ABSTRACTS

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SOUTH ASIAN AREA CENTER
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON
ADAMS, JOHN, University of Maryland, (Panel: Issues in Economic Development)
"Conundrums of Growth in South Asia: High Savings, Low Growth in India: Low Savings, High Growth in Pakistan"
India has become a high savings country; over 23 percent of national income is saved. This is unusually high for a poor country. In the 1970s and early 1980s India's income growth was about 4%, very low for a country with this savings rate. Pakistan's is a low savings country, with only about 8% of income being saved. But Pakistan has grown about over 6% per year in the past 15 years. Experts criticize India for inefficient operation of the economy, especially in public sector enterprises. Pakistan's confounds the experts who tell Pakistan to save more. This paper will assess these trends and offer explanations for the anomalous results—the conundrums of the title. The tentative propositions are that (1) India is beginning to grow faster and that no major policy change is needed and (2) the Pakistan is in fact going to have to save a bit more and invest a bit more if it wants to continue growing as quickly. The experts are criticized for overreacting to the profiles of each country—small, not large, policy adjustments are required. The paper concludes by conjecturing about the future trends of growth in the two countries.

AGHA, ASIF, Chicago, Illinois, (Panel: Omnibus)
"Basic and Derived categories in Urdu-Hindi Complex Predicates"
The serial verb construction in Urdu-Hindi is an extremely rich and supple construction type which allows for the signalling of a number of types of meaning: these semantic reflexes have variously been described as 'conation', 'completion', 'result', 'inadvertance', 'discovery of new information', 'inception', etc.; but these meanings have not in any way been related to each other or explained in a systematic fashion. Such a systematic account becomes possible, if starting from an analysis of the basic constituency of this class of constructions, we factor in the aktionsart and predicate frame characteristics (i.e. no. of arguments, inventory of case-relations, and predicate perspective on arguments) of the verb stems forming the compound verb construction. In this way, the combinatoric possibilities of these stems can be accounted for and a great many derivative meanings can be explained as the consequences of the combination of these basic categories.

AGRAWAL, C.M., Kumaun University, (Panel: Kumaon: Past and Present)
"Some Aspects of Diplomatic Relations Between Kumaun and the Mughal Darbar"
The present paper purports to highlight as to how a chieftainship in a marginal area, such as Kumaon, strove to maintain its politico-economic and cultural identity against the Imperialistic designs of the Mughals. In the course of roughly 140 years (from the time of Rudra Chandra - 1568-1597 A.D., to Janna Chandra - 1698-1708 A.D.) the politically farsighted Kumaoni rulers successfully tackled this stupendous task in a very diplomatic manner, such as paying personal visits to the Mughal Darbar, presentation of precious gifts, etc. In return, the Mughals not only allowed the Kumaoni chiefs to maintain their independent identity but also helped them in critical times. The long and continued friendly relations of the Kumaoni kings with the Mughal emperors created a great stir and brought various changes in the social, economic and political spheres of Kumaoni society. Epigraphic evidence shows as to how technical Persian words were used in the Chandra records. In economic sphere local trade and commerce prospered considerably during this period as is evident from the fact that Kumaon is noted for its several products in the A'n. The diplomatic
approach of Kumaoni kings was practiced and according to the needs of the hour. They had to survive and maintain their independent identity in the teeth of their warring neighbours. To successfully meet this critical situation the Kumaoni kings adopted a very wise practical and diplomatic approach by adopting the policy of reconciliation and submission towards the Mughals and of blood and iron towards the weaker neighbouring adversaries.

AHMED, ANSARUDDIN, Rochester, New York, (Panel: Issues in Economic Development)
"Urbanization in the Less Developed Nations: Population Growth Versus Industrial Growth"
By the year 2000 the majority of the world's urban population will once again reside in Asia, and in a sense regain the feature the continent had prior to the Industrial Revolution in the west. However, unlike before, this feature presents us with negative issues that need immediate attention. In recent history, the phenomenon of urbanization has been linked to industrial growth. Although cities themselves have roots in the advanced agricultural societies, today we stereotype the growth of the urban area to complement the growth of the industrial sector. We must certainly accept that the type of economic orientation is a veritable factor in the determination of urban growth. At the same time, we know that factors like the massive concentrations of population also result in rapid urban growth. The need to support a growing population demands a change in the economic orientations of individuals, and this is forcefully accomplished by migrating to urban areas. We can hypothesize that urbanization in South Asia is a direct consequence of the attempt to resolve population problems. One of the most popular methods of accommodating the growing population is to adopt new technology in the primate cities, and which results in the creation of occupational types (e.g. South Korea). How has this affected the dynamics of social change in LDCs, where industrial growth generally lags behind population growth? This paper examines the implications of urbanization in South Asia, and looks at the factors that affect such a phenomenon. A conceptual framework based on both the Modernization and the Dependency Theories linking the philosophy of social change and the orientation choice of nations is also discussed.

AHMED, RAFIQUE, University of Wisconsin-LaCrosse, (Panel: Contemporary Geographical Themes in South Asia)
"A Contemporary Geography of Bangladesh: A Slide Presentation"
Bangladesh is in a unique cross-road of development (or underdevelopment). The country sits on one of the richest soils in the world, yet it is one of the poorest countries of the world. The urban life and economy made some progress during the last two decades. But the rural economy of the country has declined substantially. On one hand the country is trying hard to keep pace with the development of the western world. But on the other hand it is falling behind because of very limited resources to be shared by too huge a population. The economic activities of the country are intricately related to available resources and the exploitation of the abundant supply of human labor. The slides taken during the summer of 1989 will depict the various facets of the economic activities, life, culture and tradition of Bangladesh.
BASU, PRASANTA KUMAR, Univ. of Toronto, (Panel: Jawaharlal Nehru: Scholar, Diplomat, Statesman, Ideologue, Visionary, . . .)
"Jawaharlal Nehru and Rabindranath Tagore: Similarity of Their Outlooks"
It is not generally known how close Jawaharlal was to Rabindranath. Jawaharlal’s mind was profoundly in tune with that of Tagore’s, although Nehru’s activities were immensely influenced by Mahatma Gandhi. Similarity of their outlooks were manifested at many levels. Both of them were perfect gentlemen. Temperamentally, Nehru and Tagore were poetic but at the same time they were logical in thinking. Both practised humanism in its true sense. Both were theist in their earlier life but agnostic later. Nehru and Tagore had great understanding and respect for India’s past while they were truly international in their attitude. Both strongly believed that science and technology were indispensable for human progress. Both were uncompromisingly antifascist and anti-colonialist, and both supported the positive aspects of socialism. Neither of them believed in violence. Their ideas on education, community development and village upliftment were similar. Both were staunch supporters of communal harmony, multiculturalism and personal freedom. Jawaharlal’s regard for Tagore was so great that until his death, Jawaharlal worked diligently as the Chancellor for improvement of the University of Bisva-Bharati at Santiniketan, founded by Rabindranath. The author would attempt to depict the intimate relationship between Jawaharlal and Rabindranath using examples from their own writings.

BENARD, ELISABETH, College of Wooster, (Panel: Recent Research in Himalayan and Nepal Studies)
"Origin of Chinnamasta"
Chinnamasta is a Buddhist and Hindu Tantric deity found in Tibet, Nepal, and northern India, primarily in Bengal, Bihar, and Himachal Pradesh states. Though she has been worshipped, at least, since the tenth century she remains shrouded in mystery. Who is this goddess, what does her iconography symbolize, and where does she come from? In this paper I shall elaborate on the latter question--what is Chinnamasta’s origin, as well as, was she originally Buddhist or Hindu. Considering archaeological, artistic, and textual evidences, I have concluded the earliest proof is textual--primarily from Tibetan Buddhist sadhanas and the Bengali Saka Mahabhagavata Purana. The principal articles on Chinnamasta’s origin have been written by Benyotosh Bhattacharyya who formulated the theory that some Hindu deities were originally Buddhist. He based his theory on evidence from the Sadhanamala but he never investigated the Tibetan nor the Nepalese sources. I shall discuss B. Bhattacharyya’s theory and others vis a vis the manuscripts recently found in Nepal and the sadhanas in the Tibetan Tengyur.

BHANSALI, KRISH, Mississippi State, (Panel: Omnibus)
"Two Views of Afghanistan After the Soviet Withdrawal, March 1989"
According to the theory of international relations there are three levels of analyzing international reality. One of them is the decision making level which contends that the policy makers’ perceptions of international reality shapes the policy of a nation. In my paper I would examine the perceptions of decision makers of India and the U.S., and explain why the perceptions of these two countries about Afghanistan diverge after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops in March 1989.
BHARGAVA, ASHOK, University of Wisconsin-Whitewater (Panel: August 15, 1947: The Politics and Rituals of India's "Appointed Day")
"15 August 1947: The State of India's Political Economy"
India's economic development since 1947 has been studied extensively. Recently there has been some interest in looking at the historical context of India's development effort, because many of the theories of development and prescriptions for development have been to be based on false assumptions about the developing countries. This paper is in this line of research. In the paper we will outline India’s political economy at Independence including the disruptions caused by the partition of the country (for instance all the Jute mills were in Calcutta, but the jute growing areas went to East Pakistan - now Bangladesh) and the different strands of thinking about the political economy. We will examine the roles of the multinationals, the British business classes, the Indian business classes, the masses and Indian political leaders. This analysis will be used to draw conclusions about the developments of the past 4 decades and policies for the future.

BHATTACHARYYA, ANJAN KUMAR, Calcutta, India (Panel: Omnibus)
"On the Origin of the Concept of Metric System of Weights and Measures"
The units used in measuring length, area, volume, etc., in all the countries are now-a-days defined by reference to the "international metric system" of units. The metric unit of length is the meter and that of area is square meter, of volume, the cubic-meter; and the metric measure of mass is the Kilogram. All metric-system measurements are related to each other by powers of ten. In France, the Paris Academy of Sciences in the late 18th Century established the meter and Kilogram as the standard units for measurement of length and mass respectively. This is, at present, considered as the beginning of the metric system of measurement. But, from a careful study of Kautilya's Arthasastra, it appears that in his days, (about 300 B.C.) goods were weighed as 10 pals, 20 pals, 30 pals ... 100 pals. For more than 100 pals, goods were weighed as 100; 120; 150; 200; 300; 400 pals ... upto 2000 pals. It is clear, therefore, that they used the decimal method which is the essence of metric system. So, it can be said that the basic concept of the metric system of weights and measures did prevail in Ancient India since they measured in multiples of ten.

BHATTACHARYYA, ASIT KUMAR, Korak, (Panel: Omnibus)
"A Modernist Rebel: Krishnakamal Bhattacharya"
This paper relates to Krishnakamal Bhattacharya (1840-1932) an uncompromising modernist of 19th century Bengal renaissance. The movement can be seen as the growing integration of the World Community on Universalist Value premises of the enlightenment built on the science based technology of the industrial revolution. The Bengal renaissance remains a significant example of socio-cultural interaction between a modern and a traditional culture in the context of colonial India. We see a positive interaction between two cultures with increasing adoption of the Universalist values of the enlightenment by an old culture, aware of its own great tradition. The process got interrupted with the growth of ethnicity from 1880s. The life of Krishnakamal throws into sharp focus this aspect of the Bengal renaissance. A renowned Sanskrit Scholar, he had found the great tradition inadequate and came to espouse the Positivism of Comte whom he had studied in the original. Senior Professor of Bengali in the Presidency College Calcutta at 22, he was also the first writer of modern romance in the language (1857). His Bengali translation of the romantic idyll Paul et
Virginie from the original won him high praise from Tagore who however did not mention the author by name. Krishnakamal lived in sin openly and this kept him at a distance from gentry society. He turned back on creative literature and established himself as an authority of Hindu law. His lifestyle combined with his stress on material progress with abolition of mass poverty, scorn for Hindu claims to spirituality, condemnation of the treatment meted out to women and anger at the distortions of positivist doctrines under pressures of the rising tide of Hindu ethnicity, led to his isolation. Few noticed his passing away in 1932 when ethnic resurgence held the away. He is being rediscovered only now.

"Muhammad Iqbal and the 19th Century Muslim Revival"
My presentation will be a study of Iqbal’s views as reflected in his religious writings-his books and essays, not poetry. I shall consider ways in which his views were representative of traditional Muslim ones, and how they were colored by his studies in Cambridge and Germany. Among items to be taken up will be his concept of Allan, his definition of religion, his view of man and human nature, his analysis of contemporary society, and the relevance of Islam to the modern world.

BISHOP, NAOMI H., University of Massachusetts-Boston, (Panel: National Parks as a Response to the Environmental Crisis in Nepal)
"National Parks and People: Living in the Langtang National Park"
The Langtang National Park is in its twentieth year, yet it was only implemented in the Helambu valley (Sindu Palchowk district) during the past three years. Research in a Helambu village during winter 1989 resulted in observations of the early period of adjustment to life in a National Park. This paper focuses on a single village and views the adjustment to the rules and regulations of the National Park as one facet of a shift toward greater contact with and participation in the national affairs of Nepal. The policies of the National Park have an impact on the livelihood of villagers, through regulations involving transhumant herding, collection of firewood, fodder and building materials, and regulation of interactions with tourists, to name a few. This paper discusses the real, imagined, and anticipated impact of these regulations in this village, in light of the rapid social changes that are occurring independently of the National Park presence.

"15 August 1947: Labour's Parting Gift to India"
To date the constitutional settlement of the Indian Question reached on 15 August 1947 is taken somewhat for granted. Nowhere is it seriously apprehended in the scholarship that the subcontinent's political architecture and intermediate future could have been anything other than were actually manifested when the 'tryst', which Nehru proclaimed had once been made with 'destiny', arrived. This is largely because British decolonisation is conventionally attributed to a number of indivisible, overriding determinants. Currently on offer are the debilitating impact of military and economic decline, self-interested discarding of costly commitments and helpless if unpattered reaction to colonial pressure. In short the ideological factor no longer figures in popular equations
of British disengagement from India. For the most part Britain's transfer of power emerges as a wholly disfigured commodity, unpremeditated, unpreventable, unplanned and not unusually unprincipled. Since Socialists tend now to be treated a Tories in disguise in the wake of J.A. Gallagher's cynical theory of 'interpenetration', the fact that a Labour Government superintended the dismantling of the raj is considered largely incidental. Indeed Labour is frequently removed from the relevant vocabulary altogether. There are several things wrong with the ledger as it stands. The fundamental deficiency is the general failure to credit the Labour Government with either the insight or the invention of key mechanisms both of which served to unlock the Indian problem in the August format. And compounding this mistake is the ensuing miscalculation that Labour's helmmsmanship counted ultimately for nothing. This paper presents the case that the revolutionary scenario displayed on 15 August 1947 was Labour's parting and by no means paltry or immaterial gift to India. Beckoning the sub-continent were other much less salutary and by no means fanciful scenarios. It is contended that had either Wavell's still vaunted 'Breakdown' plan been resorted to or had Winston Churchill's Conservative party implemented its policy not only would the process of withdrawal have been different but also any resemblance to the August settlement would have been purely coincidental. Balkanisation would have been given a stimulus in the former course and the creation of several Ulsters, in an Irish formula writ large, would have attended the latter. Suffice it to say that if independence could not have been prevented indefinitely, its type might well have depended on its timing, shape and totality.

BROMBERG, CAROL A., Wayne State University, (Panel: Gandhara and the Art of the Silk Route) "Gandhara and Miran"
The third- to fourth-century wall paintings at the Buddhist site of Miran, in Chinese Turkestan, have been described as the easternmost extension of Gandharan art. Not only traditional Buddhist scenes but those which depict such classical themes as putti supporting a garland have been attributed to the influence of the Kushan art that flourished in present-day Afghanistan and northwest India in this period and several centuries earlier and acted as a filter for the diffusion of both classical and Iranian art. Nowhere is a mix of Greco-Roman, and Iranian, and Indian elements more striking than in the putti and garland scene painted on the walls of the ambulatory that surrounds one of the Miran stupas. In the Miran version of the theme so popular in Kushan religious and secular art, a chubby amorino, his hair arranged in an Indian topknot and his only clothing a loincloth, alternates as a garland carrier with a slender youth in a sleeved vest who sports a Phrygian cap complete with floppy peak and lappets. Framed by the loops of the garland are busts of women who bring gifts of music, food, or drink. The males shown in the loops, who may hold a goblet, patera, or fruit, have a decidedly Iranian aspect, some shown with luxuriant heads of curly dark hair, heavy beards, and moustaches and others with ah and raised in a gesture of respect that is used on Sasanian dynastic reliefs.

BROWER, BARBARA, University of Texas-Austin, (Panel: National Parks as a Response to the Environmental Crisis in Nepal) "Managing Environmental Crisis in Sagarmatha National Park"
A widely shared perception of acute environmental crisis in Khumbu Himal led western-trained resource managers to join His Majesty's Government of Nepal in the planning, establishment, and
ongoing management of Sagarmatha (Mt Everest) National Park. An underlying sense of urgency led the park’s planners to a hasty imposition of imported management ideology and technique. Park planning and management, predicated on an apparently erroneous assessment of the nature, degree, and pace of environmental deterioration in Khumbu, initially both failed to address actual environmental problems in the park and undermined indigenous practices of resource management.

BURKE, B. DAVID, Columbia, Missouri, (Panel: Omnibus)
"Temporality, Substance, Liberation in Nyaya-Vaiśesika and Buddhism"
For Nyaya-Vaiśesika philosophers, liberation (moksa) is achieved when, through adherence to one’s moral obligations (dharma) and the acquisition of liberation knowledge coupled with proper yogic practices, the soul or atman is realized in its pristine purity. Upon the wearing down of the soul’s external embodiment, as a potter’s wheel slowly revolves to a complete stop, the liberated soul will never again be trapped in the cycle of rebirths (samsara). Self-realization is a necessary but not sufficient condition for release. Early Buddhism appears to reject this thesis. Instead of discussions of the soul (atman), Gautama the Buddha concentrated his followers attention on the doctrine of anatman. 'Anatman' has commonly been translated as "no-soul" due to the negative prefix 'an-' being in conjunction with 'atman'. Scholars have generally accepted that the Buddha denied the existence of the soul or substantial self, concentrating, instead, on the components of the empirical self, e.g. the chariot parable. If this is true, then self-realization for Buddhism amounts to little more than the contention that a scientific investigation of the constituents composing our bodies yields the information that there are no ultimate building blocks. A stable atomic structure is lacking. The universe is totally dynamic, point-instants following point-instants in an orderly, not random, manner due to karman, yet no creator nor ultimate building block is accepted. Realization of the "self" leads to liberation (nirvana) only in the sense that such knowledge shows that the concepts of "self" and "liberation" are linguistic fictions which deceive and ensnare.

CAMERON, MARY M., Kathmandu, Nepal, (Panel: Omnibus)
"Selling Daughters': Caste, Gender and Marriage in Western Nepal"
With the current attention being focused on large dowry demands and their consequences for India’s women, the inverse practice of "selling daughters" (chori Betchay) poses equally important questions of its effects on the status of Nepal’s Hindu women, and the nature of patriarchy in South Asia. Receiving payment for a daughter's marriage contradicts ideals of Hindu marriage alliance and kanyadan, but economic necessity motivates this still common practice among landless and lower castes. Furthermore, the common practice of selling daughters reveals gender-based dimensions of caste identity, caste and class conflict, and recent social change. Data from marital surveys, life history interviews, and observance of pre-marital negotiations among several caste groups in Nepal's far western hills will be presented to answer such questions as: Which castes most frequently request money for their daughters at marriage, and what motivates them to do so? How are requests negotiated? Do amounts vary by caste? What is the social consensus about selling daughters? How do "sold" daughters feel about it? Does "selling daughters" constitute the anthropological equivalent of brideprice? And finally, what is the effect of such a practice on women’s future relations with their in-laws and their maiti? Since women of low caste are more economically and socially independent that their high-caste counterparts, the practice of selling daughters needs to be
considered in the larger context of the economic determinants of inter-caste variation in women's status. The practice of selling daughters in rural Nepal will be compared and contrasted to marital practices in the rest of South Asia, and will be analytically situated within the theoretical frameworks of research and literature on the social construction of gender.

