face the need to define the limits of tolerance at the present and if so, where should the line be drawn and why.

SHRESTHA, MOHAN N., Bowling Green State University, (Panel: South Asia Geography: Changing Trends & Patterns II)
"Rural-Urban Migration Pattern in Nepal"
Migration in Nepal is as old as the history of its people, but the magnitude and the direction have changed in response to the environment and the socio-economic opportunities available in the country. Since the latter part of the 1950s rural to rural migration has been very intensified. The rural-urban migration, however, has remained low in the relation to the total migration in the country. The level of urbanization and the rural-urban migration both have increased but they have remained very low in comparison with other South Asian countries. Not only the urban population has grown within these years, but also the numbers of urban centers has increased. Much of these changes have occurred in the southern lowland near the foothills of the Himalayas and the Indian border. These urban centers are the major points in the north-south road networks and they work as major doorways to the northern Hill and Mountain regions.

SIEGEL, LEE A., University of Hawaii, (Panel: Transgressive Sacrality)
"The Laughter of Kama: Religious Satire in Sanskrit Literature"
The paper examines the contexts and contents, the forms and functions, of religious satire in Sanskrit literature: contexts—a historical and developmental overview of the satirical mode form its roots in epistemological and magical curse through the Sanskrit fardas of the 10th century; contents—typology of the satirical form; the satirical figure as a satirical persona throughout the text; the narrative and dramatic elements; the rationalization of the satirical persona through rationalization of the satirical persona; the social function of satire (the transformation of the satiric object), and the construction of its psychological functions (the weakening of in the protection of the potential victims of those objects), culminating in the argument that the true function of satire is aesthetic, that although satire points out vice and folly, its justification on the grounds that it changes social conditions or helps people deal with corruption, is a more rationalization of its most primary aim which is—in quite simply—to be funny.

SINGH, IJOBAL, University of Chicago, (Panel: Conflict and Regional Cooperation in South Asia)
"Dynamics of Super Power Strategic Posturing In South Asia"
In the Indian Ocean the diversity of ethnic-religious and cultural compositions of the littoral nations, conditions of abject poverty and abounding affluence; the demographic explosion; the relative smallness of many states and the resultant dependence on outside help; mutual rivalries over colonial borders; food deficiency in certain areas; communal tensions and others similar factors will continue to create conditions which will encourage outside interference and manipulation. These circumstances constitute the matrix for super-power strategic posturing and rivalry. The region is likely to experience an improved and more effective Soviet naval presence, though its capability to sustain a prolonged naval action will remain limited in the foreseeable future. The U.S. will continue to strengthen its presence in the area around Diego Garcia and other bases under construction in the region. Regional powers like Iran, Pakistan, Indonesia, China and Indonesia are likely to strengthen their navies to a limited degree without any significant influence on the super-power presence in the area. The prospects of the Indian Ocean becoming a Zone of Peace, notwithstanding SAARC, are bleak in the foreseeable future.
SONNLEITNER, Dr. MICHAEL S., University of Northern Iowa, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Selected Series of Recent Research Topics)

"Gandhian Satyagraha & Swaraj: A Hierarchical Perspective"
While Gandhian "satyagraha" (nonviolent resistance) and "swaraj" (self-rule) have received considerable scholarly attention, the intimate relationship between the two concepts has not been analyzed as fully as it deserves. This paper, partially derived from a forthcoming book on Gandhian (Hindu) hierarchical perspective, in order to be well-understood. This paper shows how each concept is closely related to the other on at least three levels of understanding. On each of these levels, moreover, it is crucial to see how Gandhi's spiritual goal of "moksha" (liberation) is reflected in his political goals (under swaraj) that are to be obtained by means of satyagrah.

