ABSTRACTS

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Some Characteristics of Monsoon Rainfall in Bangladesh and their Relationships with the Onset Dates and Duration of the Monsoon

Although Bangladesh is located in the most important monsoon region of the world, very little is known about its rainfall characteristics and the duration of this season, and how they are related to the onset dates of the season.

The study evaluates (1) the relationship of the duration of the summer monsoon season with the onset date; (2) the relationship of the total seasonal rainfall with the onset date of the summer monsoon; (3) mean and standard deviation of the total seasonal rainfall; (4) mean and standard deviation of the longest consecutive rainy days; (5) probabilistic occurrence of the duration of the monsoon season: (a) shorter than the mean duration -- once in every 4 years, 10 years and 25 years, (b) longer than the mean duration -- once in every 4 years, 10 years and 25 years; (6) probabilistic occurrence of the monsoon rainfall amount: (a) less than the mean amount -- once every 4 years, 10 years, and 25 years, (b) greater than the mean amount -- once every 4 years, 10 years, and 25 years; and (7) probabilistic longest duration of consecutive rain days -- once every 4 years, 10 years, and 25 years.

This study is the first of its kind, especially in the context of Bangladesh. These information will be useful for agricultural and regional planning purposes, and for the management of monsoon floods and water resources of the country. More importantly, this study constitutes a significant contribution toward a better understanding of the climatology of a major monsoon region.
The Social Construction of Female Leadership in South Asia: Opportunities and Constraints

One of the intriguing and significant patterns in South Asian politics is the emergence of women as heads of government. It is an intriguing development when one considers the high degree of patriarchy, traditionalism and conservatism that exist in most part of South Asia. The combined effects of these are reflected in the low status of women in most of the countries in that region. The significant issue here is to explain the emergence of this leadership in such contexts. The emergence of female leadership in this region is also intriguing and significant because it raises expectations in terms of what such leadership can do to improve the status of women in the region. An understanding of the nature of female leadership in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh provides an adequate scope to explain the emergence and prospects of female leadership in affecting the status of women in these countries.

The paper discusses the nature of female leadership in South Asia as a product of social construction. By social construction is meant the interactive influences of culture (values, norms, expectations, traditions), environments and situations in framing the meaning of a phenomenon. The main argument of the paper rests on explaining the contradictory forces of social construction in framing the meaning of such leadership. While on the one hand social forces have contributed to the emergence of female leadership; on the other hand, they have also constrained its effectiveness in bringing major changes in the status of women in these countries. The paper also explains how individual female leaders have participated consciously or unconsciously, actively or reluctantly, in the process of social construction of their leadership roles.

Mohammad B. Alam

Patterns of State Politics in India: A Case Study of Orissa

Unlike other states of the Indian Union, very few research studies has been undertaken on the Eastern state of Orissa. An in-depth analysis of the state politics shows some familiar trends (e.g., corruption, leadership tussle, defection, intra-party factional squabbles) and unfamiliar ones (e.g., Caste rivalry, student politics, regional/religious/minority pressure groups). My paper addresses the saliency of these characteristics and provides a short-term as well as a long-term assessment of Orissa's political future.
Gender and Religion in the Nacni Tradition of East-Central India

This paper, based on 1993 field research in southern Bihar and West Bengal, considers issues of gender and religion in the performance tradition of nacnis—women who sing and dance professionally at village festivals and weddings in east-central India.

Nacnis are of low caste and marginal status, but their associated male poets, teachers, and "keepers" are of high caste. The unorthodox life-styles of many nacnis, including multiple, unofficial marriages, are contrary to the normative ideologies of the female in this region of village India. But their often powerful performances, reenactments of the Raslila of Radha and Krishna, articulate the feminine devotional/romantic voice associated with the Vaisnava bhakti tradition. Despite their low social status, nacnis enjoy high artistic status for their deep knowledge of all aspects of performance, their ability to induce devotional and sensual intoxication, and their embodiment of Radha herself in their own lives.

The words and performances of nacnis and the roles of the men with whom they are associated reveal the sometimes contradictory ideologies of gender and religion that are associated with the nacni tradition. Nacnis preserve their declining art by attempting to reconcile and redefine these ideologies in a post-colonial India.

The Geography and Politics of Narmada Valley Development

Controversial as the hydro-energy dam development projects have been since the decades of the Seventies, few equal the national and the international controversy generated by the Narmada Valley Development project in India. The paper explores the geography as well as the development plan on the Narmada river in central India that is the stage of the project, including the issues and the ongoing controversies that have plagued the project since its inception. Conclusively, it examines the political power play between the people likely to be affected by the project and the states are going to be the beneficiaries, between the national governments and the international donor agency, which in this case is the World Bank.
Deepika Bahri

Always Becoming: Narratives of Nation and Self in Jasmine

Homi Bhabha contends that "Colonial power produces the colonized as a fixed reality which is at once an 'other' and yet entirely knowable and visible." In her 1989 novel Jasmine, Bharati Mukherji conflates the individual and national-historical into one narrative, trajecting both into a condition of "always becoming." Challenging the synchronic essentialism inherent in colonial discourse and subverting notions of nationhood and identity, Mukherjee envisions and projects upon a fictional screen the hallmark scenario of our confusing times, one marked by endless regeneration and transformation. Sharing an ambivalent reality that prevents this enunciation are both Mukherjee's protagonist Jasmine, who is re-invented a "million times," and her alter-protagonist America (the US), which is presented as a nation-space always in the process of being articulated. Jasmine's untiring movement is an attempt to dodge the stasis demanded by (neo)orientalist attempts to "know" the woman, the native, the other and fix identity as the fantasy of differences (Bhabha 169). While Jasmine is the imaginary other who cannot be realized, America is the imaginary trope of always becoming.

Sikata Bannerjee


The politics of Hindutva formed the context of the recent incidents of violence in Bombay. Hindutva or Hindu nationalism claims that the only true India is a Hindu India and minorities (read Muslims) can live in India only if they accept Hindu cultural dominance. It is pursued in Bombay by the Shiv Sena, a regional party, which openly declared its involvement in various attacks on Muslim life and property. The Sena's skillful delineation of a political message centering on a notion of 'masculine Hindutva' answered a need among the urban poor who feel betrayed by Congress platitudes and Marxist dogma. Masculine Hindutva creates images of warlike mythical heroes and uses a language of aggression and violence to define a Hindu community. This ideology believes the golden age of Hinduism had been lost because Hindus had become effeminate and weak. Therefore, it is time for Hindus to assert themselves through violent resistance and protect their way of life. The urban poor respond to this message which bestows an ideological means of resisting on a people betrayed by the unfulfilled economic and political promises of 'secular' liberal democracy. However, masculine Hindutva was able to ignite the political landscape of Bombay because a conjunction of economic and political factors had already created a structural context conducive to violence.
Naseem Banerji, Weber State University

Light Symbolism in the Early Medieval Monuments of Bengal

The decorative use of the symbolism of light in the Early Medieval religious monuments of Bengal can be traced to Sufi mysticism and its illuminationist theories as well as to Shi'ite hagiographical literature. Probably brought into Bengal by early Sufis like Jalal-al-Din Tabrizi, who were responsible for large conversions of the population, the motif appears to have become popular in the early 14th century and to have lost its definite form and meaning by the 16th and 17th centuries, when it began to take on a purely decorative function. This paper will trace its origin and development in Bengali architecture of the Gaur/Pandua and Bagerhat regions and go on to survey monuments from the 15th and 16th centuries.