CARTER, MARTHA L., Madison, Wisconsin, (Panel: Gandhara and the Art of the Silk Route)
"A Bronze Khotanese Buddha Head and Its Significance"
This gilt bronze Buddha head, 17 cm in height, is the largest work of its kind to be recovered from Xinjiang. It was found in the region of Khotan by the Otani Mission and is now in the Tokyo National Museum. Usually designated as fourth or fifth century in date, the style and details of this work bear re-examination in light of certain recent discoveries of sculpture from the Kushan period in Bactria and Gandhara. The head displays some striking anomalies, causing it to differ considerably from typical Gandharan style. An attempt will be made to link the work with new material from Soviet and other finds, and to tentatively date it within the framework of the early Buddhist art of the Silk Route.

COHEN, ANDREW, Chicago, Illinois, (Panel: Omnibus 2)
"Regional and Subregional Style in Nolambavadi"
My paper will present information derived from my recently completed dissertation "Temple Architecture and Sculpture in Nolambavadi" (University of Chicago, spring 1989). Nolambavadi (present day southeast Karnataka and portions of adjacent Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu) is the traditional name for territories administered by the Nolamba dynastic (9th to 11th centuries). Prior to my research this topic has been almost completely neglected: the one "standard" reference regarding Nolamba art is Sivaramamurti's Nolamba Sculpture in the Madras Government Museum. Sivaramamurti did not write about Nolamba art, in my opinion; rather he described ornamentation or motifs which he considered to be "Calukya" (and/or "Rastrakuta") and "Pallava" (and/or "Cola"). This outdated "atomist" approach, favored by art historians of India for generations past, and to a large extent today, requires the scholar to pursue an incessant quest for "influences." No longer is this approach to the study of Indian art history appropriate. The role of dominating, centralized powers in south India history has been re-examined by some modern scholars (c.f. Stein, Peasant and Society in Medieval South India). Sivaramamurti, and likeminded adherents, believe select large dynasties arbitrate artistic developments which are then mimicked by subsidiary dynasties in the cultural penumbra of those major dynasties. He sees a binary development in south Indian art: either a style follows the Calukya tradition, or the Pallava tradition; if not, it is a bastard admixture without independent identity. This approach, besides being inaccurate and too simplistic, does not allow one to appreciate the artistic developments in smaller regions. Because the Nolambavadi "style" lacks homogeneity, I do not make generalizations applicable to the whole region. Rather, I divide Nolambavadi into three subregions-- central Nolambavadi, eastern Nolambavadi, and southern Nolambavadi--which conform roughly to traditional territorial groupings and which coincide with stylistic divisions. I would like to present to the South Asia Conference the reasons behind my method.
DABLA, BASHIR A., University of Kashmir, (Panel: Omnibus)
"Social Implications of Change Among Women: A Study of the Kashmiri Muslim Working Women"
Women in all developing societies have undergone a certain degree of transformation leading to the change in their traditional role and status. This may be explained partly by the impact of processes of modernization, especially educational expansion, demographic transition, urbanization, industrialization, westernization and so on. As is generally believed, this change has proved helpful to the women’s situation. But, at the same time, sociological studies have revealed some aspects of change which have not proved helpful to the women’s situation. These aspects have made the change among women complex. The women in the Kashmiri Muslim society have experienced high/low degree of social change. These processes of change among women have started with solid structural/institutional basis. The new role and status of the working women in Kashmir is one of the major manifestations of these processes. Our empirical study of 200 women in the Kashmir valley, carried out during the period 1986-1988, revealed significant change in their attitudes and behaviour-patterns. While the attitude change reflected in the changing attitudes about segregation of sexes, practice of purdah, modern education, marriage customs and so on, the behavioural change manifested in changing practices/patterns of marriage, family, kinship, entertainment, inter-generational relationship and general life-style. Moreover, this change among women in Kashmir has coincided with the emergence of new problems for them in home and outside. The Kashmiri women in the traditional situation faced one set of problems like complete dependence, absolute segregation of sexes, restrictions for education, and so on. Now, in the changing situation, they faced other sets of problems like discrimination/harrassment at place of work, late marriage, generation gap and breakdown of traditional family and kinship. The changing attitudes and behaviour-patterns and emerging problems of the Muslim working women in Kashmir leads us to say that women in Kashmir pass through a stage of transition.

DEHEJIA, VIDYA, Columbia University, (Panel: The Ever-Shorter Short Chronology: Fact or Fiction?)
"Narrative modes in Ajanta Cave 17"
Cave 17 at Ajanta, considered by many as containing the finest paintings at the site, was the dedication of the feudatory ruler of the Ajanta region who, stunned by the untimely death of his brother and coming to the "consciousness of impermanence, made thereafter the great tree of religious merit grow." According to the assertions of the Short Chronology, the Cave 17 paintings were all completed within the five-year period of c.467 to c.471 A.D. Since there is more than one way that the narratives are presented in the murals of Cave 17, one can consider whether these different modes of narration existed simultaneously (as would necessarily be the case if the cave were completed in one brief burst of activity) or whether there is evidence of an evolution in the narrative approach, such as we would expect if the completion of the painting program spanned a number of decades or even more.

DES CHENE, MARY, Stanford University, (Panel: Congresses, Communities, and the Counter-Colonial Discourse In Indian Nationalism)
"Indian Nationalism, Nepali Nationalism, and the Gurkhas"
In the struggle for Indian independence the military was perceived as a critical element by both non-
violent and "revolutionary" nationalists. It was clearly vital to the continuation of British rule; conversely the support of Indian Army troops might have brought a quick, if violent, end to that rule. Efforts were made, through speeches, the dissemination of literature, and other means, to win over both serving and retired soldiers to a variety of counter-colonial causes. This paper details the arguments directed at the Gurkhas in particular and explores the nature of the communities invoked in the attempts to persuade these soldiers -- who were, after all, foreign nationals -- to join in the Indian struggle. The Gurkhas were at the same time being recruited by exiled Nepalis who sought, through political organizations inspired by Indian liberation, Indian and Nepalese, had many elements in common, yet they presented the Gurkhas with conflicting versions of "nationalism", "brotherhood" and "community". I argue that the contradictions internal to these counter-colonial discourses had an unintended consequence: they facilitated British efforts to keep the Gurkhas as a force apart from communal interests, and thus especially suited to defending the Raj.

DESIJARLAIS, ROBERT, University of California-Los Angeles, (Panel: Recent Research in Himalayan Studies: The Maintenance of Individual and Group Boundaries)
"Self, Space, and Healing Among Yolmo Sherpas"
The Yolmo Sherpa of Helambu, Nepal rely upon shamanic healers in times of sickness to recall lost souls and exorcise ghosts, demons and other malevolent forces from their bodies. Based on recent field research, this paper investigates how Yolmo healing practices are founded upon interrelations between social structure, concepts of space, and understandings of self and body. After discussing how the body is perceived spatially and metaphorically (i.e., as a house), I suggest that Sherpa understandings of self-other boundaries rest upon two complementary patterns of self-experience: on the one hand, a symbolic flow between self and environment, with life-forces, agents of illness, and thoughts and emotions seen as continuously passing through the "border" of the body, and on the other, a strong motivation to block this flow and separate self from environment through various symbolic means. This dual nature of the self can be explained by conflicts between individual and society embedded in Yolmo social life, for while the Yolmo profess a strong communal identity there also exist profound tensions between individual desire and collective action. The analysis then turns to Yolmo healing rituals to show how the above self-environment dynamic, as construed spatially, effects patients' understandings of these rites. I argue that there exists an implicit "kinetics" of healing which structures Yolmo experiences of healing transformations. Drawing upon calling, the paper concludes that the spatial movements and metaphors found in shamanic exorcisms serve to articulate, refigure and maintain boundaries of self.

DHAVAN, RAJEEV PILSARC, New Delhi, GALANTER, MARC, University of Wisconsin, Madison, VERSAILLES, MARY, University of Wisconsin, Madison (Panel: Compensation for Injury in India: Law, Ideology and Money)
"Accountability for Personal Injuries: The Failure of Tort Law in India"
This paper traces the development of tort law in India and portrays current patterns of compensation for personal injury and accidental death. Judicial attitudes toward injury and compensation are juxtaposed with analysis of quantitative data on duration, success, and recovery in personal injury claims. A data-set on tort litigation in the High Courts from 1974 to 1986 is analyzed and compared with more fragmentary data from the processing of comparable claims in Lok Adalats and forums...
conducted by voluntary groups. The basis for computing compensation is constricted and recoveries are small. Neither judicial views nor litigation and recovery patterns have evidenced change in recent years.

**DIDI, RASHEEDA M., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (Panel: SAARC)**

"SAARC: How Functional is It?"

**Introduction:** Although South Asia has been described as a 'region without regionalism', with the formation of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, feeble efforts were begun at some kind of cooperation. In a region with so much cultural, ideological and ethnic diversity, it is no surprise that a strong regional identity had been absent. **Regionalism:** Given the hostile Indo-Pakistani relations the idea of regional cooperation was the furthest thing on any country's mind. Therefore, it was after the emergence of Bangladesh in 1971 and the conclusion of the Simla Accord that such an idea was seriously formed. The idea was initiated by the then President of Bangladesh, Ziaur Rahman. There were several factors influencing the acceptance of such a proposal—the most important, perhaps, being the super power rivalry in the region following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December, 1979. Another factor was India's perception of a Pakistan-US-China axis, while Pakistan hoped that the cooperation might reduce the intensity of Indo-Soviet collusion aimed at the integrity of Pakistan. **India's Role:** Contrary to the popular fear India's dominance in the cooperation, so far, has been purely that of its size and population rather than actual exertion of power. Yet, its potential is feared by the smaller countries in the region. One reason for the fear is its stand on the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. **Cooperation:** Up to now cooperation has been in areas which are non-controversial and peripheral other than real political issues. These include broad areas such as Agriculture, Health, Forestry etc. Even economic co-operation is dictated so heavily by political constraints that it may be hard to exploit the region's potential. Therefore, economic co-operation is also minimal. However, in spite of the avoidance of bilateral contentious issues, behind the scenes discussions on some minor political issues have been carried out amongst the countries during SAARC summits and other meetings. **Future of SAARC:** Given the above situation, it does not seem possible that major areas of co-operation will be established in the near future.

**DONALDSON, THOMAS, Cleveland State University, (Panel: Omnibus)**

"The Sava-Vahana as Purusa in Orissan Images: Camunda to Kali/Tara"

The horrific nature of the Devi in Indian art and literature is particularly evident when she is depicted in a cemetery setting either standing/dancing or sitting on a corpse (sava). Invariably the Devi in this horrific form is either Camunda or Mahavidya Kali, both of whom are intimately associated with Bhairava/ Mahakala, Siva in his terrific form. Whereas textual accounts identify the corpse beneath Kali as the inert Siva or Purusa (cosmic man), the identity of the corpse beneath Camunda is not specified and it is frequently interpreted by scholars as being merely a preta (ghost) or a nara (man). It is thus suggested that the concept of Kali standing or sitting on Siva, frequently engaging in inverse congress, evolves from Vajrayana Buddhism where various Buddhist deities stand on/or trample Hindu deities. The earliest textual reference identifying the corpse as Siva, however, does not appear prior to the 14th century while sculptural representations are even later in date. It seems more plausible that the corpse as (Siva/Purusa beneath Kali evolves from the earlier motif
of Camunda seated/dancing on a corpse. This is confirmed by a detailed study of Orissan image which demonstrate a gradual transformation of the corpse from a dead/sleeping warrior/asura into a nude rsi/yogi who is invariably awake and looks up at Camunda in adoration. Although basically anonymous, the corpse is symbolically conceived as Purusa while the cemetery setting represents Mahapralaya, the Great Dissolution in which all creatures are merged as corpses, whereas Camunda, like Kali, represents Prakrti, the activating principle. This symbolism is especially evident when the stalk of the lotus supporting Camunda issues from the navel of the corpse. The gradual transformation into Siva is hastened by the proliferation of different forms for Camunda and the proliferation of wrathful, non-emaciated goddesses with a sava-vahana introduced with the spread of Saktism. It is not until the Sakta concept of Prakrti/Purusa is fully developed, whereby the Devi is considered to be equal with Siva, that the corpse beneath the Devi can be identified as Siva himself. By the 18th century the corpse beneath most forms of the Devi with a sava-vahana in Orissan art is represented as the inert Siva, i.e., as Purusa, even though this identification is not specified in texts.

DULAI, SURJIT, Michigan State University, (Panel: Immigrant Experiences)
"Bharati Mukherjee's Fiction"
With the publication of her most recent work of fiction, Bharati Mukherjee has emerged as a very important Indo-American writer of fiction. Her earlier works, The Tiger's Daughter and Wife showed a promise that has been clearly fulfilled by The Middleman and Other Stories, the collection for which she has received the National Book Critics Award. Mukherjee's fiction reflects her experimental passage as an immigrant from India to North America. This paper will trace the progress of this journey and describe the unique features of her writing.

EATON, RICHARD M., University of Arizona, (Panel: Topics in Indo-Islamic History and Numismatics)
"The Administration of Justice in Mughal Bengal -- a Worm's Eye View"
The present paper explores how Muslims serving the Mughal regime of Bengal applied Islamic Law in a predominantly non-Muslim context. Since Bengal was one of the furthest provinces from North India and historically one of the most difficult for North Indian rulers to control, an examination of how the Shari'a was applied there will also illuminate issues of center-periphery relations. The paper's leading questions are: how did Mughal officials view Bengal as Mughals, and how did they view Bengal as Muslims? My strategy will be to examine in detail two well-documented and highly revealing incidents. The first is the adjudication, in a Muslim law court, of a crime committed by a Muslim against Hindu villagers. The incident, which occurred in August of 1640, was recorded by an Italian Augustinian friar who was caught in the middle of the fray. The second incident explores the use of Islamic modes of piety, in particular the adoption of the world-renouncing model of the Islamic mystic (Sufi) in the form of faqir, as a means of resolving problems of authority and obedience within the Mughal ruling class. This incident occurred in 1612 and is recorded in a marvelous and very revealing personal account left by the official himself, Mirza Nathan. I will then compare these Mughal understandings of Islamic Law and Islamic piety will with the indigenous Muslim culture which was growing in rural Bengal during Mughal rule, and is reflected in contemporary Bengali folk literature.
ELDER, JOSEPH W., University of Wisconsin-Madison (Panel: Afghanistan Since the Soviet Withdrawal)

"Changing Patterns of Military and Political Control in Afghanistan After the Withdrawal of Soviet Troops"

This paper, based on first-hand visits to Afghanistan and Pakistan in August, describes a series of unexpected events occurring in Afghanistan in 1989. These unexpected events include (1) the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan in February 1989, (2) the survival of the Najibullah government in Kabul, (3) the failure of the Mujahideen to capture Jalalabad or Khost and establish a territorial base within Afghanistan, (4) the refusal of all but a few refugees to return to Afghanistan. This paper will attempt to explain the unexpected events and to describe the current patterns of military and political control in Afghanistan.

ELLINGSON, TER, University of Washington, (Panel: Multivalence and Identity: The Gods and Their Worshippers in Kathmandu Valley Society)

"Forms of a Formless God: Multivalence and Flexibility in Newar Culture"

The Newar god Nasadya: presents the paradoxical appearance of an essentially formless god who can take many forms. Identifiable with the highest of Hindu and Buddhist deities, he nevertheless appears most characteristically in the form of animal horns, eyes, and holes in the wall, as an invisible dancer, the vitalizing power of musical instruments, and the force of personal charisma. His universal worship under many different forms and interpretations promotes a cultural flexibility which allows the construction of meanings and identities suited to different religious and social strategies, and which suggests a cultural identity built not so much on a system of shared symbols and contrasting, but potentially harmonizable, responses.

ENKE, ANNE, University of Minnesota, (Panel: Omnibus)

"Ganesa’s Popularity and the Indian Swaraj Reconsidered: A Contextualization of Religious Discourse and Practice"

As has often been noted, Ganesa enjoys overwhelming popularity throughout India, particularly as witnessed by the annual Ganesa (Ganapati) festival observed in virtually all Indian cities. While not denying Ganesa's current significance, this paper counters the notion that the pan-Indian veneration of Ganesa belongs to a continuous and nearly timeless tradition; it offers a reassessment of the religious discourse and practice related to Ganesa by considering such discourse and practice within a specific, historic context, namely, Bal Gangadhar Tilak's initiation (in 1893) of an annual public Ganesa festival in Maharashtra as an initial element of his campaign for Indian nationalism and independence. Tilak's development of the Ganesa festival--making it into a lavish, congregational affair celebrated by members of "all" castes--was a bold innovation which he promoted through countless speeches and articles. This paper particularly illuminates aspects of Ganesa's history in Maharashtra, Tilak's exploitation and recreation of that history, and the initial goals of Tilak's nationalist campaign. Such an examination both problematizes and adds a new, crucial dimension to the common portrayal of Tilak as one of the first Indians to formulate a demand for Swaraj and to inspire the nationalism necessary to bring about Swaraj. It is explicitly shown that Tilak's motives for popularizing the Ganesa festival were based on a "nationalism" that would create a Hindu nation, and that would constitute a Chitpavan Brahmin hegemony on the model of the idealized Peshwa.
supremacy of the eighteenth century. Most importantly, it is argued, Ganesa's popularity, far from being a timeless given, should be viewed in the context of specific historic moments and processes and the political strategies associated with them.

EVERTS, R. ALAIN, University of Wisconsin-Madison (Panel: Omnibus)
"Underneath the Lotus Flowers -- The Life and Writings of Kasi Prasad Ghosh: The First English Language Poet of India"
Only a few references in various anthologies and literary histories are the sole legacies of Kasi Prasad Ghosh, the first Indian to write poetry in English in India during the 19th century. His life spanned the first decade of the 1800's to his death in 1873, nearly three-quarters of the most important century in India in terms of literary development, social change and colonial domination by the British. Ghosh was a witness to all of these changes and he often reflected the ideals and the aspirations of Indians in his writings. The most favored pupil of Henry Derozio, Ghosh continued the tradition that Derozio established with his famous poem. "The Harp of India" with his own version "Harp of my Country". Kashi Prasad Ghosh's life, never before discussed in any detail, will be examined to see why the course of his life differed from many of his fellow Young Bengal intellectuals. His writings, both poetic and historical will be presented and evaluated and his position as an early nationalist and patriot will be hopefully restored through this paper.

FELDMAN, SHELLEY, Cornell University, (Panel: The Transformation of South Asian Labor Markets)
"The Changing Rural Landscape: Emerging Proto-Industrial Interests in Bangladesh" Increasingly, the labor market in Bangladesh is defined by forms of non-agricultural production relations and can be characterized by a growing small and cottage industry sector. This paper will explore the forms and relations patterning market and credit dependence among small and cottage industry producers in an effort to elaborate the emergent class character of this segment of the rural labor market. The paper will draw on data collected in 1984 and 1985 among participants in a credit scheme implemented by the Bangladesh Small and Cottage Industries Corporation. Such an examination will illuminate the complexity of the rural economy which is conceptually stylized as an agricultural one, thus underestimating the growing salience of non-farm interests in the development of the countryside. The paper will also draw attention to the new relations that shape development outcomes within the political economy of Bangladesh.

FLAM, LOUIS, Rutgers State University, (Panel: Recent Developments in South Asian Archaeology, Part I)
"The Sindh Archaeological Project: The Kirthar Surveys and Ghazi Shah Excavations"
From 1982 to 1988, the Sindh Archaeological Project conducted archaeological and geomorphological field work in Sindh Province, Pakistan. Research focused on surveys of the Kirthar Mountains and Sindh Kohistan regions, as well as excavations at the prehistoric site of Ghazi Shah in Dadu District. The explorations revealed a number of new sites in heretofore unresearched areas of the Kirthar and Kohistan regions, and were highlighted by the discovery of prehistoric, large-scale irrigation and water management systems. Excavations at Ghazi Shah uncovered new evidence concerned with prehistoric
chronology. Ecology, craft specialization, and socio-cultural complexity. Illustrative slides will complement the presentation.