STEWART, TONY K., North Carolina State University, (Panel: Courtiers & Kings: Tales of Wit & Power)
"Courtly Humor and Peasant Wit in Medieval Bengal: King Krsnacandra and Jester Gopal Bha"
While the Akbar-Birbal stories spread throughout northern India, the Bengali literature of the medieval period yields no such tradition; what it does offer is a possible analog to this cycle in the tales of the eighteenth century ruler of Nadia, Raja Krsnacandra, and his court jester and jester, Gopal Bha. Limited to oral tradition until the nineteenth century, these stories are arguably the oldest known form of specifically Bengali humor. The shorter tales or anecdotes often illustrate the absolute rudeness of those with power, especially the petty, with Gopal demonstrating a preferred mean for putting such obnoxious characters in their place. The longer stories, which revolve around the daring exercise of his analytic skills and sharp tongue, take two decidedly different turns: Gopal's execution of tests, tasks, or questions put to him by his master Krsnacandra or other dignitaries (often to their embarrassment); and Gopal's extensive sexual escapades. The always favorable outcome of both of these encounters elevates his status in court and the world, while allowing him to maintain his openly valued hedonistic lifestyle. The obvious appeal would seem to be in the triumph of the little man—the historical Gopal is reputed to have been born a barber—who lives literally by nothing other than his own wit and thinking. While the historicality of Gopal's actual escapades can never be verified, the self-deprecating humor and carefree attitude of Gopal Bha is a natural counter to the weightiness of the nava-nyaya-centered brahman-dominated sub-culture of Nadia in a predominantly Muslim Bengal, with every dimension of both worlds eventually falling prey to his acerbic wit.

STODDARD, ROBERT H., University of Nebraska, (Panel: South Asian Geography: Changing Trends & Patterns I)
"Regionalization and Regionalism In Sri Lanka"
The "ethnic problem" in Sri Lanka today refers primarily to the demand by some Tamil groups for greater autonomy. Much of the current controversy focuses on the degree of autonomy that the various contending groups are willing to accept, such as a separate nation or devolution within the existing state. The issue also involves the delineation of territories and decisions about the criteria applied for establishing boundaries. Regionalization procedures applied to recognized census data can produce various "objective" results, as demonstrated in this paper. However, it is acknowledged that emotional feelings of regionalism are also important in setting boundary disputes.

TOOMEY, PAUL M., (Panel: The Cultural Construction of Emotion In South Asia)
"Bhava as the Relation of the Seen to the Unseen In Braj Pilgrimage"
This paper examines the role of bhava, or culturally constructed emotions, in shaping and defining the nature and importance given visual aspects of worship in three pilgrimage traditions at Mount Govardhan (U.P.); two of these traditions are sectarian, the other popular or nonsectarian. Earlier studies of South Asian pilgrimage focus on sacred geography and the ranking of sites by levels of increasing sanctity within this sacred space. In this paper, I hope to broach the investigation to include not only sacred space—Braj towns, their natural environs, temples, and shrines—but other aspects of visual worship, such as those associated with temple ritual and dance performances. The paper offers an experiential model of pilgrimage and its attendant visual practices that has its foundations in emotional states operative in the minds of individuals and in the ideologies of the wider socio-cultural institutions, such as sects, to which these individuals belong. Using pilgrims' statements and evidence from Krishiutsa guidebooks and other texts, I intend to show that emotion is defined differently in each tradition, and, and may vary even within a single tradition with the devotional outlook, emotional intensity, and or, literacy of practitioners. In Krishiutsa ideology and practice, the visual is woven synthesetically with other auditory and sensory modes of worship; all of which are structured through the idiom of emotion. The tension between SEEN and UNSEEN aspects of reality is implicit in this ideology; where one shades into the other is perceived from the standpoint of emotional experience. An individual, for instance, "sees" in tune with what he feels at a particular point in time; a sect or wider tradition, through the emotions that it demands requisite to visitaion and worship at a particular Braj locality as that place is defined in sectarian lore.

TYAGI, ADITYA K., Dept. of Anthropology, Syracuse University, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics)
"Rickshaw pullers as guides and Mediators: Informal agents in the Indian tourist Industry"
This paper focuses on the role of rickshaw pullers in the tourist system in India. In the partial absence of formal institutions to take care of the needs of individual travelers, the rickshaw pullers by virtue of their knowledge of the area, and their understanding of the tourists, contribute to the maintenance and perpetuation of the tourist system. In addition to their conventional role in transport, they have assumed the role of guides and mediator between tourists and tourist products, e.g., sights (cultural artifacts), shops, hotels, and restaurants, etc. This paper will demonstrate that rickshaw pullers not only maintain the system, but make it more dynamic, expanding it continuously by 'marking' new sights, to meet the needs and curiosities of the specific tourists. This paper is based on data from field work in India during 1984-85.