Srimati Basu

Silence in the Coutroom?: The Appellation of Gender and Authority in the Indian Higher Courts

This paper is an analysis of how a State negotiates conflicting appellations of originary tradition and post-independence egalitarianism in the workings of "national" law. Under the post-colonial State in India (and also the colonial), laws that were created purportedly to improve the lot of women as a group often dominate public discourse as arguments about intrusions into male entitlements. These laws, though created in response to demands made by feminist groups or political parties evoking the post-colonial State’s commitment to social egalitarianism, rarely influence the social fabric in any radical way. Rather, the courts (in judges’ interpretations and lawyers’/clients’ framing of cases) have mostly treated the laws as marginal to the traditional way that rights and duties have been interpreted in the patriarchal world-view, e.g. by invoking 'good' vs. 'bad' women’s entitlements or the 'reasonable man's expectations' standard. However, there are also cases where the spirit of the laws has been used by judges to re-interpret women’s roles and proclaim a society changing to accommodate these roles. In this talk, I will use examples of both kinds of judgments to explore how laws "for women" developed in independent India have fared in the legal-cultural realm, how they have invoked discourses of tradition vs. modernity and constructed contemporary "Indian womanhood."
Dyuti Baral, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Women in Hindu Religion

This paper attempts to assess the dynamics of cultural patterns and norms of behaviour instituted by Hindu religion that have had a significant impact on shaping the image and identity of women. For this purpose, it would be pertinent to view both the perception of the image and identity that one, women in Hindu religion have of themselves and two, that society has of them. For analysing the contribution of society, references have been made to the different aspects of it, namely the political and the economic.

The impact of religion is to be seen not only while performing routine or 'mundane' activities but also the 'sacred'. Corresponding to the two spheres of activity a woman in Hindu religion has to take on specific attributes, roles and privileges. Ironically, while taking on these roles a woman in Hindu religion has at times projected strikingly different images. She would be both a creator and a destroyer, a weak individual and a strong one. Which is the image that a woman believes is hers? Which does she contrive to live up to?

Religion has also buttressed the caste system, legitimising its existence and therefore also the modes of behaviour defined by it. The caste system it is seen, in turn provided the structural and institutional basis to maintain a certain stereotype of a Hindu woman. There is the Hindu woman and there is the woman in Hindu religion.
Rich Barnett, University of Virginia

Pre-Colonial Boundaries, Post-Mughal Politics, and the Idea of the State

The fluid political realms of the 18th-century Indus Valley—especially Bahawalpur, Multan, the growing Sikh confederacy, and Sind—provide interesting examples of how boundaries were conceptualized, manipulated, and politically enforced or ignored. Perso-Afghan armies repeatedly invaded, signed treaties, and left, under the impression that they had created new ones. The British, in the Great Trigonometric Survey of the early 19th Century, introduced scientific mapping into the ideational mix, with curious results. My purpose is to assess the relationships among territoriality, political necessity, and the regional state during the founding, maturation, and colonization of new dynastic entities, especially in the changing riverine and inundation canal environment that characterizes this area. Indigenous chronicles, folklore, and biographies are supplemented by numerous European travel accounts to investigate just how boundaries were defined, used, and abused in c.1730-1860, the era in which Pakistan's internal constituent units were being consolidated.

Ashok Bhargava

Economic Policy and Performance: Rajiv and Rao Years

This paper critically examines economic policy and performance over the last decade. Rajiv Gandhi promoted liberalization policies started by Mrs. Gandhi during her second regime in the 1980's. The Rajiv years started India on the path of consumerism without opening up the country to International capital. Rao’s government has accelerated the growth of consumerism and opened the country to international capital to integrate the economy into the global market. The economic policy package consists of devaluation, import and export liberalization, reduction in taxes and government deficits, deregulation and privatization. The policies during the Rajiv and Rao years are compared as also the economic performance during the two time periods.

The paper also compares the current liberalization process in India with similar measures in other countries and the results achieved in the other countries. The liberalization policies in India and other countries are evaluated in the context of the goals and paradigms used to evaluate the progress in these societies.
Guy L. Beck, Louisiana State University

Sacred Sound on Sacred Ground: Vaisnava Music in Braj

The characterization of the various forms of music heard in Indian today often reflects the ongoing search for links to her ancient past. The North Indian tradition of Hindustani classical music, however, has direct ties to the Medieval Period (ca. 1400-1650 C.E.) in the sacred region of Braj, just south of the present city of New Delhi. Indeed, from within this area several sources for this music can still be accessed from the numerous styles of devotional singing found in Vaisnava temple worship. Despite important studies of different genres of Hindustani music such as Dhrupad and Khayal, and works by scholars on Vaisnava history and musical texts, the precise nature of the early music of Braj and its development there as a living tradition has never been adequately described. While different communities of Vaisnavas in Braj have cultivated their distinctive styles of singing, that is, collective rendering of sacred hymns in the Braj Bhasa language addressed to or depicting the pastimes of Krishna or Radha-Krishna, these musical styles can be broadly separated into two classes: Haveli Sangit and Samaj Gayan. Haveli Sangit, originally known as Kirtan in the Vallabha tradition of Puṣṭimārg, started in Braj as an early form of Dhrupad but has since shifted its locus to Rajasthan and areas of Gujarat in the West. As such, it has become formalized as part of a strict temple regimen with shortened performances at fixed times of each day. Samaj Gayan, related to Dhrupad but less formal and generally performed out-of-doors for longer periods, remains the most significant continuous tradition of devotional singing in Braj, and is rigorously practiced there mostly by members of the Nimbārka, Haridāsi, and Rādhā-Vallabha communities. Although both styles share common ingredients of Hindustani classical music, namely the rāga and tāla configurations of melody and rhythm, they exhibit distinct characteristics related to their individualized worship context.

Based on recent fieldwork under a Fulbright Grant, this paper seeks to delineate several unique features of each class of Braj music, noting similarities and differences between each of the groups mentioned above. Issues of gender and social structure will be briefly explored, followed by reflections on the nature of sacred sound in Hindu theology and the resultant implications for the study of religion and music in South Asia.
The Ethnoarchaeology of Traditional Fishing Practices in Pakistan

Recent research on traditional fishing practices in Pakistan have been undertaken in order to create a template for reconstructing the ancient fisheries of the Indus Valley Tradition. A common practice in "ichthyoadaeology" is to use ethnoarchaeology or ethnographic data for a direct reconstruction of the ancient fisheries and to directly correlate fish species with capture technology. In my own research I use a modified approach, where I focus on the various microenvironments that are exploited using a range of capture techniques. Although my research concerns both marine and riverine fisheries, the focus of this paper is on the marine zone where non-mechanized, artisanal fisheries exploit two large scale environments: inshore and near shore. Within these subenvironments, various substrates (sand, mud, rock) create a mosaic in which several fishing strategies are used. These strategies and the fishing grounds exploited change seasonally, primarily on the basis of the movements of particular target species. Using these data, it is possible to establish parameters from which to reconstruct the marine aspect of the seasonality and habitat exploitation during the Harappan Phase of the Indus Valley Tradition.
Sravya or Lekhya: The Influence of the Written Word on Sanskrit Kavya

Sravya or Lekhya: The Influence of the Written Word on Sanskrit Kāvya

Danḍin, following older ideas, divided classical Sanskrit kāvya into drśya kāvya (poetry perceived visually through a dramatic presentation) and sravya kāvya (poetry for apprehension by an audience). There do not, however, seem to be major statements on poetics that treat the relation of poetry to the written word. Literary theorists such as Ānandavardhana, Mammata, Jagannātha and Appayya Diksita direct their discussion of linguistic and literary meaning toward the aural apprehension rather than the reading of kāvya.