FORBES, GERALDINE, Syracuse, New York (Panel: Representation of the Self in Oral, Visual, and Written Formats)
"Reconstruction of Biography Through Photographs"
The paper builds on the author's earlier work on the life histories of women involved in the nationalist movement. In this paper, she uses old photographs. She discusses among other things how photographs provide a methodology, triggering reports and accounts that are not reached by routine interview technique, and which often provide evidence not offered in other self-presentations.

FOX, RICHARD G., Duke University, (Panel: Congresses, Communities, and the Counter-Colonial Discourse In Indian Nationalism)
"Authorizing Gandhi"
The question is: how did Gandhi come to provide India with a discourse or hegemony that countered British colonialism? For some scholars, Gandhi's moral philosophy and political practice are public solutions to his personal psychological needs. For others, Gandhi represents an authentic indigenous voice, responsive to British domination but uncorrupted by it. For still others, Gandhi mechanically articulates the class interests of the Indian bourgeoisie, whose satisfaction required both the dismissal of the British and the discipline of peasant radicalism-both of which Gandhism accomplished. The problem is that these answers strip Gandhi of intentionality, take away contingency from the Indian nationalist movement, and eliminate the experiential and experimental from the everyday life of people in society. Were Gandhi's ideas only mechanical responses to his class position or psychic needs? Could Indian nationalism not have developed in some other way than it did? Can people working with their "hands and minds" not produce counter-hegemonies as they confront existing cultural meanings and the hegemony built into them? This paper, by considering Gandhi's development of satyagraha in South Africa and his modification of it once he returned to India argues for individual agency, for social contingency, and, in widest compass, for human effectivity.

FRICKE, TOM, University of Michigan, (Panel: Culture and Context in Tamang Childbearing, Childcare and Parenting [NEPAL])
"Domestic Structure, Monetization and Intergenerational Cash Flows"
Theories of demographic transitions are based on a dichotomy between "traditional" society in which all people produce for a common household fund and a transitional society in which individuals begin to produce for their own interests. Analysis of intergenerational cash exchange in two Tamang Villages with different histories in wage labor suggest that this is too simple. Transferring money from wage labor is shown to follow a cultural logic embedded in already existing social relations with interests defined by established cycles of household development and the life course positions of household members.

FUNK, NANCY, Penn State, (Panel: Omnibus)
"Malaysian Theatre--Abetted or Abhorred by the Muslim Religion"
Since Malaysia's independence in 1957, Muslim has been established as the nationalistic religion.
Although not labeled categorically as religious drama, several plays have been produced and published depicting definite trends or patterns of the Muslim influences, both positive and negative. Various newspaper reviews of productions, the scripted plays themselves, and interviews with those involved in regional and academic theatre will document my conclusions, drawn in the paper of approximately twenty minutes.

GHIMIRE, PREMLATA, Bryn Mawr, (Panel: Recent Research in Himalayan Studies: The Maintenance of Individual and Group Boundaries)
"Shifting Patterns of Satar Identity: A Case of the Sapha Hod"

This paper examines the process of maintaining, creating, and switching ethnic and other identities among the Satar of Sunauli, a village in southern Nepal. The Satar of Sunauli are divided into three ritual categories: the Bidin Hod ("Hindu Satar") who practice their traditional rituals; the Sapha Hod (ritually "pure" or clean Satar) who combine the rituals of both their ethnic group and the caste groups in their everyday ritual; and the Christian Satar who are Pentecostals and do not participate in any of the rituals of the Sapha Hod or the Bidin Hod. In spite of these differences, these Satar live together and with different caste groups in and around Sunauli. The Satar express their shared ethnicity in four ways: a. by calling themselves Hod (human beings/Satar), b. by claiming to be descended from a common male ancestor, c. by speaking Satari language which they call Hod Rod, and finally d. by dressing similarly. These cultural factors signal their exclusion from the caste groups and reveal the distinctiveness of their ethnic group. Yet within their own ethnic group, the Bidin Hod, the Sapha Hod, and the Christian Satar use their own ethnic charters and maintain a certain degree of social distance from each other. In a multi-ethnic/caste/class society, like Nepal, continuous interaction occurs among the different ethnic groups and caste groups. Since caste dominates the social system of Nepal, the ethnic groups often borrow some caste symbols in the process of such interaction. This paper examines one particular case of such borrowing. I focus on the Hinduized Satar of Sunauli, the Sapha Hod, and examine some of the ways in which a few key symbols of the caste society are borrowed and used by the Sapha Hod to define their ritual status in hierarchical terms within their larger ethnic group. I also demonstrate that despite such borrowing, the Sapha Hod deny the Hindu influence and see some Hindu (caste) elements as belonging to their own traditional Satar culture. Further, since the Sapha Hod use the symbols of both their traditional according to their own cultural norms. Ethnicity claimed by the Sapha Hod, therefore, significantly differs from the way members of their larger ethnic group (i.e. the Satar) define it. Ethnicity developed this way is used as a device by the Sapha Hod to create a type of hierarchy, similar to the caste hierarchy, within their own egalitarian group. Using this hierarchy they claim their own ritual status as higher than those of the Bidin Hod and the Christian Satar. At the same time, such identification also functions as a means for the Sapha Hod to emerge as ethnic mediators - overlapping the boundaries of two social groups: the Satar and caste.

GIBBS, DAVID, University of Wisconsin-Madison (Panel: Afghanistan Since the Soviet Withdrawal)
"Afghanistan: The Soviet Invasion in Retrospect"

The paper, based primarily on U.S. government documents, compares two theories regarding why the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. One theory (endorsed by many in the Department of Defense and the CIA) held that the USSR had a grand strategy for expanding into the Third World
and the invasion of Afghanistan was one part of this grand strategy (other parts included the Soviet involvement in Angola and Ethiopia). Another theory (endorsed by George F. Kennan) held that the USSR invaded Afghanistan reluctantly, and that it did not invade primarily in order to expand its influence as part but rather to prevent Muslim militants from winning power, to remove the most aggravating elements from the Afghan Marxist government (specifically Hafizullah Amin), and to prevent a virulently anti-communist government acquiring power on its southern border. After reviewing evidence from U.S. government files, the paper concludes that the weight of the evidence supports George Kennan's theory.

GIRDNER, EDDIE J., Delta State University, (Panel: Teacher Workshop)
"The Mississippi Fulbright-Hays Group Project in India"
The presentation will describe the Mississippi state-wide Fulbright-hays Group Project in India (Summer, 1989) for the purpose of preparing materials for the introduction of the study of India into secondary schools in Mississippi. The project is based in Usmania University in Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh. The group will travel to other sites in India, including Tirupati, Aurangabad, Jaipur, and New Delhi. The presentation will include a slide presentation or video presentation produced for teacher (staff workshops for secondary teachers and for use in the secondary or college classroom. It will focus upon several aspects of Indian society including cultural, social, historical, and economic and political structure and change. The purpose of the presentation will be to encourage similar projects in other states and school systems.

GITOMER, DAVID L., University of Chicago (Panel: Compensation for Injury in India: Law, Ideology and Money)
"Toward a Prehistory of Injury"
It is widely recognized that prevailing notions of justice and its proper administration are formed in large measure as part of a cultural inheritance. This paper explores the areas of injury and compensation as social and legal categories in textual sources from pre-Islamic India. What factors caused events of physical harm to be recognized as injury, that is, as events involving perpetrators, victims, loss and compensation? Unsurprisingly, the smrti literature makes quite explicit the role class status plays in the understanding of concepts parallel to injuria, damnum and remedium. The vast catalogues of maimings and fines in works such as Kautalya's Arthasastra and the Dandaviveka of Vardhamana reveal conceptions of bodily integrity as well as systems of justice. Yet since these texts are best regarded as the idealizations of a particular community rather than descriptions of judicial practice or (strictly speaking) prescriptions for it, intellectual historians must use other sources, especially literature, to obtain fuller and more nuanced representations. There is the further problem of accommodating familiar scenarios of tort law (which often arise from accidents of industrial-age technology) to situations of physical damage in ancient times. This and other issues are discussed as challenges to the use of findings from historical anthropology in determining present-day legal values.

GOODWIN, ROBERT E., Brown University (Panel: Omnibus)
"Canakya and Renunciation"
Admired for its vigor of language and plot, Visakhadatta's Mudrarakasasa (The Minister's Seal) usually
causes critics some embarrassment because of the ruthlessness of Canakya, the powerful minister whose scheme make everything in the play happen. Ruben is the only modern critic to make a careful study of the play, but his philosophy-of-life interpretation (Raksasa's fatalism rightly overcome by Canakya's self-determined activism: daiva vs. paurusa) seems very limited in view of the interesting associations of the two ministerial figures. Raksasa, in the virtual lack of a royal hero, inherits the emotional sensibility of the nayaka, but with ministerial bhakti replacing erotic longing. Canakya, for his part, is all hard intellect, motivated by ascetical anger rather than by loyalty to a king or any inherent interest in dharmaic order. It is as if the complete ministerial figure (e.g. Bhasa's Yaugandharayana), who combines intelligence with loyalty and courage, has been split in half, so that we might see the contradiction--from the Indian point of view--of a servile intelligence. For the kind of intelligence the minister draws on is clearly associated in the popular imagination with the esoteric knowledge of the ascetical sage, who often functions as a kind of magician or shaman. In this paper I examine some of the metaphorical and functional associations of Canakya with ascetical disdain and sagely omniscience and conclude by underlying the paradox of the play's resolution: dharmaic order and human affective bonds sustained by a figure who represents ascetical contempt for and superiority to the whole samsaric sphere.

GULZAD, SULTAN A., (Panel: Afghanistan Since the Soviet Withdrawal)
"A Comparative Study of the 1919 Reforms of King Amanullah Afghan and the 1978 Reforms of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan"
This paper, based on recently-completed research in archives in India and London, compares the subjects, directions, expenditures in effort, and relative "successes" and "failures" of the reforms attempted by King Amanullah Afghan after the withdrawal of the British forces from Afghanistan in 1919, and the reforms attempted by the PDPA following the "Sauer Revolution" in which the PDPA killed President Daoud Khan and his close supporters and established the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. In both instances the paper will attempt to identify the ideological roots of the reforms, the strategies attempted for their implementation, and the structural constraints that ultimately rendered most of the reforms ineffective.

GUPTA, BINA, University of Missouri-Columbia, (Panel: Revisiting Tradition: Innovations in Contemporary Indian Thought)
"Revisiting Hinduism: Some Reflections on Sri Aurobindo's Perspective"
It is not an exaggeration to say that most of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy consists of an organization and interpretation of his own spiritual experience. Although The Life Divine is one of the most profound and lengthiest metaphysical treatises, Sri Aurobindo always claimed that its basic ideas were the result of his spiritual experience rather than his philosophical expertise--that he was simply articulating the theoretical framework for the contents of what he had observed and known in the practice of yoga. The paper has two parts. The first part analyzes the general nature of his philosophy keeping in mind Sri Aurobindo's complex theory of the relation of Brahman to the material world. The second part shows that while Aurobindo was strongly influenced by the Indian culture, that though he borrows many of his key concepts from the Indian past, especially the Vedas, the Upanisads, and the Gita, he was not simply a continuator of the Indian tradition. His mission was global. His comprehensive cosmic vision points to a new creation, perhaps a new world-culture.
In his thought and experience there was only one culture, one world, and one humanity. His global mission was the spiritualization of the entire race, freedom, not simply of the individual soul, but of the nation’s soul. And, it is here, i.e., in his concern for the spiritualization of the natural world, that we see his innovative revision of the Indian tradition.

GUPTA, MOHINI, University of Cape Breton, (Panel: Issues in Economic Development)
"Computers and Handlooms: An Analysis of Recent Development Strategies in Modern India"
Issues of development have been always of top priority in most of the under-developed Countries, but the varying degree of development has often determined the listing of priorities. It has been a long saga of forty years of economic experiment in developing societies and a lot has been said by experts as to what kind of strategies were the most appropriate. In fact "Appropriate Technology" was the buzz word in 1970's. India too experimented, first with a Soviet model of planned development and then tried to introduce in stages privitization in some state controlled sectors. The demand for privatization has been ever growing, but all this excitement has been mostly in urban sectors. Rural scene hasn't seen much radical experimentation. Manual farming skill continues to be the main occupation of most of the rural population of India, which has left them economically, rather in a disadvantageous position, however they do have a safety valve to subsidize their income through some or the other form of Cottage industries, which have thrived in rural India for the past many centuries. In fact in artistic designs, color schemes and creativity they surpass machine made goods. Unfortunately Cottage industry has not earned a status of viable industry rather that of an auxiliary industry of rural folks. This field of activity has a great potential to provide a large scale employment to rural unemployed or partially employed provided these industries are organized with a view to promote marketing of their products not only nationally but internationally as well. Proposed paper would examine the case of viability of Cottage industry in India from different points of view.

HAYNES, DOUGLAS E., Dartmouth College, (Panel: Congresses, Communities, and the Counter-Colonial Discourse In Indian Nationalism)
"The Gandhian Origins of Hindu-Muslim Communalism: Noncooperation, the Khilafat Movement, and the Growth of Religious Identity in a Western Indian City, 1919-1929"
This paper examines the historical roots of the Hindu-Muslim riots that broke out in the Western Indian City of Surat in 1928 and 1929. The paper particularly explores the importance of Gandhian politics in heightening the sense of religious identity among city dwellers during the years before the riots. I argue that local followers of Gandhi, in trying to deflate British claims that India’s religious communities were incompatible, forged a counter-colonial discourse that gave new centrality to religion as a sociological principle of local politics. A consequence of the logic of this discourse was that Hindus and Muslims were mobilized after World War I as two district communities through distinct political organizations and through appeals to distinct cultural symbols and notions of justice. While the Gandhian approach promoted unity during the short life of the non-cooperation movement, its long term effect was to raise the consciousness of religious community among local residents. After the movement's disintegration during 1923 and 1924 this new consciousness came to inform increasingly antagonistic relations between the two communities.
HEIMANN, JAMES, Neelambar Hatti, (Panel: Issues in Economic Development)
"Social and Economic Preconditions & Repercussions of Revitalizing Traditional Irrigation &
Irrigation Management in Karnataka, India"
Group action and initiative in effectuating changes that are beneficial and accrue directly to the
groups and individuals involved can easily become habit forming. It is our hypothesis, that in order
to involve the marginal groups in rural India in development through co-operative action we must
help reestablish local institutions or patterns of interaction (habits) conducive to the management and
maintenance of micro-level development efforts. In order to test this we have initiated a project in
Sirs Taluk, North Kanara, Karnataka. It involves the revitalization of a number of small old
irrigation tanks that have fallen into relative disuse. We hope thereby to generate the conditions for
establishing a Workshop for studying forms of co-operative action. The project has two
interdependent components: An action component involving small inputs to marginal farmers
initiating the reconstruction of irrigation tanks through their own labor and start-up of managerial
institutions to ensure their future maintenance; A research component analyzing these managerial
institutions and their functioning in the maintenance of the proposed irrigation tanks over a period
of 3-5 years. Several factors have contributed to the disappearance of older forms of work solidarity
or responsibility which previously had ensured regular maintenance: first, the pressure on land has
led to both fragmentation of lands and the break-up of traditional family composition; second, the
disappearance of the old system of authority of elders; and, finally, the expectation of government
involvement in maintenance due to the break-up of village self-government through centralized
administration by the British. Revitalization by itself would thus not ensure future upkeep;
institutions or patterns of action must be initiated in place of the old habits and institutions that have
disappeared.

HEITZMAN, JAMES, Cazanovia College, (Panel: Temple Patronage in Medieval India)
"Temple Patronage and Networks of Social Control"
This paper will use epigraphical data from Tamil Nadu during the Chola period (A.D. 849-1279) to
trace the spheres of local power exercised by middle and lower nobility under the Chola kings.
Techniques of locational analysis and extensive concordances of personal names allow the portrayal
of geographic areas dominated by particular individuals and by distinct categories of individuals
denoted by honorific titles. For the first time, it is possible to see the extent of influence wielded
by several ranges of subordinates of medieval South Indian kings. This work contributes to the study
of elites who sustained large-scale political units and were the chief organizers of economic expansion
during the medieval period. The study of elites in turn contributes to the study of modes of
production in pre-modern South India.

HERMAN, ARTHUR, University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point, (Panel: Revisiting Tradition:
Innovations in Contemporary Indian Thought)
"God, Jivacide and Ramana Maharshi"
Sri Ramana Bhagavan Maharshi (1879-1950) was probably India’s greatest and most honored 20th
century Jnani. But one of his celebrated utterances has led to a great deal of misunderstanding and
confusion: In answering a disciple’s question about public moral duties Maharshi had said, "God
made the world, let Him look after it!" An analysis of the statement leads to a number of philosophic puzzles, problems and paradoxes that make the views of his justifiably famous jivanmukta worth exploring.

HOLMBERG, DAVID, Cornell University, (Panel: Culture and Context in Tamang Childbearing, Childcare and Parenting [NEPAL])
"Child Devouring Demons, Orphans and Other Evils"
This paper addresses in detail the myth and ritual surrounding a female demon known as Mhamho and other related constructions of evil among the western Tamang of highland Nepal. mhamho is a central figure in the household-level exorcisms of shamans (bombos) and lamas. She is of particular interest because she consumes the children of humans in order to feed her own. The logic of the paper is that the mythic transgressions figured in Mhamho and related evils inform our understanding of human relations. These evils, however, are not simply transparent inversions of cultural norms but are part of a complex field of meaning which envelopes parent/children relations and human relations in general. The paper explores alternate modes of explicating inversions embodied in the figures of evil. Moreover, the ritual expulsion of Mhamho which assures well-being and health reveals key dimensions of the Tamang construction of bodies, food, and health.

HUNTINGTON, JOHN C., Ohio State University, (Panel: Gandhara and the Art of the Silk Route) "The Bei Liang Cave 275 at Dunhuang: The Gandharan Connection"
The images of the Bei Liang cave 275 at Dunhuang exhibit a remarkable closeness to certain Gandharan sculptures of Maitreya in Tusita paradise. While there is no known connection the sculptural closeness amply demonstrates that there must have been one. An illustration of the sculptural closeness and the iconographic implications for cave 275 is discussed. It will be shown that there is a high degree of probability that the cave is a "Ascending Maitreya" (Tusita Maitreya) iconography, that other caves of the period are "Descending Maitreya" (Ketumati Maitreya) demonstrating a fully developed Maitreya cult at the site during the Bei Liang.

HUSTED, WAYNE R., American Institute of Indian Studies, (Panel: Omnibus) "A Short History of the Mazar-i Shahid-i Salis (Shrine of Nurullah Shustari)"
Nurullah Shustari (d. 1610 A.D.) is known as Isna 'Ashari Shi'a Muslims of the Indian Subcontinent as Shahid-i Salis (the Third Martyr). A voluminous writer of Shi'a religious literature, he migrated from Iran to India in 1584 A.D. and obtained the position of Qazi (judge) of Lahore from the Mughul Emperor Akbar. After Akbar's son Jahangir's accession to the throne the change in the political and religious climate brought about Nurullah Shustari's execution in Agra by Jahangir's order in 1610 A.D. Nurullah Shustari's shrine is located in Agra near the Dayalbagh complex on the north side of the city. It is a place of pilgrimage for south Asian Shi'a Muslims and the site of a yearly Majalis (assembly) which in 1988 A.D. was attended by over 40,000 individuals. The paper I am proposing will deal with the history and ongoing development of the shrine of Nurullah Shustari from his death to the present. The four major phases of developmental activity reflect the milieu of the times. This development will be shown to be interrelated with the social and political developments in pre- and post-Partition India among the Shi'a community, in particular those Shi'as of the Agra and Lucknow areas.
ILTIS, LINDA L., University of Washington, (Panel: Multivalence and Identity: The Gods and Their Worshippers in Kathmandu Valley Society)
"Nineteen Gods, Eight Ghosts, and Two Dogs: Masked Gods and Multiple Meanings in Newar Religion"

When a Newar masked god walks onstage, the audience sees a single mask, but they assign it different meanings. The other gods, wearing other masks, likewise differ in their interpretations of one another; but only the man behind the mask knows the "inside" story of his own identity -- and he is sworn to secrecy! How, then, do the masked gods construct a shared world in their common performance; how do their fellow townspeople in the audience share it with them; and how do outsiders, who may never even have seen the performance, form yet other interpretations and strong opinions about it? This paper will examine the issues of shared experience and multiple meanings in relation to the "nineteen gods, eight ghosts, and two dogs" of Harisiddhi, and to the lineages of other religious performances.