VISUALINGAM, DR. ELIZABETH-CHALIER, Benaras Hindu University, & Univ. of Nanterre (Panel: Transgressive SACRILITY IN HINDUISM, Part I)
"Bhadrakali's royal Brahminicide and the problem of the Mahabrahmanas"
Bhadrakali's conflicting identities of policeman, untouchable criminal, scapegoat, sacrificial stake and king,
especially at Kasi socio-religious centre of Hinduism, and the bewildering complexities of his (and related) cult(s) are derived from the dialectic of transgressive sacrality that finds its most condensed expression in his Brahminic origin-myth. With Brahma's decapitated fifth-head, the "marginal" Kapilaka-Bhalrava has inherited the central role of the transgressive diksita, who regressed through his initiatic death into the embryonic realm of Varuna to reclaim the rejuvenating potential of the hidden Agni-Soma of the pre-classical Vedas sacrality. Having inherited his Brahminic lines from the royal inda, Bhalrava is at the same time sacrificer, victim and sacrificial stake/axis mundi identified with the susanna through which he surmounts his human condition. Ultimately, Brahma and Bhalrava, like the king-vidusaka couple, are only the two poles of the single universalizing dialectical figure of the royal Mahabrahmana. Through his transgressive otherness, the dyanisic Bhalrava has on the one hand been instrumental in the Hinduization of tribal divinities (natur) and on the other hand has been promoted by Abhinavagupta, with the complicity of the apollonian Vaisnava, to the suprememost Absolute of Hindu metaphysics (culture).

VISUALISING, DR. SANTHAR, Banaras Hindu Uny, & Uny. of Nantore (Panel: Transgressive Sacrality In the Hindu Tradition)

"Transgressive Sacrality in the Hindu Tradition"

Defining the dialectic of Transgressive Sacrality in opposition to and as inclusive of the otherwise mutually exclusive categories of profanity, interdictory sacrality and heresy, the unity of this submerged discourse of the Hindu tradition is revealed especially through the symbolic articulation of its omnipresent manifestations in the figure of the ridiculous eehyd Yudisaka, whose very laughter signifies transgression. This perennial "inner conflict of tradition" is only the outer expression of the inner complementarity of the two opposing "ascending" and "descending" modes of spiritual realization later theorized by Abhinavagupta but having its root in the "sanacric" pre-classical diksita, who is the model not only of the scapesgot jambaka and the deformed clown but also of other figures like the divinized brahman ganas, the untouchable trickster Kattvarayan, the crazy ascetic Pasupata, the royal purohit and criminal militant Kapalika. By dissolving the ethicorational humanistic idealization of Vishnu-Skanda and sacralizing the meeting-ground of the counter-sciences of anthropology, psychoanalysis and linguistics, this problematic can not only transcend our traditional ethniccenterism(s) but also provide a fuller appreciation of the postaxial prolongations of the mythico-ritual pre-axial age and even perhaps of the neolithic "primaordial Tradition".

WADLEY, SUSAN S., Syracuse University, (Panel: spirits and Voices In India Songs)

"And Reja Nel Said": Voices In an Indian Epic

Although an epic tradition is by definition song, the voices of Indian epic are expressed in both song and prose. Using evidence from Dhola, an epic sung in western U.P. and eastern Rajastan, the voices of epic characters are examined in both song and prose. As a complex symbolic code, song carries very different meanings than does prose. As he constructs his epic anew in each performance, the epic singer gives new meaning to his epic characters and epic world through his creative choice of song and prose. This paper focuses on these choices and their meanings.

WANIMAL, SUDHIR, International Food Policy Research Institute, (Panel: South Asian Geography: Changing Trends and Patterns)

"Service Linkages at the Regional and Household Levels: A Study of North Arcot Region, India"

The study is based on the analysis of data collected from 579 settlements and 345 households about the provision and use of 134 services in North Arcot region, Tamil Nadu, India. The regional patterns of provision and use of services are noted with particular reference to (1) centrality and hierarchy of settlements, (2) services related to the settlement characteristics; (3) incidence of services; and (4) median population thresholds of services. The household patterns of service use are discussed in the context of frequency of use of services and the distance travelled to services; socio-economic status of households; and the degree of service use. Some causal relationships between use of services and other socio-economic variables as well as distance are examined. Implications for research and policy are noted.