While written poetry does not find a place in Sanskrit literary theory, there is epigraphical evidence for the writing of courtly Sanskrit prose, and for panegyric verse in distinct meters. (The earliest example is the Girnar inscription of Rudradāman, dated 150 A.D.) There is another type of evidence in Rājaśekhara's Kāvyamīmāṁsa (early 10th century). His prescriptions for living the life of a poet clearly detail that writing tablet, ink, palm leaves and metal stylus should be close at hand, and that the poet should employ a fast scribe to make numerous copies of his work as insurance against loss.

This paper will argue that the ludic, secular function, and the especially intricate verbal style of kāvya may bear a relationship to literacy. In analyzing literary theoretical categories such as kramadyotita dhvani-s (literary suggestion which operates with a time lag), dvisandhāna kāvya and citra kāvya (in the sense of topiary verse), I will attempt to demonstrate that only by retroactive reading, rereading or a total visual effect could highly resonant or ornate types of Sanskrit poetry be fully understood and enjoyed, and that, mnemonic feats notwithstanding, this type of reading or perception required that words be written on page or palm leaf.
Kim Berry

Spaces of Imagination: Mahila Mandal (Village Women’s Organizations) in District Kangra, Himachal Pradesh, India

_Mahila mandals_ are new arenas for imagining and creating multiple meanings of rural Indian womanhood. Within most village level _mahila mandal _meetings conceptions of womanhood marked by caste and kinship are reproduced. Often in larger _mahila mandal _gatherings, new meanings of womanhood are imagined based on similarity as women, and differences of caste, age, education, class, and kinship are spatio-temporally suppressed. Through speeches and songs a story emerges of common oppression and common struggle. Reclaimed symbols of _shakti _as every woman’s power, and _jagrookta _as awakening to the realization of women’s oppression and the need for collective action, are central to the creation of this new gendered solidarity. Dancing, singing, and other performances, both create and celebrate women’s unity. New imaginings of womanhood however, are spatially contextualized. The return to village spaces, to a different social context, a different place, and different meanings of womanhood, entails a return to an arena in which differences between women are primary and solidarity remains a distant imagining.

Manu Bhagavan

The Foundation and Early Development of Benares Hindu University: An Examination of the Role of Education in Nationalist Politics

Viewing education as a means with which to inculcate a younger generation in the norms of Indo-British culture, the Government of England lent its support in the early part of the twentieth century to the movement to found a national Hindu University at Benares. The indigenous leaders of this undertaking, however, hoped that the new institution would initiate a rebirth of Hindu cultural greatness and of Indian national identity. Led by Annie Besant, the Maharaja of Darbhanga, and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Hindu University Society launched a campaign to raise funds for, and awareness of, the proposed sectarian school. In the process, the Hindu community of India united and focused their attention on the new University. With their support, plans came to fruition, and the Benares Hindu University was established. Thereafter, in the course of its early development, the new institution became a subtle sponsor of Indian nationalism. This paper, then, examines the interaction that took place between the diverging ideologies of the British and the Indians over the direction of the new college and of the influence the University and its foundational movement had in the Indian nationalist politics of the time.
Rini Bhattacharya

Real and Imaginary Homelands: Nation and the Cosmopolis

The point of intersection of postcoloniality and "nationness" has acquired interesting dimensions in the Indian creative milieu. Considering the Fredric Jameson - Aijaz Ahmad debate on nationness and the third-world narrative as the take-off point, I wish to build an argument upon some facets of the Indian postcolonial "encounter with" and "conception of" the homeland - the nation; how the imaginary homeland and the real one merge with or part from each other and often disappear to give way to an ambitious and optimistic global "cosmopolitanism". The principal texts discussed will be Amitav Ghosh's novel The Shadow Lines and Mira Nair's film Mississippi Masala. Both of these texts hinge on an interplay between identity and geopolitical reality - an interplay which is punctuated with strategically and politically contrived authorial mediation. I wish to argue that geopolitical reality (I shall call it "national reality", for is not nation a geopolitical entity after all?) is the agent of coherence in any text/discourse. A text's shying away from it (as the above-mentioned texts do) may not only depoliticize and mythify the discourse but may also pose a threat to the very ontology of the text.
Sruti Bhattacharya, Jadavpur University, Calcutta and State University of New York at Stony Brook

Aristocracy in the Indian Scenario as Portrayed in Two Short Stories and Films

Aristocracy has been the backbone of Indian culture from the Aryan period. From a pastoral tribe they emerged into an agricultural community. Agriculture brought along prosperity and luxury. It led to the pursuit of aesthetics and art and to the cultivation of a more complex, more grand lifestyle; in short culture arose from agriculture. Development brought along complexities in society. Division of labour was introduced and gradually society became stratified into four castes, first according to labour, then according to birth. Mainly the wealthy upper castes formed the aristocracy. Different peoples, tribes made forays into the rich Indian pastures and eventually settled down, contributing their own pattern to the rich fabric of Indian culture.

Aristocracy is not an independent phenomenon by itself, inevitably it is interrelated to the socio-economic and political structures prevalent in India.

Thus the various aspects of aristocracy were bound to be portrayed in literature. Films, the most powerful art medium of the twentieth century, also reflected themes based on aristocracy. I have chosen the subject of aristocracy on the wane in the mid-nineteenth century and the pre-independence era, or the period of the foundations of British Imperialism and the end of it through two stories;
(1) "SHATRANJI KE KHLARI" ("THE CHESS PLAYERS") by PREM CHAND in Hindi; and
(2) "JALSAGHAR" ("THE MUSIC ROOM") by TARASHANKAR BANDOPADHYAY in Bengali.

While Prem Chand's story is a virulent attack on a debauched, glutinous society, Tarashankar Bandopadhyay’s story is a hankering for the past grandeur, as against the modern, valueless and materialistic society. These two stories have been made into films by the maestro, the late Satyajit Ray. He has interpreted the decadence of aristocracy as also the cyclic progression of the wheels of history/time in these films and effectively visualised the swan song of aristocracy. This paper shall also attempt to probe into the comparisons thus entailed between literature and cinema as such.
Paolo Biagi, University of Venice
Nilofer Shaikh, Shah Abdul Latif University, Khairpur

New Discoveries On The Rohri Hills (Sindh - Pakistan)

In the winters of 1992-1993 and 1993-1994 two archaeological campaigns were carried out by the Departments of Archaeology of the Universities of Khairpur (PK) and Venice (I) as a part of the Joint Rohri Hills Project. During the fieldwork some 7 square kilometres of the hills in the neighbourhoods of the shrine of Shadee Shaheed were investigated. The survey led to the discovery of 1290 sites, mainly Harappan flint quarries and workshops, that were accurately located on a 1:12500 map. Three of these workshops (called 58, 59 and 480) were fully excavated. The assemblages from the three sites are composed of flint debitage (unretouched blades and flakes), of a high number of long blade subconical cores of various size (in the case of site 59 also including so-called bullet-cores), and a few hammer stones. The refitting of the assemblages from two workshops as well as the measures taken from of all the artifacts of the three structures seem to indicate that very specific objects, such as long blades with perfect parallel sides from which the proximal edge had been removed, were the final product requested.