ISLAM, SYED SERAJUL, University of Dhaka, (Panel: Omnibus)
"Islam in Bangladesh"

Bangladesh, the second largest Muslim country in the world, emerged as an independent state in 1971 in South Asia. It is a land of 55,528 sq miles having a population of 100 million of which 90% are muslims. "Islam" has been rooted in the minds of the people of this country for centuries. Many Islamic institutions and movements have also developed in this country since time immemorial. All these institutions, organizations and movements have made serious efforts to uphold and propagate the ideals and values of Islam. Very recently i.e., in 1988 "Islam" has been incorporated in the constitution of Bangladesh as the state religion.Externally, also the country has expressed its firm commitment and solidarity with the Muslim World. It becomes, therefore, important to know the role of Islam in Bangladesh. A few questions relating to the role of Islam in Bangladesh merit one's attention. When and how did Islam arrive in Bangladesh? What was the position of Islam during colonial period? How did the Muslims of Bangladesh react to the British colonial government toward Islamization after independence? How far has Bangladesh expressed its Islamic solidarity with the Muslim World? What is the future of Islam in Bangladesh? In a society like Bangladesh where "Islam" has arrived from outside it has constantly faced the challenge of local traditions and culture. The Muslim Community in Bangladesh seems to be the joint product of early muslim immigrants from the Arab World and the local converts who accepted Islam without giving up their previous culture wholly i.e., the "Bengali" identity. This dichotomy of "Bengali" identity vs "Muslim" identity in Bengali Islam is perhaps responsible for not "giving form and substance to an integrated Islamic Ummah" in Bangladesh. Ever since this has been the major source of conflict in the Muslim society of Bangladesh. In the fight between two forces -- religion and indigenous culture -- though Islam has eventually received predominance the process has impeded the transformation of the society into an Islamic State. The mass appeal of Islam is manifested through government policy, the existence of various Islamic institutions and organizations, and the expression of its solidarity with the Muslim world. In this essay an attempt is made to show the influence of Islam in Bangladesh despite its persistent conflict with the opposing forces and principles.
JALALI, RITA, Stanford University, (Panel: Omnibus)
"The Problem of Identity Formation Amongst the Scheduled Castes in India"
This paper examines how a linguistically and culturally diverse minority can develop a common identity and engage in collective political action. More specifically, it is about ethnic identity formation amongst the Scheduled Castes in India - a disadvantaged minority who are composed of distinct caste groups with specific cultural, occupational and regional characteristics. This diverse group was classified under a single category by the British in 1936 in order to identify those suffering from social (i.e. considered untouchables) and economic disabilities and eligible for government benefits. However, even then there was sharp disagreement about the number of persons who belonged in this category. Can a group created through government fiat, develop a commonality of interests to forma a social movement? What strategies can movement leaders adopt to develop common bases of identification within its people. This was a problem that faced Ambedkar when the first Scheduled Caste movement started in India. 1/2 a century later these and other issues still confront the Scheduled Caste leadership. This particular study focuses on the internal struggles within the newly emerging Dalit groups and its leadership in a southern state in India over issues of conversion, of sub-caste differences, of adopting leftist ideology versus Ambedkarism - issues that are concerned with defining a new identity for their people and with the political tactics that are most successful in mobilizing the Scheduled Caste masses. In this internal debate over issues of self-definition and political strategy, the study also identifies the preferential policies of the state as playing an important role. The data for this study is based on interviews with participants of a Dalit movement in a southern state in India-its organizational and intellectual leaders and grass-roots activists. Further information on the movement was gained by coverage of newspaper reports and be interviewing politicians, journalists and administrative and police officials who had come in contact with the activists.

JIAN, LIU, University of Wisconsin-Madison (Panel: Omnibus)
"Rabindranath Tagore in China"
Rabindranath Tagore is today known world-wide for his creative writings, his personality and his artistic talents. In 1912, he became world famous due to his Nobel Prize Award. And by 1915, the earliest translations into Chinese of Tagore's works appeared in China. By the time that Rabindranath Tagore visited China in 1925, he was already well-known to the Chinese people and there was a cult of Tagore already well established among Chinese intellectuals. The Chinese gave Tagore the name of "Tzu Chendan" (Rabindranath of India). This paper will present Rabindranath Tagore's impact on the Chinese people and trace the development of the cult of Tagore from the 1920s to today's idolization of Tagore by the youth of China. China's perception of Tagore and his culture, Tagore's vast influence on Chinese writers, and his evaluation of China itself will be discussed in detail.

JOSHI, MAHESWAR P., Kumaun University, (Panel: Kumaon: Past and Present)
"Economic Structure of Jumaon Himalaya under the Chandras: An Introductory Study" Historians and sociologists, depending on the traditional account of local history have considered Kumaon as a refuge area where people from plains of India migrated in successive waves. Recent exploratory
work in the Central Himalayan region (particularly Kumaon-Garhwal) suggests that it was not a
refuge area (Joshi, Maheshwar P. 1989. Morphogenesis of Kunindas (cir. 200 B.C. - Cir. 300 A.D.);
A Numismatic Overview. Shree Almora Book Depot, Almora). In fact it was a nucleus of a society
which had its genesis and growth in the geographically circumscribed Himalayan region. It
maintained its social, economic and political identity through the ages. In pan-Indian context when
the mighty Mughals had subjugated nearly the whole of Northern India, Kumaon-Garhwal remained
an independent identity. No doubt Kumaon Sarkar is referred to as a part of the Delhi suba in
A’In, but it never surrendered its political, economic and social identity to the Mughals. The present
paper is based on the original source-material belonging to the local Chandra rajas of Kumaon who
ruled between fourteenth and eighteenth century A.D. These sources indicate a three stage land-
ownership under the tenure Kaimi, (tenant cultivator), Asami (potential land owner) and jagira-
holders (rent-free land granted by the King). Further, the economic structure of Kumaon during this
period had four tiers. In the lowest level were the manual labourers, next to them were tenant-
cultivators and artisans, above them were the potential land-owners. On the top of it was the raja.
The economic system was based on the principle of "reciprocity and redistribution". The documents
used in this study are indispensable source of Indian social and economic history. The paper
contains 9 tables showing taxes, administrative offices, Central, Provincial and Local Level
taxes/obligations, etc. These are based on nearly 80 inscriptions and five archival registers.

KAIMAL, PADMA, Colgate University, (Panel: A Reappraisal of South Asian Art History)
"The Tamil Idea of Portraiture"
The exquisite temples built in the tenth century along the Kaveri River (Tamil Nadu) remain in
many ways a mystery to art historians. Scholars have searched unsuccessfully for a unified, linear
development of artistic style among these monuments. These attempts have failed because probably
no such unity existed in the system that generated the temples. The great and apparently random
variations in the styles of these temples suggest that instead patronage was diversified among a
number of independent individuals. This paper will discuss the identities of these patrons and the
sources from which they derived the wealth to fund temple construction.

KASSEBAUM, GENE, University of Hawaii at Manoa (Panel: Compensation for Injury in India:
Law, Ideology and Money)
"Alternative Dispute Processing and the Question of Legal Aid For the Poor: Recent Research in
South India"
In the Constitution and policy statements of modern India, an ideological synthesis of European
liberalism, Fabian socialism and South Asian anti-colonial praxis, one encounters repeated expressions
of a very ambitious aim, to provide enhanced social empowerment and access to law for the Indian
masses. Traditional disputing forums such as the panchayat, and emergent programs such as the
modern Lok Adalat (a type of mediation "camp" using retired judges as conciliators and plaintiff and
defense lawyers arguing cases in an informal setting) have been proposed as solutions to the problem
of providing "justice for the poor." It is, however, necessary to separate rhetoric from practice and
intention from effect. The Lok Adalat and State Legal Aid Board must be studied in relation to the
practice of law and the administration of police and courts. Field research in 1988 on Lok Adalats
and State Legal Aid Boards in two states in south India provide some data on how modern
alternative dispute resolution (ADR) programs function. This paper summarizes these data and argues that the contemporary programs handle a large volume of cases, have tangible impact on disposition of pending cases, are only rhetorically and indirectly connected with the concept of the panchayat and would thus far appear to have little effect on local community empowerment or justice for the poor. On their own merits however these programs are important to the understanding of the changing Indian legal scene. A research agenda is proposed stressing the comparison of American and contemporary Indian ADR.

KELLY, JOHN D., Princeton University, (Panel: Congresses, Communities, and the Counter-Colonial Discourse In Indian Nationalism)
"An Indian National Congress, the Arya Samaj, and Colonial Authority in Fiji: The Failure of Two Organizing Projects, 1929-1932"
In 1929 a newly founded Fiji Indian National Congress led a boycott of the Legislative Council, and promised to be the vehicle of Fiji Indian unity and communal uplift. But by 1932 the Fiji Indian community was factionalized into religious communities, engaged in bitter debates and violent confrontations; the Fiji Indian National Congress no longer existed, and was never revived. Why (against a backdrop of international depression and important events in India) did a movement of anti-colonial political unity of the Fiji Indians dissolve into factionalism? What led them to acrimonious public debates, mainly about the alleged sexual immorality of Hindu Gods and customs? Interpretation of these events requires attention to transnational cultural movements and forms of colonial power, as Indians at home and abroad fashioned the means to challenge colonial authority. It is the story of the failure of the Arya Samaj organizing project, and the story of the collapse of the Fiji Indian National Congress.

KENOYER, J. MARK, University of Wisconsin-Madison (Panel: Recent Developments in South Asian Archaeology)
This paper will present the results of a recent ethnoarchaeological study of stone bead manufacture in Khambhat, Gujarat. The major objective of this research was to determine how the complex socio-economic and technological character of a specialized craft would be reflected in the archaeological record. Through detailed documentation and selected text excavations, we have been able to collect a vast body of new data that will have important applications to the study of ancient craft technologies. In this paper I will briefly outline the methodology used in collecting the major sets of data and present a preliminary discussion of how these data can be used to understand the socio-economic structure of bead manufacturing industries in the Indus Civilization and in earlier periods.

KHAN, ZILLUR R., University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, (Panel: Jawaharlal Nehru: Scholar, Diplomat, Statesman, Ideologue, Visionary . . .)
"Nehru and World Order"
Nehru's role in bringing about a balance in poler/super-power struggle for supremacy through Panchshiller and Non Aligned Movement (NAM) will be analyzed in the light of his perceptions of India's national interests. A special emphasis will be placed on analyzing Nehru's concept of "positive neutralism" and its impact on his successors efforts at intra and inter-regional cooperation
through such instruments as South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation and the Group of Seventy Seven. An attempt will also be made at evaluating the effects of Nehru’s superpower and China policies on economic and military institutions of India.

KLASS, MORTON, Barnard College, Columbia Univ., (Panel: Congresses, Communities, and the Counter-Colonial Discourse In Indian Nationalism)
"Sathya Sai Baba in Trinidad: Politics and Religion in an Overseas Indian Society"
The religious movement that has been developing around the person and teachings of Sathya Sai Baba of Puttaparthi, South India, has spread in recent years to the India-derived population segment of Trinidad and Tobago in the West Indies. Devotees are to be found particularly among Indo-Trinidadians who are wealthy and educated and who had formerly distanced themselves the most from the traditional village Hinduism prevalent in the island nation. In this paper, the following issues are explored: (a) religious and political conflicts, before the arrival of the Sai Baba Movement, both within the Indo-Trinidadian community and between Indo-Trinidadians and the encompassing Afro-Trinidad society, and (b) the impact of the Sai Bab Movement on those religious conflicts and relationships.

KNIPE, DAVID M., University of Wisconsin-Madison (Panel: Representation of the Self in Oral, Visual, and Written Formats)
"Mortal Self As Immortal Text: Vulnerability and Authority in the Vedic Brahman"
Proceeding from life-history field data 1980-88 the paper examines some of the tensions apparent in self-descriptions of Vedic Brahmins in the agraharams of Konasima, the Godavari delta of coastal Andhra. These individuals have enormous authority in that they are themselves eternal texts, Vedas that are apauruseya sounds, without human origin and without divine origin. They are also self-described latter-dat rishis in that they teach and pass on their selves-as-texts to other Vedic Brahmins. They are also sacrificers who employ the texts in their proper contexts, that is, in rituals (karmani) that simultaneously maintain the world and advance them as selves to a foreseen immortality. But tension emerges in their recognition of a double-sided vulnerability, first of the self's human limitations in acquiring and holding the text(s), and second of an unexpected and remorseless era that proceeds to demolish first the ritual context, and ultimately the "eternal" text along with the selves of the no-longer immortal Vedic Brahmins.

LEWIS, TODD T., Montclair State College, (Panel: Recent Research in Himalayan Studies: The Maintenance of Individual and Group Boundaries)
"Growing Up Newar: Childhood and Newar Tradition in Chittadhar Hridaya’s Jhi Maca"
Jhi Maca ("Our Children") by Chittadhar Hridaya, a native resident of Kathmandu and one of the great literary figures of modern Nepal, remains one of the most popular short works written in Newari. Its title conveys the author’s intention that this book both guide Newar parents in their home teaching and serve as a first reader for their children. The children's stories from Jhi Maca give the reader an intimate sense of what it means to grow up in this culturally rich urban community. Hridaya's short vignettes touch upon every important area of Newar life, examining each situation in direct, sometimes idealized, presentation. The paper focuses on themes in this work that define a distinctive Newar self-understanding. Attitudes toward urban living, non-violence, kin, and
non-Newars drawn from the stories will be contextualized from data derived from ethnographic research conducted in Kathmandu. Analysis shows how specific viewpoints conveyed in Jhi Maca relate to the modern revival of Newar ethnicity in the context of Nepalese society.

LIPO, CARL PHILIPP and MARK E. MADSEN, University of Wisconsin-Madison (Panel: Recent Developments in South Asian Archaeology)
When a stone tool or a bead is manufactured, a continuum of debris are created, ranging from macroscopic flakes to microscopic particles. Archaeologists have traditionally focused their attention on the larger sizes of debris, with little effort concentrated on microartifacts. Microartifacts, however, are particularly useful for identifying specific activity areas spatially as this debris may vary quantitatively due to post-depositionally processes but remain relatively consistent qualitatively. In the proto-historic urban environment of South Asia, the identification of craft production areas has been notoriously difficult due the variety of human and natural process which have continuously altered the archaeological record. microartifact analysis can offer a powerful tool for the investigation of craft activities. This paper will review the methods of micro-artifact analysis and its potential in South Asian urban archaeology. Preliminary analyses of bead production areas from the ethnographic workshops at Kambhat, Gujarat will be presented and discussed with relation to the current excavations at the Indus urban center, Harappa.

LOUD, JOHN A., University of Wisconsin, (Panel: Omnibus)
"Division of Sacred Labor: How Priests Get Paid"
The great Nataraja temple at Chidambaram is served by a community of over two hundred Dikshitar Brahmin priests. These priests are almost entirely dependent upon their work in the temple for their livelihood. In order for the ritual duties and the income derived from those duties to be apportioned more or less equally, these priests have evolved a complex and unique system of rotation among the various shrines in the temple. They also supplement this income through a practice of offering pujas by mail to a large number of clients. This paper will present this system in detail and show how this system reflects the fundamentally democratic and egalitarian traditions within this community.

LUTHRA, RASHMI, University of Wisconsin-Madison (Panel: The Transformation of South Asian Labor Markets)
"Communication in the Social Marketing of Contraceptives: A Woman-Centered Analysis"
The major research questions were, "How are women placed in relation to the social marketing process?" and "What are the social implications, for women, of this placement?" A case study of the Family Planning Social Marketing Project of Bangladesh was done to address the questions. The major source of evidence was project documentation, supplemented by interviews and reviews of pertinent literature. The analysis was qualitative and iterative, with theoretical expectations and findings mutually influencing each other. A woman-centered lens was used elicit patterns related to the major questions. Overall, it was found that the dominant dynamics propelling project strategies and actions is a marketing dynamic, consisting of either marketing conventions or the practical needs of the marketing organization. Further, the dominance of the marketing dynamic often excludes women's concerns and needs, and at other times subordinates these concerns to marketing considerations.
MAJEED, AKHTAR, Aligarh University (Panel: SAARC)
"South Asian Security Scenarios"
More than ever, South Asia today appears less stable and more uncertain, in spite of SAARC and the India-Sri Lanka accord and restoration of democracy in Pakistan. The Siachen clashes between India and Pakistan and charges of mutual interference in each other's internal affairs; the ethnic violence in Sri Lanka; frictions about trade/transit between India and Nepal; resentment about continued preponderance of military in the Bangladesh politics; tensions in Tibet; and the terrorist situation in Punjab—all these project ill not only for the political stability of the countries of South Asia, but also for their attempts and aspirations to establish a stable regional order through cooperation. South Asian situation presents two almost opposite trends: one moving these countries closer and the other apart. The first stems from a general desire and recognition of commonality of interests and mutuality of economies; and the latter from a narrow base of national interests and divergence of outlook in regard to security and the method of dealing with it. The two trends act and react upon each other and make it difficult for South Asian countries to settle upon a definite particular course. The presence of extra-regional factors further complicate the situation. The ultimate stability in South Asia will depend on the ability of the elite in these countries to resolve their varied conflicts and create an equitable politico-economic order based on closer cooperation.

MAJUMDAR, BHAGWAN P., Patna University, (Panel: Jawaharlal Nehru: Scholar, Diplomat, Statesman, Ideologue, Visionary . . .)
"Multifaceted Personality of Nehru: A Study of the Social Literary, Educational, and Humanistic Aspects of Jawaharlal Nehru"
Jawaharlal Nehru is primarily known as one of the most distinguished leaders of modern India. He is also recognized as the maker of modern India. More often than not, we tend to forget other aspects of Nehru. We do not place enough emphasis on Nehru’s writing abilities, his enthusiasm for social reform, or his humanistic beliefs. The paper focuses on these aspects drawing upon his books, speeches and biographies. The identity of Nehru that emerges does not negate his dominant political image. But it reveals certain traits that lead one to associate him with Augustan Age in England rather than twentieth century India. His rationalism, simplicity of style, and concrete expression are characteristics not frequently found in a political leader.

MARCH, KATHRYN S., Cornell University, (Panel: Culture and Context in Tamang Childbearing, Childcare and Parenting [NEPAL])
"Tamang Parenting: Mothers and Fathers, Families and Selves"
Two primary issues are at stake in this analysis of Tamang parenting: The cultural construction of biology and the affect associated with it. This paper looks at western Tamang ideas about maternity and paternity first in relation to one another and the childbearing through which they are created. It also describes parenting in relation to ideas about family formation, reproduction and the transmission of bodily essence, property, and other attributes of identity. Finally, it considers the importance of sentiments of affection and nurture to these constructions.
MARTIN, MARIE H., The American Numismatic Society, (Panel: Topics in Indo-Islamic History and Numismatics)
"Parallel Development of Architecture and Coinage: The Bahmanis, 1347-ca. 1525"
The Bahmani Kingdom was founded by officers from a Tughluq army in the Deccan. In its early years, Bahmani architecture was stolid and compact, reminiscent of early Sultanate architecture, and Bahmani coinage was similar to early Sultanate coinage. By the reign of Firuz Shah (1397-1421), Bahmani architecture was going through a period of experimentation, developing a synthetic, creative style of its own, and the coinage was also developing a style of its own. Under the leadership of Ahmad Shah I (1422-35), Bahmani architecture moved into its heyday with the building of a huge new capital at Muhammadabad/Bidar. During this same period a new monetary system was introduced, based on different fractional copper coins issued at specific weights. The system is without parallel in the ancient world and is not comparable to Swedish plate-money (issued from 1644-1776). By the end of the fifteenth century, the Bahmani Kingdom was in serious decline which is reflected in the increasingly diminutive architectural remains and the deterioration of the monetary system.