WHITE, DAVID G., University of Virginia, (Panel: Transgressive Sacrality)

"Dogs, Dice and Death in Ancient India"

A bizarre ritual injunction calling for the sacrifice of a four-eyed dog (catwarka sva) at the beginning of the year-long avamsa rite (Ttattvika Brahmana 3.6.4-5; Baudhayana Srauta Sutra 1.3.4-6; Astambha Srauta Sutra 20.3.6-14, etc.) has puzzled commentators and scholars for millennia. Strating from the hypothesis that the Second member of this compound (alsa) may mean "die/dice" as well as "eye", it is argued that this dog sacrifice is a symbolic enactment of a royal dice game. Since diceing itself is a form of combat and conquest, the ritual killing of a rival prince's gamblers (gambara-gambara, "dog-killer") winning four-throw (catwarka) was a "magical" means to warding off peeman ("stain, injury, evil luck"), danger, defeat or death during the royal horse's year of wandering and conquest.

WRIGHT, THEODORO P., JR., SUNY-Albany, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: Selected Recent Research Topics)

"The Shahbanu Begum Case: Muslim Personal Law Reform by Courts vs. Legislature in India"

Proposer: To examine the so-called "Muslim Personal Law Reform by Courts vs. Legislature in India" Proposer: To examine the so-called "Muslim Personal Law Reform by Courts vs. Legislature in India" Proposer: To examine the so-called "Muslim Personal Law Reform by Courts vs. Legislature in India" Proposer: To examine the so-called "Muslim Personal Law Reform by Courts vs. Legislature in India" Proposer: To examine the so-called "Muslim Personal Law Reform by Courts vs. Legislature in India" Proposer: To examine the so-called "Muslim Personal Law Reform by Courts vs. Legislature in India"

"The Shahbanu Begum Case: Muslim Personal Law Reform by Courts vs. Legislature in India"

It is proposed to examine the politics of this strategy and to consider some of the implications for India and its Muslim minority in the light of the outcome of the American strategy of reform by judiciary. I shall also consider whether a "gender gap" within the Muslim community has appeared over this case, cutting across the above categories.

YOUNG, KATHERINE, McGill University, (Panel: Hinduism and Tolerance)

"Tolerance on the Agenda: A New Approach to the Tamil Epic Cilappatikaram"
This paper argues that classical Indian society fostered a pragmatic ethos of tolerance which was successful, both because it adjusted to the realities of political violence and religious proselytism, but also because it sought to insulate limits for these activities. A fresh study of the Tamil epic, Cilappatikaram, will illustrate some of the diagnostic features of tolerance as well as shed light on some hitherto unexplored aspects of the epic itself.

ZIFFREN, ABBIE, University of Wisconsin-Madison, (Panel: The South Asian Landscape: A Series of Selected Recent Research Topics)

"Siva and the Astronaut: An Examination of Dravidian Movement Influence Today"
The rationalist, reformist Dravidian movement has been a major force in shaping the political, social and religious lives of the Tamil people of South India for more than 60 years. Charismatic figures have challenged the very core of pan-Indian assumptions about deities, karma, samsara, sacred time, and sacred space. This paper, based on interviews and observations made while researching a related topic, is a preliminary attempt to raise questions about the ways in which Tamil Hindus have incorporated some Dravidianist tenets while bypassing others. In the private realm, which traditional practices and beliefs have remained most impervious to rationalist attacks? How do movement adherents who are close to tradition rationalize their apparent reinterpretation of movement principles? Have people who do not identify with the movement also been influenced—even Brahmans? In the public realm, where might movement successes and setbacks be found? There is evidence to suggest that this anti-religious movement has itself served as a religion in some respects, and that, like the founders of other religions, Dravidianist initiators might be shocked, if not horrified, at the practices and beliefs with which their cause has become associated.