Most of the Late Paleolithic sites so far discovered are distributed over an area of some 2 square kilometres, just to the east of the shrine. They are characterized by dozens of workshops still perfectly in situ. The flint assemblages from these sites have a characteristic brownish patina and include a great amount of blade debitage as well as short subconical cores with retouched edges and thick, carinated, scrapers. The distribution map of the Harappan and the Late Paleolithic sites seem to indicate that the III millennium knappers selected the edges of the westernmost terraces to open their quarries. The Late Paleolithic sites, on the contrary, are mainly scattered on the terraces slightly in the interior.

This article presents the preliminary results of 1992-1994 survey and of the study of the Harappan assemblages from the workshops excavated so far. It also discusses the importance of the Rohri Hills Late Paleolithic and Harappa sites in the general framework of the archaeology of the Subcontinent.
A common theme in the received scholarship on Tamil grammatical and linguistic texts has been the representation of two unequal variants of the language, representations that reflect both indigenous authorities and their problematic renditions during the age of European (specifically missionary) intervention. Though it was not always the case, the pair found most often in analyses of modern Tamil is the written and the spoken, or "H" and "L," according to Ferguson's model of diglossia [Ferguson, 1959]. In contrast, classical and medieval Tamil grammarians, as well as the early European (usually missionary) grammarians of Tamil, focused on the contrasting pair centamil (from cemmai "red, ripe, pure") and koṭuntamil (from koṭumai "crooked, harsh"). Centamil, a language associated with a particular region known for its high style, was the proper subject of classical and medieval grammar, while the early Europeans, beginning with C. G. Beschi in the first half of the eighteenth century, wrote separate grammars for centamil and koṭuntamil. Later Europeans recognized a still lower form, the "colloquial", giving it space in phrase books, but made kotuntamil the sole subject of grammar.

Along with paradigms of knowledge through which the meaning of language is derived, the forms and uses of grammar change; and yet the claim to authority by the grammarian must remain. Grammatical authority, in representing a particular form of language, and governing relations between the written and the spoken word, elevates it, giving it prominence over other forms. This paper will explore this process in the context of the Tamil grammatical tradition, where a previously "ungrammatical" form of Tamil, by virtue of its being the language of written prose, became the sole subject of later European grammars.
Russell T. Blackwood, Hamilton College

Philosophy as the Interpreter of Fascinating Confusion

Like many Americans, I suppose I had been trained to think of the so-called Jeffersonian "wall of separation" between church and state as virtually self-evident. My experiences in, and study of, Indian philosophy have forced me to re-think that principle. I still believe it to be a good one, but no longer think it to be as simple as it once seemed. The grounds for Mounbatten's partition of India have raised the issue in an interesting way. Talks with S. Radhakrishnan, the senior Shankaracharya of the Kanchipuram Kamakoti Peetham, and most recently with his junior successor have fueled my curiosity, as has study of Iqbal and Jinnah. I was rounded up by the police for taking photographs at Ayodhya in 1992. I wonder what may happen soon in Mathura and Varanasi. Amidst all this, I am also a trustee of the American Institute of Pakistan Studies. Pakistan, as we know, is a country whose constitution declares it to be an Islamic nation. I find it all a fascinating confusion and look to philosophy as a way out of, or around, the confusion.
Paul Brass, University of Washington

Virtue Unrewarded: American Political Science, South Asian Studies, and the Governments of India and the United States

The study of South Asia, primarily India, by American political scientists has barely held its own as a sub-profession in both the discipline of political science and in South Asian studies over the past fifty years. Though several individual political scientists have made extraordinary contributions in the quantity and quality of their writings, the number of specialists in the field has remained very small. And, though the coverage of subjects—from party/electoral studies to studies of ethnic, linguistic, and communal issues to issues of political economy—has also widened considerably, the field has remained intellectually stagnant, largely unmoved by challenges such as "subaltern studies" and post-modernist approaches.

The problems are partly internal to the training political scientists receive and the career decisions they must make, partly a consequence of the marginal place of area studies in the discipline, and partly a consequence of the discouraging policies of the Government of India towards continuing American studies of their society and politics. Our marginality has persisted despite our virtues, which have included notable attempts to contribute to or demonstrate the inadequacy of theory in our discipline, our abstention from accepting "tainted money" from U.S. government sources, and our overwhelming support—implied in our writings and explicit in our occasional lobbying efforts and public stands—for most of India’s international and domestic policies.
Michael Bowler, State University of New York at Syracuse

Everybody Loves Me; In this Way I Have Become Popular and Have So Many Friends: NGO Dynamics in a Bangladeshi Village

The title of this paper includes a statement made by a chairman of a village organization of the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC), the largest Bangladeshi NGO. It alludes to a central dynamic related to BRAC development programs in his village in southwestern Bangladesh where I conducted dissertation research in 1991-92. These programs were controlled by this village chairman and his wife, the BRAC village chairwoman. The programs significantly benefited their kin group and allies. Most of the BRAC income-generating and leadership positions were held by members of this family. I suggest that this poses a serious threat to program effectiveness. While one family had the opportunity to lift itself out of poverty as a result of the disproportionate allocation of benefits, other villagers correspondingly received fewer benefits. The major BRAC programs; credit, education, and deep tubewell operation, will be described in terms of village dynamics. Finally, with a more optimistic perspective, I will discuss the dynamics of support and camaraderie between the villagers, particularly women, which BRAC has stimulated. These are critically important factors in understanding the agency that such programs provide to villagers who previously were often powerless.

Kristy Bright, University of California-Santa Cruz, Department of Anthropology

"Sowing for Science: The Colonial Gardener and British Medical Stewardship in Nineteenth-Century India"

What is involved in the cultivation of a landscape as medically necessary? This paper explores the collection and commercialization of medicinal plants in and through the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew in late nineteenth-century India. In an attempt to understand how British botanists relied on local (Bengali) therapeutic knowledges even as they signified the Gardens as a site of European medical epistemology, the paper considers the Gardens as a colonized and colonizing landscape. Furthermore, the paper examines the role of British botanists as garden-keepers: how did such a role contribute to, or contest, the naturalization of British male stewardship in other contexts such as the Indian Medical Service?
C. Mackenzie Brown, Trinity University

Constructing the Tantric-Advaitic Identity of the Great Goddess in the Devī Gītā

The Devī Gītā, part of the Devī-Bhūgavata Purāṇa, presents an image of the Great Goddess that is far more mellow and benign than her usual portrayal in earlier Śākta Purāṇic texts, such as the Devī Māhātmya. The Devī-Bhūgavata as a whole, while not denying her fierce, demon-destroying role, frequently emphasizes her softer, maternal side. In the Devī Gītā, where she plays the role of teacher rather than warrior, this softening of the Great Goddess is especially evident. Here she appears in two major forms: 1) her supreme iconic form as the lovely, four-armed Bhuvanēśvarī, symbolized by the syllable Hriṃ, and 2) her aniconic form as blazing light, identified as the supreme consciousness of the non-dual Brahman, symbolized by Om. This paper shall examine the interplay of these two aspects of the Goddess, representing her Tantric and Advaitic "personalities," that are the major constitutive elements in the Devī Gītā's construction of her new identity.