MASSELOS, JIM, University of Sydney, (Panel: August 15, 1947: The Politics and Rituals of India's "Appointed Day")
"The Magic Touch of Being Free: The Rituals of Independence on 15 August"
When the political history of the Indian sub-continent turned at the midnight hour on august 15, 1947, the event was marked by extended formal ceremonies and widespread rejoicing, as well as by an intensifying communal situation. The paper analyses the nature of some of the formal ceremonies that were conducted at the time of transition and argues that they fell into two categories based upon the different viewpoints contained within the phrases, the assumption of power, and the transfer of power. It looks at some of the symbolism involved in the handover ceremonies and traces the way in which ceremonies became ritualised over the years while at the same time the connotations originally attaching to them were altering. The differences in meaning are highlighted by a discussion of popular attitudes by reference to the behaviour of people and crowds during Independence Day and also to how different Prime Ministers treated the Day in 1947, 1967 and 1987.

MAYER, PETER B., University of Adelaide (Panel: Omnibus)
"Should We Celebrate the Sesquicentenary of the Jajmani System in 2005?"
If there is an apparent rock of certainty in the deceptive sea of complexity which is village India, it is perhaps the near complete agreement that the Jajmani System, discovered and described (in 1936) by William Wiser is (or at least once was) ubiquitous. Prakash Tandon in his delightful autobiography Punjabi Century provides a capsule account of the ties of jajmani relationships:

We had a family barber, whose father before him had been our family's barber, and so the barber's family and ours were indissolubly bound. Good or bad we could not get rid of him, nor could he refuse to serve us, unless we went to live in another place and adopted a local barber family. But whenever we returned to our home town the old barber was there, and there was no changing him.

Since Wiser's account of what he found in western U.P., many others have confirmed that the Jajmani System is to be found in most regions of India. There is also unanimity that the Jajmani
System is of almost antiluvian antiquity, going back at least 4000 years before the present. In this paper I set out the evidence which has led me to conclude that the relatively late discovery of the Jainmani System was not due, as is sometimes suggested, to the obtuseness of earlier observers or to the superficiality of their acquaintance with the realities of Indian village life, but arose rather from the fact that the Jainmani System itself became widespread only in the last quarter of the 19th century. Attempting to establish this "negative" case involves examining many early accounts of Indian life. In the paper I summarize my survey of early travellers' accounts, codifications of traditional law, revenue consultations, glossaries of rural vocabulary, early studies of the caste system, censuses, gazetteers and settlement reports. I conclude from this survey that the equate the Jainmani System with earlier descriptions of 'village servants' is both to force the latter into an alien typology and to fail thereby to discern evidence of a significant change in the political economy of rural India. I also argue in the paper that the Jainmani System is confined to north India, and that those who profess to find it in say, Tamil Nad or Maharashtra, err in so doing.

MCCARTHY, FLORENCE E., Cornell University, (Panel: The Transformation of South Asian Labor Markets)
"Formalizing the Unorganized Sector: The Capitalization of Petty Commodity Production"
The current debate regarding the nature of petty commodity production delimits issues which include distinctions between forms and modes for production, the relation of petty commodity production to the market and forms of its reproduction, including intra-familial labor relations. The significance of these issues relate to the nature and effect of capitalist penetration in the rural economies of peripheral, less developed capitalist countries such as Bangladesh. The purpose of this paper is to consider the patterns of production and social reproduction among rural cottage industry producers with the intent of exploring the extent to which the current conceptualization of petty commodity production is relevant to current operational practices occurring among cottage industry producers. Also to be considered is what relevance current operating practices including forms of family labor allocation among cottage industry producers have regarding our theoretical understanding of processes of transformation occurring in non-agricultural sectors of rural economies. Data for this paper came from a study of cottage and small scale industrial producers supported by loans and assistance through the Bangladesh Cottage and Small Industry Corporation (BCSIC), done in 1985.

MEISTER, MICHAEL W., University of Pennsylvania, (Panel: A Reappraisal of South Asian Art History)
"Ethno-History, Art History: Competing Constants"
Art History concerns itself with the life of objects and with their makers and uses. It often assumes that while history leads up to an object and other objects flow from its making, what is "objectified" has been frozen at the moment of making, thus becoming the proper subject of research. That the object has also a life after its making--that a monument, painting, or sculpture can interact with its users and even abusers in ways significant beyond the intentionality of its artist--has seemed more a matter for the ethno--than the art historian. Not all societies, however, see the object as expressing the artist, nor subordinate utility to intention. In India, art's use supercedes expression, and changing circumstances of use may be more important to the society than the reconstitution of an 'original' interpretation. What is 'given' and what is 'discovered' are warp and woof for Indian
thinking, as well as making. Past and present are woven together in such a fashion that the antiquarian may prove more scavenger than restorer if he looks only at the object's past and not its continuing use. Art- and ethnohistory must be woven together (jarangalila) either to form a definition of 'Art' in South Asia or to understand the efficacy of India's artistic endeavors.

MENDIS, PATRICK, University of Minnesota-Minneapolis, (Panel: Issues in Economic Geography)
In my presentation, I will analyze the level of productivity, economic efficiency and resource allocation in tea plantations through an investigation of input-output relationships in the high and low elevation zones in Sri Lanka. It will examine the regional variation in terms of their relationships between resource productivity and tea estate size to evaluate the performance of tea production between two districts. Two administrative districts in the tea growing areas are selected for this study. The Nuwara Eliya district in the Central Province is representative of the high elevation zone (above 1,200 m) where high quality tea is grown. The Ratnapura district in Sabaragamuwa Province in the elevation zone below 600 m where low quality tea is grown. The results of this study will assist in further understanding the production function behavior of tea and will help establish a useful framework for restructuring the existing system as a means of increasing tea productivity in different elevation zones.

METZ, JOHN J., University of Wisconsin-Madison, (Panel: National Parks as a Response to the Environmental Crisis in Nepal)
"A Reassessment of the Causes and Effects of Deforestation in Nepal"
Recent detailed studies have suggested that the causes of deforestation in Nepal extend centuries into the past and involve the tax extraction policies of the government as well as the subsistence activities of mountain farmers. Although contemporary forest degradation is primarily due to local farmers, policies of the Nepalese government and of international donors continue to influence resource use and must be included in any comprehensive explanation of environmental degradation. Additional studies of mass wasting and flooding question the impact of deforestation on land degradation. Although conclusive evidence does not exist, flooding, erosion, and sedimentation may not be as severe as earlier reports suggested. This paper will review these studies and suggest the ways that local people are adjusting to resource shortages.

MICHELL, GEORGE, Freer/Sackler Gallery, (Panel: The Ever-Shorter Short Chronology: Fact or Fiction?)
"Progress in Plans at Ajanta: Implications for our Consideration of the Short Chronology"
I shall explore the evolution of the architectural arrangements in the later caves, with particular attention to how this is revealed by a study of groundplans, cross sections, and transverse sections. This should provide a significant test of the Short Chronology, wherein every plan, and every adjustment of plan, is assigned to a specific point within a very brief span of time. Using procedures of design analysis, I would hope to be able to comment upon the validity, or the invalidity, of Spink's hypothesis.
MITRA, ANANDA, University of Illinois-Urbana, (Panel: Communications in South Asia: Culture, Development and Policy)
"The Position of Television in the Cultural Map of India"
This paper attempts to place the relatively recent phenomenon of television in a broad cultural map, principally by drawing relationships between other media in India, television and the reading formations around the television text. In this paper I am looking first, at the current position of television in the cultural map of India and its relation with some of the other texts. Notable among the relationships is its inter-textuality with cinema, its frequent antagonism with the private press, and its appropriation of signifying practices of traditional media. Secondly, through these, and other relationships, a set of reading formations are developing in the nation and this paper starts to look at these formations in light of the relationships between the television discourse, the other media, and sets of interpretive communities that are reading television. Thirdly, a study of this nature can eventually help to better define the state of television in India, and provide a locus for the debates concerning the future of television in the socio-cultural-political arena of the nation. Finally, looking at television as a cultural discourse suggests some new routes of research distinct from the traditional and dominant variable analytic research.

MITTAL, A.K., Kumaun University, (Panel: Issues in Economic Geography)
"Economic Life of the People of the Central Himalayan Region of India During the Colonial Rule"
The Central Himalayan Region is an integral part of Indian heritage. From the administrative point of view this area is divided into two Divisions, i.e., Kumaon and Garhwal. It consists of eight hill districts of Uttar Pradesh. Being situated on the border of Nepal and Tibet, the strategic significance of this area is beyond doubt. From historical viewpoint this area remains relatively unexplored till now. The rugged topography and terrain had made communication extremely difficult resulting, to a certain extent, in an insular outlook and an indigenous economic history. The Central Himalayan region was ruled first by many dynasties and then by the British. The British conquered this area in 1815 from the Gorkhas of Nepal and ruled here till the independence of India. The common adage "necessity is the mother of invention" could nowhere be better illustrated than in the economic life of the Central Himalayan people. The tremendous difficulties of the environment had not, as might be imagined, been able to suppress the initiative and the energy of man. The picturesque terrace of the Himalayan slopes that greet the eyes of the traveller represent an extraordinary degree of strenuous toil. The Central Himalayan region was an agricultural area and much of the economic life of the people depended upon their land and its cultivation. Besides agriculture, tea, iron, wool and trans-Himalayan trade with Tibet were some industries which existed during the colonial rule in this area. After the annexation of the Central Himalayan region, the British introduced drastic changes in the existing conditions related to the economic life of the people. The only rich natural reserves of this region, i.e. forests were fully exploited through contract system. Human resource development was also crucified for safeguarding the interests of the British Empire. The proposed paper brings to light the economic life of the Central Himalayan people which was hitherto, not known. It also throws light upon the changes made by the colonial rulers and its impact upon the society. It is interesting to note that the British economic policy for this region was different from the one which was implemented in the other parts of India. Why this discrimination was made and how it worked has also been analyzed and discussed.
MOAG, RODNEY F., University of Texas-Austin (Panel: Omnibus)
"Discourse Level Evidence of India as a Linguistic Area"
The positioning of South Asia as a linguistic area, first proposed by Kuiper, was fully articulated by Emeneau (1956). In the original work, and in all subsequent treatments of this hypothesis, evidence has been brought forward primarily from the lexical level, and from phonology and syntax. Little evidence has been specifically proposed from the discourse level, despite the fact that discourse analysis has assumed major prominence in the field of general linguistics in the past two decades, and leading South Asian linguistics have agreed with this author in informal discussions that much significant data, perhaps in fact the largest body of data, in support of the linguistic area hypothesis exists at the discourse level. The present paper assembles comparative examples demonstrating common discourse rules and/or processes in the grammars of Indo-Aryan and South Dravidian languages. It is first shown that the four processes of anaphora cited for Hindi by Kachru (1983) and Wodley (1986) also operate in Malayalam (Moag pers. research). Second, pragmatic functions of the compound verb in Hindi cited by Kachru (1979) and by Hook (1974, 1988) are also found in Malayalam (Moag 1989) and Tamil (Schifman 1974). Third, data will be presented documenting a shared discourse convention for forming short affirmative and negative answers. It is postulated that casting a response in the form of a verb is a Dravidian convention which has been borrowed into Indo-Aryan and has largely supplanted the Indo-European convention of responding with a positive or negative particle. Next, some examples are presented in support of the suggestion that the dramatic similarities in the discourse rules followed in South Asian English by speakers of both Dravidian and Indo-Aryan languages lends additional strength to the case for a common areal set of discourse conventions. Finally, some additional areas of discourse analysis are proposed whose investigation seems particularly promising for the further inquiry into the question of South Asia as a linguistic area at this level.

MOHAPATRA, MANINDRA K., Kentucky State University, (Panel: Immigrant Experiences)
"South Asian Ethnics in England and BBC: A Content Analysis of a Television Program"
This paper will be based upon empirical data collected in England in 1987-88. A thematic content analysis was carried out on a BBC television program titled "Network East" -- an ethnic television program designed for the South Asians living in England. The paper will identify trends in this program. Content analysis methodology will be discussed in one context on the specific project.

MOHAPATRA, BISHNU N., St. Anthony's College, (Panel: Omnibus)
"Study of Regional Nationalism in Colonial India: A Theoretical Perspective"
The aim of this paper is to undertake a preliminary discussion on Regional nationalism in colonial India. The paper falls into three parts. In the first part I explicate and evaluate the existing approaches to the study of Regional nationalism. The second section deals with my alternative perspective on the study of Regional nationalism in colonial India. In the final part I examine the case of Oriya nationalism in the light of the proposed alternative. In this paper I highlight the way the regional consciousness of various ethnic groups underwent fundamental changes in the colonial context in India. I also attempt to show how the assertion of regional identity was context-dependent and how the notion of 'autonomy' remained crucial to its political and cultural practices.
I also stress that the combination of anticolonial sentiment with the resistance to the dominance of powerful ethnic groups constituted the hallmark of Regional nationalisms. A correct understanding of Regional nationalisms, I believe, would lead us to a more complete understanding of Indian nationalism.

MONAHAN, MICHAEL D., School for International Training, (Panel: Omnibus)
"Sri Lanka: Observations on Ethnic Conflict, Separatism, and Politics in a Divided Society"
This paper and proposed session at the Annual Conference on South Asia draw on the presenter's recent fieldwork in ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, undertaken in the Spring of 1989 with the support of a Winthrop Fellowship. The presentation will attempt to situate current events in Sri Lanka within the context of ethnic studies, ethno-regional separatist movements, and political violence in deeply divided societies. Challenges to peace posed by subnational loyalties founded on ethnic, linguistic, racial, and religious identities will be explored. The issues of autonomy, separation, and unification; the problems of nationality group survival in a fractured state; and various other issues involving integrative and centrifugal pressures in divided societies will be discussed. The international dimensions of ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, with particular attention to the impact of the Sinhalese-Tamil conflict on Indo-Lankan relations, will be highlighted. Group discussion of approaches to the management of ethnic tensions and the integration of inter-ethnic relations in international studies curriculum in the U.S. will be encouraged.

MOOG, ROBERT, North Carolina State University (Panel: Compensation for Injury in India: Law, Ideology and Money)
"Alternatives to Civil Courts in Eastern U.P.: The Search for Justice"
The proposed paper addresses the questions of the effectiveness of existing methods for dispute resolution, other than resort to the district level civil courts, in Eastern U.P. It is a common assumption that all levels of Indian courts are overburdened by the influx of cases. As in the United States, one suggestion to relieve this burden (assuming it actually exists) has been the use of alternative forums. These "forums" may be traditional or "not-so traditional", institutionalized or noninstitutionalized and government sponsored or private. Some were designed as alternatives to the district courts, others became so out of necessity. In addition, the use of "self-help" will be considered. What effects, if any, each of these have on the functioning of the district level courts is open to question. Related to this is this notion of "overburdened." If, in fact, that is not the cause of the problems evident in the district level courts, then creating alternatives may be useless in trying to resurrect those courts. That is not, however, the same as saying the alternatives themselves are useless or totally ineffective. They may still serve a valuable purpose. These issues will also be explored. The paper gives special attention to two districts in eastern U.P. (Varanasi and Deoria). It was these two districts in which I conducted research in 1987.

MOORE, ERIN P., University of California-Berkeley, (Panel: Omnibus)
"He Who Owns the Stick Owns the Buffalo"
Voices of Justice from Rajasthan. This paper is based on seventeen months of research in the Alwar District in northeastern Rajasthan. Ten years ago I first visited this area of Rajasthan to study the settlement of disputes in the traditional councils. In 1987-1988 I returned to the same village to look
at concepts of justice, both within the legal framework and in the everyday lives of the villagers. I found that the villagers lack faith in any type of court or council and instead turned their hopes for justice to those with supernatural powers and to god. The villagers' profiles of justice vary depending on their gender, class and religion.

MORRISON, KATHLEEN D., University of California-Berkeley, LYCETT, MARK T., University of New Mexico, (Panel: Recent Developments in South Asian Archaeology, Part II)
"Persistent Lithics: Late Chipped Stone Technology in South India"
Chipped Stone technology is generally assumed to have disappeared in South Asia by the Iron Age. However, recent survey data from south India indicate that lithic technology may continue at least into the sixteenth century A.D. This paper explores the evidence for, and potential role of stone tool technology in later time periods. The implication of the existence of post Iron-age chipped stone raises questions about the chronological placement of surface sites on the basis of lithic typologies alone.

MOSTELLER, JOHN, University of Pennsylvania, (Panel: The Ever Shorter Short Chronology: Fact or Fiction?)
"Seeing things in proportion at Ajanta"
My particular interest is in documenting the proportional systems used in ancient artistic practice. My previous work in this regard is the basis for a study dealing with North Indian sculpture from the 2nd century B.C. up to 500 A.D. (forthcoming Delhi, October 1989). Ajanta, with essentially its whole sculptural production remaining in place, and so many of its paintings remarkably preserved, presents us with a unique opportunity for assessing the nature of proportional practice at the caves in relation to what I have so far documented in the case of roughly contemporary images from the Gangetic plain. But also, since we know from Ajanta's epigraphy that these images were given by dozens of different patrons, since we know from Ajanta's epigraphy that these images were given by dozens of different patrons, and since many different artists were at work, Ajanta provides an ideal medium in which both to test and to extend my conclusions. Furthermore, if the so-called Short Chronology is correct, Ajanta would become a remarkable "laboratory" from my particular point of view, since this would mean that every image at the site could be placed in an absolute and at the same time intensely condensed chronological sequence. This sequence would provide a solid frame of reference surely unrivalled in any other Indian monument.

MURTON, BRIAN, University of Hawaii, (Panel: Changing Cultural Geographical Patterns in South Asia)
"The present study utilizes inscriptions records from the late thirteenth century in order to address issues relating to variations in the spatial organization of economic society and polity in the Salem and Baramahal region of interior Tamilnadu. The study area exhibits an ecological and agricultural continuum ranging from a zone of relatively secure irrigation with rice cultivation, through intermediate an mixed agricultural zones of tank irrigation and dryland farming, to poorly watered lands where dry farming of millet and animal husbandry dominated. Related to the areal differentiation of production was differentiation in socio-economic organization and the nature of
political control. In the late thirteenth century at least four different forms of local and intermediate political control existed in the area, with tenuous and changing linkages to higher (royal) levels.

NAG, DULALI, University of Iowa, (Panel: Congresses, Communities, and the Counter-Colonial Discourse In Indian Nationalism)
"The Nationalist Strategy and the Symbolic Construction of Handwoven Textile in India"
This paper is about the strategic significance of handwoven textile as a political symbol for the National Congress in India and the effect of this strategy on the cultural production of handwoven textile as a commodity in modern day India. The theoretical question it will address is: how does one conceptualize modernity and commodity-consumption in a non-Western context from a specific political-historical point of view? Recently anthropologist have become increasingly interested in the various forms that "modernity" has assumed in non-Western cultures. This paper will be a contribution to this on-going inquiry.

NAG, ARUN K., Visva-Bharati (Panel: Omnibus)
"Pre-Dynastic Ganga Valley -- An Introductory Outline"
River Ganga, the sacred river of the Hindus, flows past the north and eastern parts of India. After R. Indus, the valley of Ganga is considered as one of the main cradle land of ancient Indian cultures and the area of attraction for nearly four thousand years. The present paper states in brief the characteristic features of different cultures and concludes with a comparative study of archaeological stratigraphy, growth of urban centres and subsequent emergence of seats of socio-political powers. The discussion starts with the narration of the earliest culture of Ganga valley, termed as Ochre-colored Ware culture, a section of which bear the Harappan legacy. The successive culture of Black and Red Ware has a wide distribution. Its different groups have been described with ample focus on their links and probable migrations. With the advent of Painted Grey Ware, Iron Age started in Northern India and possibly this is the Age which can be connected with the great epics, Mahabharata and Ramayana. The next phase, Northern Black Polished Ware culture not only heralded the growth of early Indian cities but also the rise of Buddhism, a new religious movement. With the end of this culture Dynastic history begins in the Ganga Valley. Attempt has been made to integrate the results of recent archaeological and historical research into the present study. In so doing we have to look for a meaningful pattern, often by the reinterpretation of already known facts.

NAIM, SHAMIM and KAUFMAN, GLADIS, University of Wisconsin-Waukesha, (Panel: Immigrant Experiences)
South Asian immigration to the United States has primarily been influenced by U.S. Immigration policies. The trickle of rural and working-class immigrants in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries ended with the discriminatory anti-Asian laws passed in the 1917 to 1924 period. As a result, virtually no one could come between 1924 and 1946, when the Luce-Cellar Act allowed 100 new immigrants per year. The major change allowing great numbers to come to the United States was the Immigration Act of 1965, which abolished the national quota system and was more family
oriented. These immigrants from South Asia were not rural people or factory workers, but a new breed of intellectuals and professionals, who by 1980 were bringing over their extended families in a process of chain migration. All of these changes, including the pending Kennedy-Simpson Bill, reflect shifts in social movements and popular sentiments in the United States, as well as the prevalent economic conditions of the time.

NARAYAN, KIRIN, University of Wisconsin-Madison, (Panel: Omnibus)
"Spuds Mackenzie and Beds of Nails: Images of the Hindu Ascetic"
Through the West’s encounter with India, the Hindu ascetic has often served as a metonym for religion, with different aspects of his practices emphasized in response to prevailing diagnoses of Hinduism. This paper traces images of sadhus and gurus from British colonial texts and lithographs to American popular culture. On one hand, the ascetic is presented as a misguided Other whiling away time on a bed of nails; on the other hand, he is upheld as a source of lofty "Eastern spirituality" unknown to the Western world. Both these distancing strategies are countered by a movement towards diffusing difference by assimilating the ascetic in terms familiar to the Western Self. The conceptual incorporation, I argue, results in a trivialization; in popular American representation today, the Hindu ascetic has become emptied of any distinctive religious content. Through the history of this encounter, Hindus themselves have reevaluated the roles of sadhu and guru in dialogue Western images and expectations, in some cases transforming definitions of these roles from within.

NOBLE, WILLIAM A., University of Missouri, (Panel: Changing Cultural Geographical Patterns in South Asia)
"Toda Huts and Houses (The Nilgiris, Southern India)"
There are now only thirteen of the traditional Toda barrel-vaulted huts left. Of these, two are reverse-facing with each sleeping platform then placed on the opposite side of the hut (thus revealing the strong emphasis placed upon sleeping in the northerly side). Fewer of the traditional front-gabled huts are left. All the huts have the same interior organization: sleeping platform to one side, and an adjacent mortar hole within the other side which divides the back female section with fireplace from the front male section with milk churner. Ecologic change in the Nilgiris is linked to the numbers of settlers who have spread into many areas since W.W. II and to the mass planting of trees, and it has become increasingly difficult for the Toda to obtain the rattan cane, bamboo and a species of grass used in hut construction. Governmental financial aid has made it possible for the Toda to obtain more substantial houses and most now live in such houses. The smaller non-traditional houses, and especially if they are free-standing, have the old traditional interior organization incorporated within. When the Toda built larger houses within rows, like their Badaga neighbors, they tended to incorporate the interior organization of Badaga houses. Thus, most of these houses can be labeled as half-Badaga houses or full-Badaga types, with fireplaces to either the right or left. The half-Badaga houses are one room wide, whereas the full-Badaga houses are two rooms wide, often with a characteristic half-mooned doorway between rooms. In any mention of Badaga houses (including a continued emphasis upon right versus left), however, we must remember that the basic functional organization in such houses was originally inspired by the way the Toda had organized the interiors of their huts. Because the size and organization of a house should offer some
indications of the increased degree to which Toda have joined the general pan-Indian culture, it is noteworthy that the two Toda families with the largest houses have television sets and males who ride on motorcycles. Another large house, which should be completed by now, is owned by a Toda who works for the Hindustan Photo Film Factory, and who thereby obtained a substantial Governmental loan which enabled him to build his new home. The three houses are dominated by interior organizations which reveal marked departures from the traditional. Because they pursued fresh cultural ways from the start, the Christianized Toda gave up dwelling in traditional huts. While some of their dwellings display some Badaga influences, they do not generally conform to the half- or full-Badaga types.

OBEROI, HARJOT S., University of British Columbia, (Panel: Congresses, Communities, and the Counter-Colonial Discourse In Indian Nationalism)
"Brotherhood of the Pure: The Poetics and Politics of Cultural Transgression"
On an empirical level, this paper is concerned with a group of people who, in the second half of the nineteenth century, came to be known as Kuka or Namdhari Sikhs. The activities of the Kukas in the 1860's and early 1870's, long before the Indian National Congress got established in the Punjab, provide us with an emic paradigm of politics. It is not by following the political logic of the French revolution or the parliamentary democracy in England that we can understand the terms or categories of Indian polity. I would like to argue that any such understanding is essentially rooted in indigenous culture. If we want to know what convictions make a people die for their religion, what is the role then Kuka Sikhs offer a fascinating illustration. Clifford Geertz, in a well known article on Balinese cockfights, has forcefully argued that 'societies contain their own interpretation'.

In any study of counter-colonial discourse it is critical to interpret the actor's objectives and their own structures of consciousness and experience. Such a hermeneutic exercise calls for a study of imagery, symbols, metaphors and codes of behaviour, elements which have hardly been considered in studies of Indian nationalism. It is largely socioeconomic circumstances and state policies that have been given primary weight. This paper seeks to understand how subaltern sectors of Indian dichotomy, or the sacredness of animals like the cow-ruptured colonial hegemony.

ORR, LESLIE C., McGill University, (Panel: Temple Patronage in Medieval India)
"Imitation Royalty or Upward Mobility?: Temple Women and Palace Women as Donors to Cola Temples"
In the ninth to thirteenth centuries in South India, substantial donations were made to temples by women. Some of the most important female patrons were queens and princesses of the Cola dynasty, but many gifts came from other kinds of royal women, palace women -- concubines, court favourites, "ladies-in-waiting" -- and from temple women (devadasis/tevaratiyar). Donations to temples were an important way of attaining ritual and social status in medieval South Indian society; palace women and temple women not only had the resources to make gifts to temples, but may have been especially motivated to do so because of their equivocal social status vis a vis normative feminine roles. In this paper, I shall compare the pattern of donations of palace women and temple women, and explore the question of whether these two groups of donors were influenced by the model of donation set by Cola kings and queens. If Cola "ritual kingship" was established and maintained through the foundation and support of temples, to what extent was the royal example salient for
these female donors, in terms of their choices of where, how, of what, and for what they made donations to enhance their own ritual status--or how far were they independent of the royal model, and involved in different status networks?

OWENS, BRUCE, Columbia University, (Panel: Multivalence and Identity: The Gods and Their Worshippers in Kathmandu Valley Society)
"Power and Proximity: Divine Multivalence and the Sociopolitics of Ritual and Belief among the Newar"
Ethnographers of South Asian societies have often relied upon texts written by an elite for an elite, the privilege perspectives of elders, or the one-sided view of males to provide a conveniently uniform portrait of beliefs purportedly shared by many. Such strategies, however, yield depictions of belief systems which are distorted by a lack of concern for the sociopolitical component of religious belief and the variation which it inspires. Beliefs about one of the most important deities worshipped in the Kathmandu Valley vary considerably among the god's most ardent devotees. This paper compares the conflicting beliefs of those who play four different key roles in the annual festival of this god. This comparison demonstrates the importance of acknowledging intra-cultural diversity in religious belief, and serves to identify fundamental features of religious belief which are shared by diverse segments of Newar society. The social identities of festival participants are marked by their ritually-accorded proximity to divinity and divine power, just as the participants' beliefs about the multivalent god they honor reflect the possibilities and limitations of their social status.

PACKERT, CYNTHIA, Beverly, Massachusetts, (Panel: Omnibus)
"The Harsat-Mata Temple at Abaneri (Rajasthan): Form and Meaning"
Midway between Jaipur and Mathura is the village of Abaneri, in modern Rajasthan state. This otherwise obscure village is the site of the renowned early ninth-century Harsat-mata temple, which despite its current appellation is originally a Vaisnava shrine. The most striking feature of this monument—and the reason it is so famous—is its extraordinary sculpture. Indeed, it would not be an exaggeration to state that the Harsat-mata temple preserves some of the finest early ninth-century sculpture in all of North India. While much of the sculpture is now detached from the temple, a significant amount remains in situ. A number of sculptures from the exterior of the upper terrace have most frequently captured the attention of scholars, as they appear to represent beautifully rendered courtly or semi-divine themes of entertainment, amorous pursuits and encounters. The sensuous subject matter and the lush imagery are unusual for a monument from this time period, and there has been much speculation as to the probable interpretation of these scenes. Because the monument is in such ruined condition, however, there has been no study thus far that considers the sculpture in detail, and more importantly, that considers it within its architectural context. I propose, therefore, to consider three aspects of this important monument that have not been fully addressed before: its sculptural style, its plan and its probable iconography. I will briefly describe the architectural typology of the temple with reference to related examples in Northern India. I will then proceed to a conjectural reconstruction of its iconographic program based on what remains at the site. Enough remains, I believe, to propose that the monument was devoted to an exposition of Vaisnava pancaratra doctrine. This is of particular importance in understanding the religious climate of this region of early medieval North India. Abaneri's proximity
to the sacred region of Braj, the locale of Lord Krsna’s youth, lends further credence to this hypothesis. The seemingly highly individual and extraordinarily rich iconographic program, the monumentality of the architectural vision, and the lavishness and specificity of the sculpture strongly presupposes a major source of patronage, quite possibly royal. Although it is not entirely clear which royal family may have patronized the temple, it seems likely that they would have been either the Guhilas or Cahanamars, both of whom were powerful and wealthy feudatories of the Imperial Pratiharas; this powerful dynasty was by then established in the capital city of Kanauj, and held sway over much of North India in the ninth century. Moreover, stylistic features of the sculptures at Abaneri suggest a strong link with examples from Kanauj. I will thus conclude by connecting the formal and iconographic interpretations of this monument with its contemporary socio-political context.

PAHARI, ANUP, University of Wisconsin-Madison, (Panel: Recent Research in Himalayan and Nepal Studies)  
"States in Regional Conflict: Perspectives on Indo-Nepal Relations"  
While it has been the trend to study international and regional relations between nations in light of the influence exerted on them by major world industrial powers, it is both relevant and necessary to view many of the emerging conflicts in the developing world mainly in terms of the historical and current nature of regional political and economic ties. Many scholars have correctly pointed out that the developing nations cannot be thought of as a mass of undifferentiated political and economic units. Even a cursor survey of the major continents of the globe, Asia, Africa, and South America, should make it plain that developing nations are diversely equipped in terms of natural resources, political institutions and economic development. One of the major consequences of this differential endowment of natural, political and economic potential is that regional relations are increasingly molded by the forces generated at the level of intra-regional political and economic interaction. States in the developing countries, each emerging as some function of the historical equations resolved in the process of arriving into the modern world, have played a very important part in furthering and concretizing resource and power differences between themselves. States, whether or not they reflect the interests of particular classes in society, can and do make decisions on their own to further what the state elites consider to be vital to their strategic interests in a given region and also globally. Regional conflict between nations, thus, must be viewed in great part, as conflict arising between two states whose leaders resort to extra-diplomatic means to further their interests and consciously or unconsciously the interests of various social classes. A significant conflict of state interests is currently being played out in South Asia between India and Nepal. Reflecting years of accumulated grievances against each other, both parties "agreed" to let the 1951 treaty of trade and transit expire on March 23, 1989. As a result all formal trade relations between the two countries were suspended. At the heart of the dispute lies Nepal’s desire to have two separate treaties on trade and transit, to reduce dependence on India and to exercise its power over all domestic issues without India’s interference. India, for a number of reasons that will be discussed in detail in the paper, does not view very favorably this bid by Nepal to move away from traditional ties with India. This paper proposes to analyze the current diplomatic, political and economic impasse between Nepal and India, its historical roots, its present dimensions and its possible impact on future Indo-Nepal relations. A central focus of the paper will be the nature of the state and state elites in the
two countries and the possible class bases underlying the actions of the two states. I will also discuss the range of consequences for Nepal for whom this constitutes the major economic crisis after formal statehood in 1951 and may well have significant political spillover. Finally, I will attempt to show that inter-third-world relations must be studied from a level that allows for an understanding of both regional and global bases of conflict, rather than one that accords primary value to the traditional bi-polar strategy of viewing the globe.

PANDE, P.C., Kumaun University, and PANDE, RAJNISH, Kumaun University (Panel: Kumaon: Past and Present)
"Impact of Industrialization on the Social Values of the People of Kumaun Himalaya: Special Reference Female Population"
Before independence in Kumaon hills religion, caste and sex of an individual had an important role in determining the nature of work he performed in society. Earlier, the labour force in agricultural fields, mines and plantations, was generally provided by the lowest castes, depressed classes and the unfortunate ones in the society, although the economic condition of the so-called high class people was also not enviable. Free movements of the female members of family were highly restricted. They were not allowed to work and talk with outsiders especially with males. But after independence we notice district change in the social outlook of the people of Kumaon, thanks to industrialization. Women workers are now increasingly taking to industrial work - both skilled and semi-skilled. Since the scope of the present paper is very wide, we have confined our studies to female industrial labour force of Kumaon region (Pithoragarh, Almora and Nainital districts: U.P.). The primary aim of the paper is to study the socio-economic background of the female workers engaged in the industries in Kumaon. To make our studies more meaningful and scientific, we have analysed the female labour force in the region district-wise under the following heads: 1. Distribution of women labour force district and industry-wise. 2. Age structure of women labourers. 3. Marital status of women labourers. 4. Religious composition of women labourers. 5. Caste composition of women labourers. 6. Educational status of women labourers. 7. Migration of women labourers depending on push and pull factors. 8. Wages of female labourers. 9. Indebtedness of the female workers in industrial units. The points enumerated above have been treated in detail in the paper. The paper is based on the field-work carried out by the authors for last several months.

PANTER-BRICK, CATHERINE, Oxford University, (Panel: Culture and Context in Tamang Childbearing, Childcare and Parenting [NEPAL])
"Childcare and Child Well-being"
Tamang subsistence work entails a pattern of high mobility on the mountainside and lengthy separation of the spouses in the day-time. In spite of settlement in large villages, there are few alternative care-takers except at the place of work. Tamang babies are carried by the mother and breast-fed during her habitual activity. Older children, weaned in their third year of life, stay with siblings or peers. Children’s growth is hampered by the seasonal incidence of diarrheal diseases and the low energy content of supplementary foods, and they develop to be small but stout adults. Birth-spacing considerably reduces infant and child mortality. Constraints on child-care among the Tamang, and the success of their childcare strategies, are evaluated.
PASHA, SYED H., SUNY-Cortland, (Panel: Communications in South Asia: Culture; Development and Policy)
"The Emic-Etic Interface: Explicating Ghalib’s Urdu Poetry to a Western Audience"
Communicating across cultural boundaries requires more than a passing knowledge of both cultures, the cultures from and to which one wishes to communicate. It requires a multidimensional crosscultural competence consisting of a knowledge of languages of both cultures, an understanding of the patterns of perception and thought that underlie those languages, as well as a knowledge and understanding of the philosophical, religious, social and other influences with bearing on those cultures. It also requires a certain cognitive and affective resilience which would enable would-be Emic-Etic communicators to empathize with cultural products from across the boundaries and overcome the tendency to judge products of one culture using the values of another. Thus, in an ideal sense, a full crosscultural comprehension would require not only a passing Emic-Etic encounter, but an almost complete cognitive and affective transmigration across cultural boundaries to visit the sights, sounds, thoughts, and minds of other cultures, even though in practice this could only be achieved in degrees. Vast differences separate the Mughal-Indian culture of the first half of the nineteenth century from its American-Western counterpart of the second half of the twentieth century. Mughal India during that time was Mughal, Indian, Muslim, Hindu, mostly Urdu-speaking, Eastern; today’s America is Anglo-Saxon, Irish, Dutch, Italian, African, Spanish, American, Judeo-Christian, mostly English-speaking and Western. An attempt to explicate Ghalib’s Urdu poetry to a Western audience provides both the challenge and the opportunity of an Emic-Etic interface. Not only was Ghalib one of the outstanding Urdu poets of Mughal India, there are elements in his poetry which make him one of the outstanding poets of the world in any language at any time. Given the present cultural environment, an explication of Ghalib’s Urdu poetry may be a significant step in the direction of fostering greater crosscultural understanding between the United States and India and furthering scholarship in this area.

PIGG, STACY LEIGH, Cornell Univ., (Panel: Omnibus)
"Here, There and Everywhere: Place and Person in Nepalese Explanations of Illness"
This paper examines social models implicit in Nepalese villagers’ conceptions of illness. Throughout the middle hills of Nepal, illness is attributed to a complex and fragmented plurality of supernatural and physiological causes, yet every locale elaborates these causes differently. The ethnographic literature shows that, within broadly homologous frameworks for explaining illness, the names and attributes of illness-causing ghosts and deities vary from region to region and ethnic group to ethnic group. Research in one locale in eastern Nepal suggests that people there interpret these differences not as a sign of divergent cultural world views but as a consequence of inevitable differences between people’s positions in the world. Drawing on this locale’s discourse on illness, this paper considers the relationship between particularistic causes (illnesses that strike because of who and where a person is) and universal ones (illnesses that occur everywhere in the same way). Knowledge about the kinds and causes of illnesses contains within it an indigenous theory of pluralism. Through the idiom of illness, villagers talk about how they are like and unlike people of other villagers and, importantly, other countries. At issue for villagers is their place within the culturally diverse nation-state of Nepal and their relation, as rural peasants, to the "developed" world.

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RAO, J.S. NARAYAN, Indian Institute of Economics (Panel: SAARC)  
"Economic Prospects of SAARC"

"Following the success stories of the EEC and the ASEAN, the South Asian countries of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka and Maldives too have grouped themselves into the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) with its HQs in the Himalayan kingdom of Nepal. It is a sibling of hardly four years. Its aim, obviously, is regional cooperation in all possible forms and fields, so to say. What, however, are the prospects of economic cooperation of the group? In the world setting, the group stands as one of the most indigent areas. The area's per capita income is about 200 US dollars with, of course, country-wise variations. Poverty, accordingly, is the main economic characteristic of the group. It is compounded by the bulging population, bulging at the rate of 2.4 per cent per annum, as against, among other things, the food production growth of 2.2 per cent. Under the circumstances the need for economic cooperation among the members of the group, about which they are still gingerly, needs no elaboration. The countries greatly vary in their size, economic development which look quite formidable obstacles in their economic integration and cooperation. Above all is the big brotherly image of INdia. The big three-India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh-had moved from integration to separation and there are quite differences between them. They are mutual competitors in international economic arena of jute, rice, marine products, tea, ready made garments. Further, the countries are divided by the high walls of tariffs from which they derive substantial revenues-as much as 50 per cent by Nepal. Yet there appears to be a good deal of scope for economic cooperation of the group for their accelerated economic growth, such as having, to start with, differential rates of tariff for SAARC and Non-SAARC countries.