Antoinette Burton, John Hopkins University, Women's Studies Program and Department of History

Contesting the Zenana: The Mission to Make "Lady Doctors for India," 1874-1885

This paper will examine how embedded the Victorian movement for medical women was in colonial rhetoric and how committed it, therefore, was to the maintenance of colonial rule. Several of the most prominent women physicians of the Victorian period recognized that India's zenana women were important resources for the future development of British women's medical work. If they appreciated the fact that India was a "practically unknown territory," however, they realized at the same time that if these resources were to be of maximum use, British medical women would have to formulate and then police their own definition of "medical mission work" so that they could be taken seriously both as medical professionals and as workers indispensable to the imperial enterprise. Their quest to carve out a professional sphere in the colonies, therefore, not only shaped the direction that medical education for women in Britain would take, it also led female medical reformers to construct their goals as different from, and in some ways superior to, traditional missionary reform. By attempting both to distinguish themselves from what had been an evangelically-minded tradition of women's national-imperial mission and to re-figure medical work among colonial women into a more self-consciously professional, secular project, female physicians in Victorian Britain linked their cause to the progress of science, medicine, and civilization itself. In so doing they obscured the extent to which both missionary workers and medical reformers were simultaneously supportive of and resistant to the emancipation of Indian women.
The paper discusses the future of the Indo-Pakistani nuclear competition and the prospects for the establishment of a regional non-proliferation regime in South Asia. Does the present international and Asian strategic environment make Indian and Pakistani proliferation decisions inevitable? Does it create the possibility of a peaceful and enduring resolution of their dispute? How does the question of NPT renewal (or expiration) in 1995 affect Indo-Pakistani nuclear relations? Under what conditions would India and Pakistan sign the NPT or an NPT substitute? Can a bilateral non-proliferation regime be established? How do U.S. non-proliferation policies affect the Indo-Pakistani nuclear competition and the prospects for its peaceful resolution?

Four scenarios are discussed: (1) Indo-Pakistani mutual nuclear inspections; (2) Both India and Pakistan sign the NPT or an NPT substitute; (3) regional self-management and a nuclear weapon-free zone in South Asia; (4) a "covert" or "open" nuclear arms race between India and Pakistan.

The conclusion deals with the implications of the preceding analysis for U.S. non-proliferation policies and the future of the non-proliferation regime.
Neema Caughran  
Department of Anthropology  
Syracuse University  

"Fasts, Feasts, and the Disorderly Woman: Strategies of Resistance of North Indian Potter Women"

On the occasion of Jiutiya, a women's vrat (ritual fast) in Eastern Uttar Pradesh, potter women near Banaras tell of the phuhari (slovenly or disorderly woman) who is ultimately rewarded with half the kingdom for her outrageous behavior of over-eating and defiling food, and eventually the gods. The teller of this tale also related personal stories of joining with other young women for "illicit" eating to protect themselves from starving at the hands of their mothers and mothers-in-law. These images and others I will discuss, present a different North Indian 'woman' than that of the silent, oppressed and essentialized 'Indian Woman' utterly submissive to patriarchy and to caste. But can these "oral" behaviors of eating, fasting, and ritual tales be seen as resistance?

Somnath Chakrabarty, University of Calcutta

Rock Art in Central India: Its role and functional significance

In India, early rock art sites are concentrated in the Central Indian plateau region where the average frequency of art representations are much greater than in other regions. Some selection criteria was used by the ancient artists in using the rock as a 'canvas' and most of the painted rock shelters are significantly associated with microlithic tools, grey ware pottery and at times early metal technology. However, the analysis of rock art of the basis of style, color, superposition and thematic content cannot be directly correlated to palaeolithic technological phases. In the typo-technical aspect and stylistic dimension, a unilinear development of rock art can hardly be traced. On the basis of multiple factors, such as theme, context, color-scheme, technique and style, the priority area of the artists and their choice of particular elements can be identified.

For a more reliable interpretation of the role and functional significance of rock art, a study of the art of tribal communities inhabiting the same general region has been undertaken. There is a striking continuity of animal motifs as cult symbols in the culture area under consideration.
"Who's fucking whom?": National Identity and Body as Resistance

This paper explores issues surrounding the female body and its expression of desire and sexuality, in the specific context of dance-making and its relation to culture and identity. Identity is here pitched against an adoration of the "Mother India" icon which evidences the mapping of national identity upon the body of the woman, making her body and sexuality the site of power and control. The forging of a contemporary Indian dance idiom must then be preceded by an examination of how femininity and its gendered display have been culturally constructed in the "Indian" context, which then forces a questioning on how "Indianness" means. This examination works within a recognition of the centrality of the female dancer as the inheritor and bearer of the Indian classical dance tradition and of the fact that the female dancer has almost always been encultured into her role as the recipient and performer of the male guru's constructions of femininity. One of the primary lines of inquiry was how I--as a middle-class, heterosexual dancer-choreographer, born and raised in India--posit my sexual identity. This subject position is influenced by my being identified with much of the ideology of contemporary India (which is Western-influenced), encultured still into some of the more "traditional" Indian thinking and associating with, yet resisting a flattening into, the more "westernized" culture of the brown community growing up abroad.

Performing (Domi-) Nation: Nationalism in Nineteenth Century Bengali Theatre

The Western style proscenium stage was absorbed into the fold of Bengali theatre, in way of imitating the colonial English theatres of Calcutta, very early on in the nineteenth century. After a few initially tentative attempts it was a journey of further refinement of the emulation, leading finally into a hybrid form of Bengali theatre. There is, however, a need to question the premises on which Bengali plays were written at that time. During the last four decades of the nineteenth century, Bengal witnessed the rise of a nationalistic fervor that was circumscribed by the imported ideals of European nationalism. It was, at the same time, metonymically suffused in the saffron hue of Hinduism: whatever was Hindu came to be identified as "Indian" and, implicitly, all that was not Hindu was conveniently pre-empted from the agenda. By the end of the century this communally oriented "nationalism" had begun to rock the Bengali Hindu psyche at all levels of society and artistic production. "Nationalistic" plays were spawning exponentially and although most of them were highly emotionalized and drenched in Hindu nationalism, occasionally they also surfaced as rare analytical metaphors of history. This paper proposes to explore how nineteenth century Bengali theatre dealt with nationalism, performing the preoccupations of the native literati and re-presenting their political agenda.
Piya Chatterjee

Goddesses, Churches and Tea: Gender, Labour and Political Culture on an Indian Plantation

The paper is a brief historical and ethnographic discussion of cultural politics in a North Bengal plantation. It seeks to examine the manner in which women and men workers make cultural meanings of the terms of dominance which mark all aspects of their social and labouring worlds. One particular aspect of this "making of meaning" occurs through a complex range of ritual and religious practices. Through the sacred, women workers, who occupy the most subordinate positions in the plantation's hierarchy, assert their identities as powerful mothers, wives and workers. It is also through religious symbols and ceremonies that relations of power between various communities in the plantation's labour lines, as well as between the planter and the workers, are brought to the fore. The paper will speculate on theoretical debates about the nature of historical consciousness within systems of domination. Through the presentation of certain detailed ethnographic moments, the paper will argue that religious practices cannot be viewed as separate from questions of power, and the creative ways in which women and men speak about, and against, their particular social and political predicaments.

Sauli Chaudhury

"Bold and Beautiful" in India: Is This "Global" Culture?