RAO, MADHUSUDANA N. and SURINDER M. BHARDWAJ, Kent State University, (Panel: Contemporary Geographical Themes in South Asia)  
"Patterns of Physical Disability in India: A Comparative Approach"

Physical disabilities result from a multiplicity of causes rooted in the attributes of both physical environment and sociocultural milieu. We examine selected patterns of disability in the context of two different physical and cultural environments in India -- Andhra Pradesh and Punjab. Disability data are derived from the Census of India. Attempt is made to determine whether there is a pattern of spatial covariation of certain physical disabilities. Some conceptual and methodological suggestions are made in light of this preliminary study.

REDDY, SEETHA, University of Wisconsin-Madison (Panel: Recent Developments in South Asian Archaeology)  
"Complimentary Approaches to Subsistence Studies: Crop Processing and Bone Chemistry"

The paper will present and discuss the joint application of ethnographic crop processing studies and carbon isotope analysis to questions related to agricultural systems and subsistence economy during the Harappan periods in Gujarat, India. The introductio of the kharif crops such as Sorghum (Jowar), Pennisetum (Bajra), other millets and rice, and new domestic animals (camels, horse, and donkey), definitly must have "revolutionized" the subsistence practices of the region, but these new elements probably supplemented, rather than replaced, the earlier agricultural complex. They may have provided the means for the settlement of new areas, and, coincidentally the opportunity to
create a new social order. The main focus of this paper will be to discuss how carbon isotope analysis and ethnographic crop processing studies can be applied to understand the use of millets during this period; were they cultivated for human consumption and/or for animal fodder? And once adopted did the millets become a significantly important component to the diet (human/animal)? The paper will include a discussion on the advantages and drawbacks in the use of these two methods of analysis for the further understanding of subsistence and agricultural systems of the Harappan periods in Gujarat, and prehistory in general.

RIPLEY, ABBY, New Milford, Connecticut (Panel: Omnibus)
"Food as Ritual in Buddhist Ladakh"
In a society in which scarcity is a real contingency of life, food assumes great importance in Ladakh. This concern with food goes beyond the perennial food deficits in many households to the extraordinary activities and attitudes associated with food itself, making it, perforce, an exemplar of societal dynamics. Food is the medium of social exchange and spiritual entreaty. No event is enacted without the offering and/or consumption of food. Therefore, as a mode of habitual performance, food becomes a ritual and as such will be followed through various cultural contexts, past and present, with an attempt to discover to what extent the secular ritual mirrors the sacred one.

ROSEBERRY III, J. ROYAL, Columbia, South Carolina (Panel: Omnibus)
"In the Footsteps of Sawan Mal: Colonel G.W. Hamilton of Multan"
The presence of such titans as the Lawrences, Herbert Edward and John Nicholson in early Punjab administration has obscured the work of other officials of considerable ability and force of character. One of these "also rans" was Colonel system would allow, Hamilton followed in the footsteps of Diwan Sawan Mal who long had ruled the Multan region as a semi-independent appendage of the Sikh Kingdom. In addition to its intrinsic interest, Hamilton's story illumines some stresses and strains in the administration and the way in which official policy adapted—or failed to adapt—to an atypical part of Punjab. Upon arriving in Punjab early in 1849, then-Captain Hamilton was appointed Defense Counsel to Diwan Mulraj (the son and successor of Sawan Mal) who was charged with complicity in the murders of two British Political Officers. A scion of a well-known Scots legal family, Hamilton carried out the assignment with perhaps more vigor than his superiors intended. Whether by accident or design, Hamilton subsequently gravitated to Sawan Mal's and Mulraj's old domains. After stints as Deputy Commissioner of Jhang adn Multan Districts, he served as Commissioner of Multan from 1854 to 1861. By virtue of skill in bureaucratic infighting and extensive local knowledge the Commissioner exercised exceptional dominance in his bailiwick. Early in his Commissionership Hamilton clashed with Deputy Commissioner Monckton of Jhang, who openly defied his authority. After a bitter war of words the Commissioner prevailed. Hamilton's finest hour came during the 1857 Revolt when he maintained control of Punjab's lifeline to the sea. He relied heavily on the support of local elites during the crisis, and afterwards vigorously promoted the new policy of utilizing "natural leaders" as props of imperial rule. Hamilton's greatest failure was his inability to persuade the Punjab Government that its policy of revenue settlements with village communities was inappropriate in Multan Division where such units were rare.
ROSIN, R. THOMAS, Sonoma State University, (Panel: Omnibus)
"Water, Social Organization, and Polity in Central Rajasthan"

The northern sector of central Rajasthan includes a vast stretch of savannah merging into steppe desert that is among the most densely populated, traditionally exploited arid and semi-arid regions in the world (Mann 1982:302). Such population density depends upon the sequenced development of water resources for human habitation and adaptation, involving a repertoire of hydraulic modifications (e.g. embankments to expand the water catchment area; dams for impounding water on the surface to recharge groundwater or to provide silt-ponds [khadin] for cultivation; step-wells and step-tanks [bavri] for drinking and bathing; levees to control surface water flow; wells excavated for irrigation; canals, siphons and aqueducts for irrigation overpass of nullahs and ravines, et al.) Such modifications constitute a system of folk knowledge and practice, indigenous to south and southwestern Asia, that predates the grand dams and canals initially introduced by British engineers in the late 19th and 20th centuries in Kotah and Bikaner. In the elevated zone along the Aravalli Hills much of the traditional hydrologic system remains in active use, in part intensified by state-supported small dam construction and locally initiated well construction for irrigation. This paper focuses on a half century of hydraulic modifications in one village in Nagaur District in order to analyze the interrelationships among resources (water, land, and energy), the social organization of resource management, and changing patterns of partnership and village polity. Some of the interrelationships perceived within this one locale are tested against variations observed across the entire Aravalli region of central Rajasthan.

ROY, ANJISHNU, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, (Panel: Jawaharlal Nehru: Scholar, Diplomat, Statesman, Ideologue, Visionary . . .)
"Nehru's Dialectical Ideology: A Study of Three Strains of Thought (Tribeinisangam) in Nehru"

A careful analysis of Nehru's principal convictions and momentous decisions reveals an attempt on his part to bring about a synthesis of two opposing forces: Socialism and Individualism; Hindu Orthodoxy and Western Liberalism; Science and Humanism; Communism and Capitalism, etc. It is interesting to note how he interacts with these forces and reaches a compromise which has a distinctive stamp of his own personality. It reminds one of his hometown, Attehebad, or Tribeni where three rivers, Gange, Jamune and Sareswati, meet and become one as they proceed forward. Nehru, along with many other things, has left this sense of magmatic synthesis a legacy to his succeeding generation.

RUDOLPH, LLOYD I., University of Chicago (Panel: Representation of the Self in Oral, Visual, and Written Formats)
"The Self as Other in Autobiographical Presentations: New Perspectives in Ethnographic Interpretation"

In autobiographical writing, the self reports on the self as other. Does this allow such reports to bypass a problematic, much emphasized in current anthropology, that attends an observer reporting on the other? The paper will raise theoretical questions about personal documents from the perspective of ethnographic methodology.
RUDOLPH, SUSANNE HOEBER, University of Chicago (Panel: Representation of the Self in Oral, Visual, and Written Formats)
"Cultural Rules as Contested Subjects in the Amar Singh Diary"
Elsewhere Lloyd and Susanne Rudolph have argued that more important than any literary models—Indian or English—is the psychological impulse of the liminal person to explain herself to herself: adolescents, travelers, persons situated between cultures. This liminal condition is sometimes pictured as structuring a situation in which the actor has to choose between "native" and "foreign" values. The Amer Singh diary, by contrast, makes clear that "native" values are themselves much contested, even while the "native" pictures them as unitary and unproblematic to the colonial overlord. There is always a dual discourse, one between "us natives", arguing about the correct cultural rules, and one between us natives and "you English" in which no such argument is admitted to exist. Here the question of shifting audiences becomes central to the question of cultural definitions and flexibility.

SAMANTA, SUCHITRA, University of Virginia (Panel: Omnibus)
"Mangala: "Auspiciousness/Well-Being" and the Sakti Goddess in Bengal"
My paper investigates a problem formulated by Geertz (1973), namely the experience of a religious symbol as "real" by those who subscribe to it, whereby "world-view" and "ethos" are perceived to be indistinguishable in defining the "reality" (therefore meaningfulness) of a way of life within a culture. Towards this end, I explore the Hindu term mangala (auspiciousness/well-being), which is both concept as well as a state of experience, in the context of the Sakti goddess Kali and her devotees in Bengal. The semantic "field" of mangala is discussed in its prolific association with 1) the goddess, the the domain of women (especially marriage and motherhood), and 2) as a state of material and spiritual "well-being" experienced with relation to the rite of bali (sacrificial offering), a central rite of the Sakti goddess. My discussion of mangala throws light on the particular conception of the Hindu sacred as simultaneously transcendent and immanent. It also contributes to the anthropological literature on "auspiciousness" (Srinivas, 1952; Khare, 1976; Das, 1982; Margin, 1985a & 1985b; Madan, 1985), emphasising however, the need to distinguish between the several indigenous terms which come under this rubric and which are "context-sensitive" in their cultural meaning. Finally, my paper raises the issue of a more holistic approach to the study of religious phenomena, where "experience" is taken into account in understanding the profound implications of the "reality" of a concept or symbol within a culture.

SCHMIDT, CAROLYN W., Columbus, Ohio, (Panel: Gandharan and the Art of the Silk Route)
"The Influence of the Gandharan Buddhist School on an Early Chinese Bronze Image of Maitreya Bodhisattva"
It is now widely recognized that the Buddhist communities which flourished in the ancient kingdom of Gandhara and adjacent regions from about the middle of the third century B.C. through at least the early fifth century A.D. played an important role in the transmission of Buddhist doctrines and artistic forms to China. While literary and epigraphic evidence from Gandhara reveals little about Buddhist beliefs and practices, an enormous body of artistic evidence, including numerous life size stone images from the period of florescence under the Kushans, attests to the vitality of a cult of Maitreya Bodhisattva and suggests that Maitreya held a position of importance second only to that of Sakyamuni. Many of the early Chinese conventions used in Maitreya imagery were based on
Gandharan antecedents. A bronze figure of Maitreya Bodhisattva now in Fujii Saiseikai Yurinkan Museum of Art, Kyoto represents a unique and important testament to the influence of Gandharan forms on those of China. Stylistic and iconographic characteristics of the Kyoto museum piece will be compared with images from Gandhara. Evidence for dating and for beliefs and practices associated with this type of imagery will also be discussed.

SCHMITTENNER, PETER L., Univ. of Wisconsin-Madison, (Panel: Omnibus)
"The Making of C.P. Brown (1798-1884), A British Civilian Scholar of South India"
The main purpose of this paper is to present a concrete explanation about the forces and processes which shaped the attitudes and actions of a nineteenth-century European scholar of South India. This explanation is aimed at reconsidering current theories about "Orientalism" and alternative conceptions are presented. Analysis of the early life of Charles Philip Brown forms the core of this thesis paper. Brown was a civil servant in the Madras Presidency during the first half of the nineteenth century who became renowned in his "unofficial" career as a philologist, historian, and ethnologist. Much of his voluminous scholarship was devoted to the Telugu language, his most noteworthy productions being the Telugu to English and English to Telugu dictionaries which remain in popular use today. An examination of Brown's early life reveals discrepancies in the theories of "Orientalism" which have recently been promoted by Edward Said and others. Although partially influenced by British "colonialist" attitudes and Utilitarianism due to his training at East India Company institutions, Brown's brand of "Orientalism" was shaped more by Evangelicalism and personal zeal. His evangelical spirit was nurtured by his father -- the Reverend David Brown, a pioneer "Missionary" in India -- and strengthened through his acquaintance with missionary-scholars. This spirit led Brown beyond the study of colloquial Telugu, required for his official duties, into an intensive study of Telugu literature, and sustained his desire to "uncover" and comprehend the various facets of "native" religion in South India, which he claimed was a crucial step towards the propagation of Christianity. Neither "colonialist attitudes" or Evangelicalism are models which can accurately explain the dedication and comprehensiveness Brown exhibited in his scholarship, especially on Telugu. Aspects of Brown's personality, such as his personal zeal and his eccentricity, were also crucial components of his scholarship and need to be included in discussions on Orientalism.

SEN, SUCHIBRATA, Visva-Bharati (Panel: Omnibus)
"Perspectives of the Tribal problem in India -- A Case Study of the Santals"
Of late, the Tribal problem in India has become a great concern. Along with the various separatist movements like Khalistan etc., there is a growing demand for a separate province within the Indian Union may turn into a violent movement for complete separation from India. The paper seeks to analyse the deep seated historical reason for the total alienation of the tribals from the so-called mainstream. There is no denying of the fact that the tribal problem in India has not been properly dealt with even after the independence. Starting from the very term 'tribe', the independent India has more or less followed the British imperialist policy pursued towards the aborigines of India. The aborigines do never like to be considered as 'tribe' which, to them, means sub-national or sub-caste. They consider themselves as 'hor-hopon' or true sons of mankind. This attitude of looking towards the tribals is a basic point of difference. If the Kroeberian definition of tribe is to be accepted, the conception of tribal culture is to be given much importance. In India tribal culture has always been
looked upon as a piece of art to be kept in museum. Its connection with structure has rarely been realized. The tribal attachment to land always provided an emotional basis. The land is a part of his spiritual as well as economic heritage. This question of land is the pivot connected with which is the tribal identity. This identity crisis of the tribals has posed a serious problem in present day Indian politics. The tribals of the plains of eastern India consist of the Mundas, the Santals, the Orans, the Kurmis and the Mahatos. Among them the Santals predominates. A case study of the Santals will reveal the malady of the tribal problem.

SENGUPTA, MAHASWETA, Amherst, Massachusetts, (Panel: Omnibus)
"Cross-Cultural translation: Examining the 'Orientalist' Gaze"
Edward Said conceives of the Orientalist position as highly political and thinks that "everyone who writes about the Orient must locate himself vis-a-vis the Orient; translated into his text, this location includes the kind of narrative voice he adopts, the type of structure he builds, the kinds of images, themes, motifs that circulate in his text--all of which add up to deliberate ways of addressing the reader, containing the Orient, and finally, representing or speaking on its behalf." (Orientalism, 1979, p.20). This paper analyzes the validity of some of the above assumptions with reference to the role of the translator and the translated text in the colonial context, and seeks to "locate" the text as well as the translator in relation to the Orient. What are the texts chosen for "representing" the East to the West? What motivates their process of selection and rejection? Are there recurrent themes and motifs that occur in various translated texts? Is there a pattern in the kind of narrative voice these translators adopt? These are some of the questions/issues that will be examined in this paper with reference to the translations of N.B. Halhed, William Jones, H.T. Colebrook, F. Max Mueller and other early Orientalist scholars. Orientalist scholarship flourished under the official patronage of Warren Hastings, Governor General from 1774 to 1785, and under the able guidance of William Jones. Scholars and administrators translated Sanskrit and vernacular texts. These were pioneering efforts in the sphere of cross-cultural transmission, and the stylistic/technical barriers that these translators faced were undoubtedly very great. This paper, does not, however, seek to evaluate the stylistic accomplishments of the early Orientalist translations. My effort will be to analyze the conceptual framework behind these translations and its affiliation to ideology in the colonial context.

SHAFFER, JIM G., Case Western Reserve University (Panel: Recent Developments in South Asian Archaeology)
The site of Watgal, located in northeastern Karnataka State is approximately 175 km southwest of Hyderabad. Watgal is one of the few known remaining sites in this area to have relatively extensive undisturbed prehistoric occupational deposits. Preliminary excavations defined a cultural sequence spanning the Southern Neolithic through the Medieval Periods, from ca. 2500 B.C. to A.D. 1300. Consequently, Watgal represents an important opportunity to apply current archaeological methodologies to a sequence comparable to sites excavated in the past when these methodologies were not used, e.g. at Maski and Bhramagiri. Although recent excavations were limited in scale, prehistoric and Early Historic levels produced an impressive range of ceramic types, microliths, steatite disc beads and possibly associated with the site. The extensive cultural sequence combined with the excellent preservation of faunal and palaeobotanical remains ensure the the excavations at
Watgal will greatly increase our understanding of cultural processes affecting this area of South Asia over the past four millennia.

SHRESTHA, MOHAN N., Bowling Green State University, (Panel: Changing Cultural Geographical Patterns in South Asia)
"Impact of Boundary Changes on Population Distribution in Nepal"
Since 1952, regional and district boundaries of Nepal have changed five times. However, the Central Bureau of Statistics of His Majesty's Government of Nepal did not make any adjustments to any of the earlier census data. As such, it is impossible to make any meaningful spatial and temporal comparisons of demographic and economic variables. An attempt is made in this paper to adjust these boundary changes that took place between 1971 and 1981, and to analyze the population growth and change at the district level since 1971.

SHRESTHA, NANDA R., University of Wisconsin-Whitewater, (Panel: Recent Research in Himalayan and Nepal Studies)
"Towards a Theory of Landlessness in Agrarian Societies"
The issue of landlessness has emerged as a growing problem in the Tarai region of Nepal. The issue is closely related to increasing frontier migration which, in terms of volume, is the most dominant form of migration in contemporary Nepal. Frontier migration largely constitutes hill migrants who move to the Tarai region in search of farm land. The proposed study will focus on how frontier migration leads to increasing landlessness on the frontier. In other words, the main objective here will be to develop a theory of landlessness in agrarian societies. The study will be based on the field survey data as well as the author's personal observations of the ongoing trend in the central Tarai region of Nepal.

SHRESTHA, UMA, Ball State University (Panel: Recent Research in Himalayan and Nepal Studies)
"Newari-Nepali Diglossia: A Case Study of Udas Newars' Language Use"
This study examines the linguistic behavior, with particular reference to language choice and code-switching between Newari, the ethnic language and Nepali, the national language, among Udas, a distinctive merchant-caste of Buddhist Newars living exclusively in Kathmandu, the capital city of Nepal. A carefully designed and pretested questionnaire was distributed to forty-eight Udas Newars selected through a quota sampling procedure. The primary purpose of the questionnaire was to elicit information about the social functions of the subjects' use of Newari and Nepali. The secondary purpose was to determine the subjects' attitudes and opinions about the differential use of the languages in question. The method of participant observation was also used to gather supporting data to check the validity of the responses obtained through the questionnaire. Drawing on the theoretical concept of "domain" proposed by Fishman, five domains are identified for the analysis of the subjects' responses: family, friendship, work, education, and religion. The findings of the investigation show: 1. There exists a discernible pattern in the subjects' use of languages. The use of Newari is exclusively dominant in the domains of family, religion, and intragroup communication while Nepali is dominant in the domains of education and intergroup communication. No language emerges clearly as the dominant one in the domain of work. 2. The subjects represent a sample of bilingual speakers exhibiting a diglossic behavior in their use of Newari and Nepali. 3. The subjects
consistently exhibit strong and favorable attitudes toward their ethnic tongue which is not being given any institutional support from the Government. Such commendable attitudes of the subjects toward Newari must have contributed to its maintenance in the face of the growing dominance of Nepali in social, political, and economic realms of the country.

SIDDIQUEE, BAKER A., Sangamon State Univ. (Panel: SAARC)
"Economic Integration, Regional Cooperation and Growth and Development in South Asia"
The idea of regional cooperation and integration arrangements has become widely accepted among both developed and developing countries as an important means for accelerating economic growth and development and also to promote other social goals. Currently, there are over a dozen of such regional groups covering as many as one-half of the world's population. While these countries were actively engaged in drawing up and implementing mutually beneficial regional cooperation policies in the fields of economics and other areas over the last three decades or more, with both successes and failures, the countries inhabited by the other half of the world population, namely, China and the South Asian countries, have remained very much inward looking and in many instances even anti-regional bodies and also the realization of greater world interdependence finally convinced the leaders of seven South Asian countries (Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka), to form their own regional cooperation body - the SAARC in 1985. The major aim of this paper is to consider a limited form of economic integration among the SAARC countries and analyze the potential static and dynamic gains for the union. A major finding of the paper is that although the size of the static gains may not be substantial, however, the dynamic gains for the union as a whole may be substantial. Furthermore, the dynamic gains can be increased further by broadening the union memberships including countries such as Burina and Afghanistan.