This paper presents a framework for analyzing the immense popularity of Euro-American centric soap operas like "Bold And The Beautiful" among women viewers in India, the place of such "colonizer" discourses within the post-colonial State. I will explore what this popularity might mean for a gendered Indian subject, what complexities this raises in terms of women's daily intimacy with these characters given their own socio-cultural positions, whether this can be read as alienation, identification or a pastiche of the two, and how issues of pleasure and its vicissitudes, and its relations with ideology and cultural politics come to the fore in this context. There is always something decentered about the medium of culture, about language, textuality and signification which escapes and evades attempts to link it directly and immediately with other structures. And yet, this link - the intertextuality of texts in their institutional positions - raises the question of texts as sources of power, as sites of representation, which is crucial for an understanding of how various "readings" of a text create notions of "self" and "identity" while pervading "national" culture. In this context, I wish to problematize the social and cultural role of the serial "The Bold and The Beautiful" within the cultural discourse of television in India.
Jugdep S. Chima, University of Missouri-Columbia

Sikh Militancy in Punjab: Perceptions from Sikh Militants in California

Abstract: Political violence in Punjab during the late 1980s and 1990’s has been a complex, multi-dimensional phenomenon between Sikh militants and the state, by militants against suspected government sympathizers, by security forces against suspected militant sympathizers, and between militant groups themselves. In this paper, primary focus will be on Sikh militants and their views of the Indian state. Interviewing will attempt to probe motivations beyond the simple drive for Khalistan, an independent Sikh-led state. My goal is to achieve a better analytical and scholarly understanding of a very complex phenomenon, the rise of Sikh militancy and political violence in Punjab, that emerged through active human agency and participation on the part of individuals in Punjab.

A series of interviews will be conducted with Sikhs in northern California; primarily with individuals who obtained political asylum. The focusing question is “what caused Sikh youth to engage in political violence?” Methodologically, focus will be placed not only on examining broad ideological and political themes but also on the complex dynamics of the changing political economy of village life and localized forms of politics that may have influenced the rise of militancy.

David J. Capers

Video Documentation of South Asian Performance Genres: The Process of Video Documentation in Orissa

Video Documentation of performance genres for a sophisticated film viewing audience requires considerable forethought and preparation, particularly in the capture of a multi-dimensional event by a two-dimensional medium. This presentation will explore questions of shooting scripts, shot list, representation, video editing, selective process and subjectivity, both in the collection of raw data and in the final 30-50 minute product for classroom viewing, with particular focus on the work I have done in Orissa with performative and visual arts.
Richard J. Cohen

Phonetic Variation in Old Gujarati Corpora

While compiling and editing Old Gujarati texts for a computer-based dictionary it has become apparent that phoneticization displays real structural change and/or attempts to standardize the written language. The paper develops a strategy to deal with this phenomenon and further refine our knowledge of Old Gujarati morphophonemics.

Frank F. Conlon, University of Washington

"Auto/Biography and Representation of Religious Revival in 19th Century Maharashtra: The Case of Vishnubawa Brahmacari"

Religious auto/biography was known in Maharashtra before the imposition of colonial rule. Bahinabai's autobiographical chronicle of her spiritual quest was a distinctive, if isolated example. Biographical and autobiographical writings concerning religious leaders and teachers increased during the colonial period. Vishnubawa Brahmacari (1825-1871), a prominent polemicist against Christian missionaries during the 1850s, also wrote a massive volume concerning Hindu, or as he preferred Vedic, religion and culture. Although he founded no organization or samaj, it is clear that Vishnubawa enjoyed a substantial audience among the educated population of Maharashtra. In his early writings and discourses he offered autobiographical fragments emphasizing the roots of his "mission" and the shaping of his capacities as a teacher and polemicist. I will analyze Vishnubawa's autobiographical fragments in relationship to a biography composed by one of his devotees, and attempt to cast some comparisons with other auto/biographical productions of the era.

Geoffrey Cook

"From many a palm-y plain" Reginald Herber's Drawings

Reginald Heber, 1783-1826, the second Anglican bishop of Calcutta, besides his major career in the English Indian Church, was, also, a scholar, a poet and an amateur visual artist. This paper will examine his art work done in India as visual "texts" to illuminate his travel literature. The presentation will examine 19 examples first published posthumously in A Series of Engravings from the Drawings of Reginald Heber (1829) which were meant to be illustrative of the artist's now classic of colonial discourse, Narrative of a Journey Through the Upper Provinces of India (1828).

The paper will examine how such well known themes as masculine West/(ef)feminine East, Oriental despotism, the mysterious East, etc. are played out unconscious on a visual level. Where this presentation is unique is that it will apply recent literary methodology to the visual arts to see how they parallel each other, and how recent discoveries in literature relate to the visual. Also, the bishop as an important administrator created and implemented policy which in its turned greatly influenced history. This paper will examine how these drawings become visual subconscious documents to understand human historical motivation.
Wayne Costigan

Realizing the Self Through the Other: Tradition and Tourism in the Creation of Sherpa Ethnicity

The Solukhumbu region of Nepal is one of the most heavily toured locations in that country. A large proportion of the Sherpas who inhabit the area participate in the thriving tourist industry. Their ability to function at high altitudes and their extensive knowledge of mountain travel has earned them worldwide reknown. Yet this is only half of their reputation. Many ethnographic representations of Sherpa communities have yielded a primordial image; a static picture of the Buddhist yak herders who maintain age old Tibetan traditions. Thus we have two portraits of the Sherpas: the fearless and faithful mountain guides and the timeless and traditional villagers.

Rather than accepting this dichotomized image of ethnicity, I seek a middle ground in an interactional synthesis of multiple forces operating within and acting on Sherpas lifeways. This paper rests on the contention that ethnicity is a fluid construct which is created through cultural exchange. In other words, an analysis of Sherpa society should incorporate the history of their interactions with the "other"; the tourist industry. The paper will critically examine previous ethnographic studies in light of this interactionist model of ethnicity and suggest direction for future study.

Elaine Craddock, Southwestern University

Pure Heads, Defiled Bodies: Split Mother Goddesses in Tamil Village Temples

The story of Paraśurāma cutting off his mother Reṇukā’s head is found in the Mahābhārata. In the epic, Reṇukā does not become a goddess, but variations of this matricide are found in popular stories about local goddesses in many regions of Tamilnadu. These myths transmute Brahmanical and folk themes to form a multi-layered but coherent conceptual frame. By splitting the image of the goddess, these myths encompass Vedic sacrificial elements and Brahmanical ideas of purity that point toward the Great Goddess, as well as folk themes that express tensions between low and high castes, a preoccupation with the tangible results of worship rather than ritual purity, and the everyday concern with fighting disease and preserving general well-being. Many of these temples employ both Brahman and non-Brahman priests, who perform rituals ranging from abhisheka to modified animal sacrifice. Many of these temples, particularly near large urban centers, are actively trying to raise their status by emphasizing the Brahmanical aspects of their worship, providing a fascinating and timely look at the forces shaping contemporary goddess worship in Tamilnadu.
Anne F. Cunningham
University of Chicago, Dept. of History

Historic Archaeology in an Imaginary Geography

Ways in which the "ancient past" in India has been formulated for use in the present, and the effects of this process on research design in historical archaeology, are considered. It is argued that the ancient village has been the "mythical" point of origin for significant political and historical narratives of colonialist and nationalist India. Early nineteenth-century British accounts of rural India established the village community not only as an observed way of life, but also as the primeval condition of an ancient, unchanging landscape. This identification of "immemorial" customs delineated a mythical landscape, a form of what Said has called a "quasi-fictional, imaginative geography." Subsequent nationalist interest in the village community sought validation in this antiquity; even when contemporary villages have come to be seen as complex, regionally diverse communities, the ancient community has continued to be regarded as stable and unchanging. Consequently, issues of change and diversity in regional settlement systems have not been perceived as archaeological research problems, and historical archaeology in India focuses on changes in technology and the plastic arts, providing "tangible" answers to questions posed by historians. It is suggested that archaeological research focused on settlement systems would better contribute to an understanding of a changing ancient landscape, and help to dispel the static imaginary one.

Satish Davgun, Bemidji State University

Siting of New Hospitals in Northwest India

This paper examines the spatial pattern of the availability and absence of different hospital services in the northwestern part of India. The health care system in that country is hospital oriented. The maldistribution of hospital facilities is the result of various environmental and human factors. The present spatial pattern of the hospitals and pinpoints the scarcity areas are investigated. It determines the appropriate number and location of hospitals and services to serve the population. In this region the urbanized districts have better and more hospital facilities. The application Geographic Information System (GIS) made it easy to perform market analysis of the hospital services. Various demographic, environmental, transportation, health, and cultural factors have been included in the model. The availability of hospital services and their market penetration is affected by various factors. The role of state and federal governments, private agencies, economic and cultural forces, and the historical factors explain the variation in the availability of hospitals in this region.
Richard H. Davis, Yale University

After Iconoclasm: Hindu Narratives of Restoration

As Islamic "epics of conquest" often thematized the destruction of Indian images and temples as symbols of conversion and purification, Hindu "epics of resistance" often narrated the escape or restoration of religious images after iconoclastic threats as allegories of political autonomy and religious continuity.

I will consider several genres of South Indian texts of the fourteenth through nineteenth centuries as a way of exploring this discourse of restoration. Gangadevi's Madhuraśivājan, a Sanskrit kavya, tells of the establishment of Vijayanagar rule in Tamilnad by recounting Kampana's campaign to restore Madurai. It introduces the primary themes of Islamic disruption centered on temples and brahmans. Tamil and Sanskrit țhāḷapuranas, recorded primarily from the fourteenth century on, develop the notions of groundedness, the essential and eternal connection of images to particular sites, a cult of autochthony. Finally, the temple chronicle (Kovil oluku) of Srirangam temple provides an extended account of a temple image that is taken to Delhi and ultimately returned to its home site. It also provides a model of incorporation, by which Muslims may be "seduced" by the Hindu god and included as devotees.
Emerging Political Alignments in Sri Lanka: The Post-Premadasa Period

The fifteen months following the assassination of President Ranasingha Premadasa (May 1993), have seen a realignment of support within the traditional parties in Sri Lanka. Significant changes appear to have emerged in the leadership of the ruling United National Party (UNP). Wijetunge, the new President was initially seen as a more acceptable leader than his predecessor. The UNP rebels who had challenged the Premadasa government as the Democratic United National Front were bemused by the assassination of their leader Athulathmudali and disheartened by the enticement of his successor, Dissanayake, back into the UNP fold. Anura Bandaranaike, the son of its founder-leader of the Opposition Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) left his party to accept a Cabinet post in the UNP government in December 1993. On March 1, 1994 the government gained a further boost of confidence when it won control of 18 of the 40 local bodies for which elections were held in the Eastern Province. Nevertheless, the weaknesses of the ruling party were exposed a scant three weeks later, when the government suffered a humiliating defeat in the Southern Provincial Council Elections. Electoral data seemed to indicate that the UNP was continuing to lose support in the more urbanized areas. There were serious questions as to whether the poorer and 'lower' caste voters whom Premadasa had attracted to the party would remain loyal in view of the continues marginalization of his widow within the party. There have also arisen serious doubts whether the UNP alliance with the Ceylon Workers Congress would continue to deliver the plantation Tamil vote to the government. Reverses in the Parliamentary Elections of August 1994 could lead to renewed faction fighting within the party.

Yet if the political support of the government was suspect, it could always derive heart from disunity in opposition ranks. Dissonance within the SLFP led to a rift between the SLFP leader Sirimavo Bandaranaike and her daughter, Chandrika Kumaratunga, with the latter contesting the Parliamentary Elections of August 1994 on a separate slate in which Athulathmudali’s widow was given a prominent place. This election could well decide whether the SLFP continues to be one of the two major parties in Sri Lanka.

In the Tamil majority areas in the northeast, the Tamil United Liberation Front will pit its strength, once again, against some militant organizations, with the LTTE deciding to boycott elections. The total poll in those areas could reflect the relative extent of state control and would surely impact on party strategies for the forthcoming Presidential Elections of December 1994.

The paper will concentrate on the Parliamentary Elections of August 1993 and discuss the implications of the results in the background of continuing political change in Sri Lanka.
In this paper I plan to explore the use of betel within India in order to establish its use as a method of easing social interaction, particularly between those from differing cultural groups, degrees of familiarity or social levels. Then, by considering the dynamic function betel plays between social groups and its ability to open communication I hope to establish parallels to the ways it is used when dealing with supernatural beings and forces. Ultimately I hope to demonstrate that betel's unique ability to transcend differences in rank and status is not limited solely to the human world and that this connection to the supernatural has informed and influenced some of the shapes seen in objects employed in betel's preparation and use.

Specifically, I will first look at marriage and greeting customs from India and explore the way betel functions within distinct social situations. In general betel will be revealed to be a tool which works as an intermediary when establishing contact between disparate castes, villages or families. Then, this intermediary function will be expanded by demonstrating how this substance is employed in ritual practice. In particular I will choose examples of the ways in which betel is used to initiate of encourage specific types of interaction with supernatural forces and beings, from spirits to gods.

Interestingly, betel's ability to both attract and repel is clearly also seen to be potent when dealing with the spirit world. In this way systems of ritual interaction with the divine, particularly healing, funerary and divination can be understood as extensions of codified social interaction.

Ultimately, I hope to demonstrate how these connections to the supernatural often inform and guide the choices of decoration on betel objects.
Rose M. DeNeve, Syracuse University  
Humanities Doctoral Program /South Asian Studies  

"Imaging" India: Colonial Discourse and the Tourist Trade  
KEYS: India, representation, colonialism, advertising, tourism, tourist discourse, public culture.  

"Imaging" is an advertising and graphic communications buzzword that describes the process of creating and implementing a visual image for a company or product, in order to meet strategic marketing goals. According to sound visual communications praxis, this graphic image must be both appropriate to the nature of the entity being identified, and used consistently in all applications. This paper traces the development of a particular graphic image of India and Indians, from its initial undertaking by the British during the colonial era to its use today by the Government of India in its official tourist advertising. Using historical photography and visuals culled from contemporary tourist advertising, it demonstrates how, by representing India as exotic, romantic, and Other, this such imagery both continues the colonial discourse and meets tourist expectations about identity and appropriateness.  

Veena Deo, Hamline University  

The Odd One Within: One Dalit Woman Writer’s Explorations  

Urmila Pawar's collection of short stories, Sahay Boat, 1988, explores the inner yearnings of Maharashtrian women and the vagaries of social practices and incidental circumstances that shape their lives. The stories taken together voice a wide range of situations and emotions a modern, urban woman experiences in her relationships with family and friends. We also see the situation of women in different age groups.  