SINGH, UPINDER, McGill University, (Panel: Temple Patronage in Medieval India)
"Kings, Brahmans, and Temples in Ancient and Early Medieval Orissa"
The paper examines the nature and significance of royal endowments to temples in Orissa between the fourth and the mid-twelfth century C.E. on the basis of epigraphic sources. Through most of the period under review, the major beneficiaries of royal patronage were Brahmans, the number of royal grants to temples being comparatively few. Further, the architectural evidence of sustained temple-building activity in a period marked by political flux, the difficulty in associating most of the temples with particular rulers or dynastic groups, and the infrequent prominence given to the king as temple-builder in the royal prasasti (the laudatory introduction to the royal grants) also suggest that during this period, royal initiative in the building and patronage of temples may have been less significant than that of local landed, mercantile, and military elites. Until the building of the Purosattama-Jagannatha temple in the mid-twelfth century by the Ganga king Anantavarman Codaganga, it would appear that it was the Brahamana settlement, not the royally-endowed temple establishment, that was the major factor of political, economic, and cultural integration in the ancient and early medieval kingdoms of Orissa.
SINHA, MRINALINI, Albion College, (Panel: Congresses, Communities, and the Counter-Colonial Discourse In Indian Nationalism)

"A Sanctuary for Men": The Anglo-Indian Social Clubs and the Colonial Politics of Masculinity"
In the early years of the twentieth century the all-(white) male and elite social clubs in India came under pressure from the nationalists to admit 'native' members. Throughout the nineteenth century these bastions of Anglo-Indian male privilege had successfully kept both women and 'natives' from "profaning" the sanctuary for "real men". The history of the clubs and the agitation over the admission of 'natives' sheds light on the conflict over 'masculinity' which underscored much of the politics of colonialism in British India. The clubs were not just places where like-minded men retired to share a drink and a game of poker, but they played an active role in fostering a cohesive Anglo-Indian society. Officials and non-officials in the Anglo-Indian community were brought together in the clubs where they came to share a common perspective on a variety of political issues. Many conflicting interests between groups of Anglo-Indians could be resolved in the easy conviviality of the clubhouse. At times of crisis the clubs easily became rallying centers for the dominant Anglo-Indian point of view. My paper will study the culture of the all-male clubs and the attitude of club members to the admission of women and 'natives'. The rhetoric against female and 'native' members drew upon claims of a 'hyper-masculinity'. My paper will also examine the native movement for a share in the masculine culture of the clubs; a movement perceived as an attack against the alleged Anglo-Indian claim of exclusive rights over a fixed quantity of 'manliness'. The few 'brown sahibs' who gained admission to the racially-mixed clubs, however, did little to alter the essence of the 'clubland' culture. I will explore the implications of this masculinist culture for the perpetuation of colonial ideological thinking and its use of gender and racial stereotypes.

SINOPOLI, CARLA M., University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (Panel: Recent Developements in South Asian Archaeology)

After a decade of intensive archaeological research at the medieval imperial capital of Vijayanagara, a program of intensive survey has begun in order to examine the city in its broader regional context. During the first season of survey, 110 sites were identified in an area of ca. 20 sq km. Vijayanagara period sites include towns and villages, shrines and temple complexes, roadways, gates, craft production sites and agricultural sites, including irrigation tanks and canals. A number of prehistoric sites were also identified in the region. This paper reports on results from this first season of survey and on perspectives for future research.

SPENGLER, WILLIAM F., University of Wisconsin, (Panel: Topics in Indo-Islamic History and Numismatics)

"Numismatic Evidence of Late Ghaznavid and Ghurid Personal Nomenclature and Royal Titulature"
Much has been written concerning the personal nomenclature and royal titulature of the early Ghaznavids (10th-11th Centuries A.D.), based mainly on literary sources; somewhat less concerning the later Ghaznavids. But comparatively little attention has been given to the Ghorids (12th Century A.D) in this regard. Careful study of numismatic evidence can reveal information regarding nomenclature and titulature, as well as other political data, not found in extant literary and inscriptional sources. This paper presents some recent discoveries relating to late Ghaznavid and
Ghorid nomenclature and titulature from numismatic evidence including (1) a new kunya for Khusro Malik Ghaznavi (c. 1160-1186 A.D.); (2) the sequence of changing jaqabs of the two brothers Muhammad bin Sam Ghori (1163-1203 A.D.); (3) the acquisition of progressively exalted royal titles by the younger brother Mu'izz al-Din Muhammad bin Sam ("Muhammad Ghori"); and (4) evidence of rivalry, rather than the reported fraternal concord, between the two Ghori brothers as indicated by titles used on their coins.

SRI KRISHNA, S., Sri Venkateswara Univ., (Panel: Omnibus)
"Role of Regional Political Parties in India - A Case Study of Telugu Desam Party Under the Leadership of Shri N.T. Rama Rao, Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh" Regional parties have awakened the consciousness of the people in their very different statuses and locales. They have made clear to the Congress about the needs of their groups, ideologically and politically. Finding that secessionism and violence could not pay to their demands, they operate now with more efficiency in the parliamentary arenas as opposition. They expect to play a leading role amidst the diversity of India in future. Regional parties are an inevitable development in India and they have a definite influence and impact upon the body politic. Whenever India as a whole is threatened by an external element, the whole stands united. However, when there is no such engrossing All-India concern, the regional loyalties dominate the political scene. The twenty-six years uninterrupted Congress rule in Andhra Pradesh came to an abrupt end with the emergence of Telugu Desam as the ruling party in the 1983 Assembly Elections, Centralization of power, weakening of political institutions, the erosion of democratic methods, the raising of the bogey of national disintegration are some of the reasons for the rejection of Congress from the political power scene of the State. N.T. Rama Rao's less than a year old Telugu Desam became the focus of the anti-Congressism. Decentralization of power, local action, milieu and culture are some of the issues on which N.T. Rama Rao won the election. The victory of Telugu Desam shows that a regional party devoid of linguistic chauvinism, casteism and separatism has a chance of coming to power, however 'big and old', the so called All India parties may be. In the wake of the massive mandate given to it by the people at the January, 1983 hustings the Telugu Desam Government, headed by N.T. Rama Rao in its bid to root out poverty and squalor lost no time in spelling out a series of welfare measures. The 15-point 'Pragati Patham' announced by the Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister N.T. Rama Rao on March, 1st 1983, intends to impart greater dynamism to some of the key social and economic programmes. It promises to lead the weaker sections towards new frontiers of progress. Charles de Gaulle, the great French leader, has said that to be an eminent administrator and a good leader, one must possess three qualities; intelligence, instinct and authority. A leader needs both intelligence and instinct to chalk out a right path. N.T. Rama Rao has all the three qualities. N.T. Rama Rao has not lost his zeal and enthusiasm for facing challenges in life. "Power," said Henry Kissinger, 'is the greatest aphrodisiac.' Often it goes to people's heads. It makes them arrogant and insane. But in Rama Rao's case, it seems to have done nothing of the kind. It has not changed his lifestyle. He puts in the same amount of effort in his new job as he did in his earlier avocation. If he slogged 16 hours a day reportedly to earn Rs.one lakh during the later days of his film career, he is working for equally long hours with the same determination to achieve results. He has always been rewarded for his labour in the past. There is no reason why he should not succeed in his present assignment because he is putting in the same hard work, if not mere: he is sincere and is as determined as ever.
SULTANA, MONWAR, Boston, Massachusetts, (Panel: The Transformation of South Asian Labor Markets)
"Forms of Empowerment and Participation Among Female Program Beneficiaries in Bangladesh"
This paper will look at micro-level development projects designed to develop cottage industries as income earning opportunities for poor women. It examines the nature of productive activities in order to highlight the modes of project participation by women. Women's participation and empowerment will be analyzed in the context of productive activities in order to highlight the relationship between those activities and the patterns of participation and empowerment generated among women as project beneficiaries.

TALBOTT, CYNTHIA, Northern Arizona University, (Panel: Temple Patronage in Medieval India)
"Temple Donors in Medieval Andhra: Royal vs. Nayaka Modes of Patronage"
In thirteenth century Andhra, it was individuals bearing the title "nayaka" -- generally men claiming allegiance to an overlord and engaged in the performance of military duties -- who comprised the largest group of donors to temples. In contrast, the number of religious endowments made by royal or noble donors was relatively small; neither the Kakatiya dynasty which exercised hegemony over the region nor the minor nobility of the coastal districts dominated temple patronage in their localities. Using epigraphic data from the period 1175 to 1325 A.D., this paper will compare the endowments made by nayaka and royal/noble temple patrons in order to assess the motives for religious gifting on the part of these two types of donors. Were nayakas merely replicating the behavior of kings on a smaller scale -- i.e., were they acting as "little kings" -- or were there substantive differences in the patterns and strategies of their endowments, indicating the presence of an alternative to the royal model of gifting?

THIGALE, S.S. and I.N. SAXENA, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, (Panel: Contemporary Geographical Themes in South Asia)
"Water Resource Planning in Maharashtra: A Case Study of Upper Mula Basin"
The objective of this paper is to discuss the distribution and effectiveness of man-made reservoirs constructed mainly by the Irrigation Department of Government of Maharashtra for agricultural development in the Upper Mula River Basin in the upland region of Maharashtra. About 82 percent area of the state of Maharashtra consists of horizontally disposed basaltic flows which hydrogeologically are regarded as 'hard rocks'. Repeated drought years since 1972 and haphazard withdrawal of ground water through wells from mainly anisotropic aquifers have lead to the depletion of water tables in the region. Fortunately, factors such as well-integrated drainage patterns, fan shaped catchments, low slopes of higher order streams and nearness of impervious floor from the surface have provided an opportunity to the authorities for undertaking construction of small to medium size engineering structures including Minor Irrigation and Percolation Tanks, and K-type Weirs within the middle order river basins. The Upper Mula is one such river basin where five minor irrigation tanks and seven K-type weirs have been completed by 1986. Their locations and storage capacities are related to the agricultural needs of the basin. Their role in bringing more land under cultivation, changing agricultural practices from monoculture to multiple cropping patterns, and assuring minimum water supply during dry spells, has been discussed.
TIE-CHENG, FAN, Huazhong Normal University (Panel: Omnibus)
"Double Mission and Introduction of Modern Industries—A Perspective in Comparison Between India and China, 1855’s-1910’s"
Although the evaluation of 19th Century’s economic history of India have been controversial, many Asian historians, including some Indians, unhesitatingly accepted and freely quoted K. Marx’s theory of "Double Mission of British Rule in India". Yet it remains a problem to properly understand and interpret this theory. The paper’s author is critical to those historians of Soviet Union and China who have been reluctant to recognize the regenerating mission for fearing that doing so would offset their condemnation of imperialism. The essay mainly deals with the process of the introduction and initial development of modern industries, such as jute, cotton textile, iron-steel and railroad, into Indian Subcontinent prior to World War I, in order to provide the concrete contents of the "regenerating mission" of British rule or as Marx said: "laying the material foundations of Western society in Asia". The author also compares the developments in India with those of the industrial activities of so-called "Westernization Group" in later Qing’s China, before drawing a conclusion that the official Westernized Enterprises played much more negative role than positive in early development of modern industries in China. In comparison with India, the oppression of Chinese National Capitalism by the Qing Government was more serious than that of Indian National Capitalism by the British-Indian Government. To conclude the essay, the author maintains, the comparative study of the ways of early modernization between India and China under dependent situations will offer us much historical lessons. In both cases we should put the emphasis on the traditional economic structures which have been deep-rooted over thousands of years and have been hindering the process of their modernizations. It is author’s intension to distinguish this from among the other factors which acted upon their modern economic histories.

VAJRACHARYA, GAUTAM, University of Wisconsin-Madison, (Panel: A Reappraisal of South Asian Art History)
"Life in the Rain Cloud: A Study of Symbolic Representations in South Asian Art"
India is a country of both rain and drought. From the beginning of her civilization, inhabitants of the country have been praying for the right amount of rain at proper time of year. But, the monsoon is always unpredictable, hence drought becomes part of life in India. The strong belief in karma, which may have originated from the unpredictable climate of the subcontinent, seems to be a reason that ancient India seldom attempted to build an effective irrigation system. Even today technology has not been developed to harness the monsoon rain and postpone it for later utilization. Indian civilization, however, from the vedic period on, created many gods, myths, rituals and various concepts to procure rain. In this respect, no literature of any other countries is as rich as that of India. One can expect the same ubiquitous expression in artistic traditions of India. In ancient art, however, the rain water or rain cloud is almost always represented by a variety of symbols such as makara and vegetation motifs. This becomes clear only if we refer to Sanskrit literature associated with the ancient beliefs about rain clouds. One of the treatises for our study is Varahamihira’s Brhat Samhita, an encyclopedic work mostly based on early texts but compiled only in the sixth century. Although art historians are familiar with this text particularly with the chapter dealing with iconography, the chapters associated with the prediction of rain and drought, to my knowledge, have
not been used to explain the symbolism in Indian art. In this paper we shall endeavour to show how clearly the auspicious symbols of Indian art are originally associated with the anxiously anticipated seasonal rain, on which the life and prosperity of the subcontinent depend even today.

VINCENTNATHAN, S. GEORGE, Aurora Univ., (Panel: Omnibus)
"Social Construction of Disorder and its Outcome in a South Indian Community"
This paper will focus on behavior and events that are defined by members of a Tamilian Harijan community as disturbing to community solidarity. Even though definitions of disorder would be present in all communities at any time, some communities tend to see disorder in a way that they would eventually produce dire consequences. The community studied presents such a predicament. Community and village panchayat members have defined their community as bad and becoming worse. In accord with this construction one event of disorder has followed another, ultimately leading to the occurrence of a homicide in the village. Their perception is that immoral conduct not condemned and rectified will accumulate and culminate in serious and damaging consequences. They saw occurrences of drunkenness, sexual immorality, fights, and finally homicide in the village as evidence of simple problems developing into serious ones. The village panchayat, which could have intervened and helped bring the community back together, could not do much as there were a few villagers belonging to higher castes, who could not be controlled and who caused major disorder in the community. This paper will identify events, definitions, and characteristics of disorder as perceived by the people. This will also deal with the definition of why such disorder occurs and what should be done to solidify the community. The study falls within the area of anthropology of law. The data collected are based on the presenter's fieldwork, interviews, and observations in 1988, funded by an NSF grant to study VILLAGE COURTS AND STYLES OF DISPUTE SETTLEMENT IN TAMILNADU, INDIA.

VINCENTNATHAN, LYNN, Aurora, Illinois, (Panel: Omnibus)
"Caste Hindu Views of Untouchables: The Dynamics of Biased Perception"
Using interviews and folklore, this paper explores the Hindu notion of differential inherent qualities of persons belonging to different castes, and how caste Hindus maintain stereotyped perceptions of Untouchables when faced with contradictory information. Caste Hindu and Untouchable variations in legends reveal differences in areas where the theme contradicts a negative perception of Untouchables, with caste Hindu versions explaining how the saints had some special non-Untouchable qualities, and in essential ways were not true Untouchables. Interviews with caste Hindus regarding their experiences with Untouchable persons are explained away, or seen as aberrant or idiosyncratic, while negative aspects of individual Untouchables are generalized to the whole caste; the opposite process holds for caste Hindu perceptions of caste Hindus. This paper is based on interviews done and folklore collected in Tamil Nadu in 1984-85 and 1988, and is in part taken from by dissertation, HARIJAN SUBCULTURE AND SELF-ESTEEM MANAGEMENT IN A SOUTH INDIAN COMMUNITY. Supportive information from other studies throughout India is included. Social psychological and anthropological perspectives are used for the analysis.
WANMALI, SUDHIR, International Food Policy Research Institute, (Panel: Contemporary Geographical Themes in South Asia)
"Determinants of Rural Service use Amongst Household in North Arcot, Tamil Nadu, India"
The paper links at socio-economic and spatial determinants of rural household use of services in one of the districts of Tamil Nadu, India. Its implications for the growth of regional economy are also noted in the study.

WEINBAUM, FRANCINE, University of Illinois, (Panel: Omnibus)
"Search for Self: Reflections on the Novels of Paul Scott"
India, particularly British India, for Paul Scott was an acknowledged obsession, a country of the heart, its physical geography burned into his photographic memory, its history mastered in twenty years of painstaking study. This was because in British India of the mid-1940's Scott found a land onto which he could project the patterns which already existed in his mind. The themes perfected in The Raj Quartet are present in the early novels, even those set in contemporary London. The play between reality and illusion, the sense of straddling two worlds, is tied to a search for self present in all of Scott's work beginning with his first published novel, Johnnie Sahib and transformed in The Raj Quartet. All of the novels are quest novels, for meaningful purpose defined by love and work. The early protagonists are conscientious introverts, often suffering from some form of inadequacy, aggravated by anxiety or depression. There is usually a contrast presented in a symbiotic or rival relationship between two men, a freer and a more repressed character. The observer who lacks the sexual energy of the observed admires, envies, fears him and/or fears for him. The unconscious desire of this introvert/protagonist is to rid himself of feelings of emptiness, generally by introjecting some aspect of the personality of the extrovert. However, and somewhat reminiscent of Conrad's Marlowe, he usually watches the observed enter an arena into which he dare not or cannot follow and has or develops ambivalent feelings about him. In 1964, shortly after his stay in the village of Thimmapuram, Scott, energized, discovered a metaphor of cultural confrontation which played a part in focusing his art outward. The quest in the early novels for meaning, truth and self becomes in The Raj Quartet a search of the observer/investigator/narrator for the facts behind the Bibigah affair; more, it is a quest for historical truth and the nature of man, the truth of human psychology which Emerson finds in history.

WILLIAMS, JOANNA, University of California-Berkeley, (Panel: A Reappraisal of South Asian Art History)
"Is the Present the Key to the Past? Ethno-Art History"
By Ethno-Art History (a term modelled on Ethno-Archaeology), I mean extrapolation from the present to the past in understanding works of art in their original context. Some possible examples are studies of meaning, investigation of how artists work, and studies of the function of images for their viewers. One may well object that the present differs substantially from the past and that we are simply pursuing the subsequent intellectual history of the object. We risk projecting onto India 19th-century European stereotypes of Asia's 'ewig Stillstand'. In each case, the jump from the ethnographic present to the art-historical past must be explicitly questioned. Usually a general process or structure emerges rather than a specific fact. Nonetheless this may advance our understanding of some problematic parts of ancient Indian art. This paper is broadly methodological,
illustrated with stray examples that interest me, such as the relationship in composition between some Rajput court painting and padhs used in rural recitations.

WOOD, LEELA, University of Michigan, (Panel: The Every Shorter Short Chronology: Fact or Fiction?)

"Painting at Ajanta: An Embarrassment of Riches?"

Stylistic variation and/or development in the paintings at Ajanta: how should it be explained? If Professor Spink's conclusions with regard to his Short Chronology can be sustained, all of the "Mahayana" paintings at the site must fall into two period of only about five years each—c.467 to c.471 on the one hand, and c.476-480 on the other—rather than within a span of anywhere from one hundred fifty to four hundred fifty years, as different scholars in the past have proposed. Related problems involve the question of how many painters were working at the site, how the work was apportioned during the periods when the painting was done, and whether the connection of the painting with the architecture and the sculpture at the site is essential or expedient. Needless to say, if the caves were all completed within a mere two decades, these questions would surely yield different conclusions than if the caves were underway for centuries. At the same time, the observations that these questions elicit may well provide us with a significant test of the thesis itself.