This paper focuses on the emergent voice of this writer which negotiates odd spaces where gender, caste/class intersect in the context of the modern urban setting for the persona of a modern working woman. In the process of this emergence what becomes clear is that the space that this voice occupies is at once that of an outsider looking in and an insider looking out. This dual perception helps Pawar to show women as victims, but also as agents of their own change.
Suresh Desai

State and Market: An Alternative Vision

Since the fifties, India has embarked on a policy of building a strong State and a dynamic market capable of modernizing the economy. A strong State within a democratic political framework was expected to influence and restructure the economic framework so that "growth with justice" could be attained. Both the State and the market have grown in power and influence during the last forty years. Yet, as each has grown it has attempted to weaken and subvert the other. At present, the market appears to be victorious due to the compulsions of globalization and the compression of the State is underway. The growth of the State and the market has weakened civil society and reduced cultural integrity. Society's ability to enforce accountability on the State and the market has been drastically eroded. If India wants to resume economic development, while preserving effective political democracy, cultural integrity of different groups and ecological balance, it will have to pursue an alternative vision and a strategy emphasizing a decentralized and participatory society with equitable sharing of the costs and benefits. The centralized state will have to shrink with an expansion of non-governmental democratic bodies and powerful local communities using Gandhian ideas. The paper articulates an alternative vision in terms of institutional changes and policy alternatives.
Putting the Fun Back into Fundamentalism

Insofar as the word fundamentalism stands for the violence of irrationalism, both those who employ it as an accusation and those who deny this appellation participate in its anti-intellectualism. For neither party inquires into irrationalism itself as a philosophical concept. To put the fun back into fundamentalism, then, is to theorize irrationalism as a pivotal concept that organizes knowledge (in this case that of modern Islam). In other words, to make fundamentalism as a subject of contention interesting in the only way this is possible for it qua irrationalism: by making it fun. And does this not also make fun of the scholarship that interrogates its other as irrational? What, then, is fun—or fundamentalist?

It was necessary for me to begin with the fundamental complicity between scholarly inquiry and its object as something always somehow irrational. For it is only in this general economy that both fundamentalism as such and the discourse on it have meaning. It is within this economy, therefore, that I propose to think a certain Islamic fundamentalism as will. Which is to say as a super-rationality (in both senses) that has managed to think modern rationality through to its violent and a priori foundations. A fundamentalism, then, whose rationale is neither nostalgia nor authenticity, but rather the problem of will itself in a world that has become Schopenhauerian idea. How, for instance, is the issue of choice brought forth by will elided in the fetishization of fundament? Or how is this will-choice as exchange-value in the world as idea forcibly subordinated to the fundament as a simulacrum of use-value?
Romesh Diwan

Economic Reforms as Ideology

The Rao government came in power in the 1991 elections as a minority government. It faced the prospect of minimal foreign exchange reserves that had dwindled mostly because of the Gulf War that raised the price of oil and reduced the remittances from NRIs. Indian government found it necessary to seek a loan from the IMF and accept all its "conditionalities". IMF and World Bank offered the government an economic policy package that the government has called "economic reforms". It is a standard IMF conditionality document involving reduction in government expenditures, deregulation, privatization, and providing incentives for direct foreign investment. Since the government has accepted the whole policy package, the IMF and World Bank have not only granted the government necessary loans but also provided it useful credentials that encourage multi-national companies to look at investment in India favorably.

Three years after these reforms, the foreign exchange reserves seem adequate. However, other economic indicators provide a contrary picture. In spite of government commitment, government expenditures have not been reduced; these have even started inching up. Though the laws have been changed and economic policy package voted in the parliament, foreign investment has not come at the level necessary to make an impact on the economy. Local industry on the other hand has suffered recession. Fortunately the rain falls have been good and agricultural production has gone up providing help in the export market. The recession in industry, the increase in unemployment and agricultural production have not been able to check the level and fear of inflation. The situation at the moment is a mixed one, so that one can draw any conclusion one desires.
Female Companions of Avalokitesvara and the Formative Stage of Prajna Development in Orissan Art

Although Bhrikuti and Tara are the conventional female companions to Avalokitesvara in various textual descriptions, in numerous Tibetan, Nepalese and Sino-Japanese texts based essentially on lost Sanskrit works, there are numerous other goddesses assigned as companions to Avalokitesvara. In some cases these goddesses later become associated as Prajnas to the Tathagata Buddhas in various mandalas. The formative stage of this development is evident in numerous Orissan sculptures of multi-armed forms of Amoghapasa, Jata-mukuta Lokesvara/Mahakaruna and Sugatisandarsana where the companions, numbering from three to six, may include up to five goddesses. In addition to Tara and Bhrikuti, other goddesses appearing as companions, or in a group of four in stupa-mandalas, include Pandaravasini, Arya-Sarasvati, Ekajata, Aparajita, Yasodhara (Vasudhara) or Asokakanta-Mārīci, and Mahamayuri. In both iconography and alignment the goddesses often deviate from any textual sources and suggest the existence of lost texts or the influence of indigenous oral or visual traditions. The depiction of Mahamayuri riding on a peacock, for example, deviates from conventional iconography where she holds a peacock feather and she invariably serves as a companion to Tara rather than to Avalokitesvara.
Elisabeth C.L. During Caspers, University of Leiden

The copper platelets from Moenjo-daro: A new approach

A renewed discussion on the inscribed copper platelets or tablets from Moenjo-daro seems justified after the publication of Corpus of Indus Seals and Inscriptions, in India and Pakistan, Volumes 1 and 2, by J.P. Joshi and A. Parpola and S.G.M. Shah and A. Parpola in 1987 and 1991 respectively in which a total number of 237 copper tablets - albeit not all with an inscription or human/animal/or decorative representations- have been published.

The incised and painted copper platelets from Moenjo-daro have not received the attention they deserve and besides the 43 examples mentioned in the excavation reports by Sir John Marshall and E.J.H. Mackay three publications of consequence have dealt with these copper tablets, namely G.R. Hunter (1934) who included in his study on the Indus script 26 additional copper tablets, some of which also been included by Marshall and Mackay, B.M. Pande (1983) who enlarged the then published number to 123 and P.Yule who cataloged in 1985 161 samples including another 18 blanks and tablets which in the course of time had lost their painted inscription and/or design.

Pande’s publication was oriented mainly towards the inscriptions rather than the accompanying human/animal/decorative design and on their real distribution; whereas Yule’s catalogue was primarily geared towards registering the different groups of mitifs, i.e. an iconographic typology, the various shapes of copper tablets and the technique used in applying motifs and script signs.

The present paper will begin by re-opening the question of whether or not the script signs on the copper platelets should be considered as having a direct bearing on the representations on the reverse side by striking a fair balance by the treatment of both script and representational designs on them. Secondly placing the copper tablets against an anthropological backcloth may further facilitate a better understanding of the possible purpose they once served and consequently to which use these copper platelets were originally applied.
Richard Eaton, University of Arizona-Tuscon

Islamic Iconoclasm in India- Some Case Studies

The aim of my paper is to examine a range of incidences of temple desecration or destruction by Muslims in the history of premodern India. Rather than try to describe every such incident, which would make the paper encyclopedic in nature, I shall attempt to examine just several representative cases ranging from the Temple of Somnath in the 11th century to those of Benares or Mathura in the 17th. The method would be to vary the cases in point of time, geography, religious context, political atmosphere, etc., with a view to isolating those contexts in which such desecrations or destructions occurred and to discovering whether any discernible patterns might emerge.

DeWitt Ellinwood. University at Albany


THE SPECIAL EXPERIENCES OF AMAR SINGH OF JAIPUR

Amar Singh graduated from the Imperial Cadet Corps in 1905. He and the British Government wished that he might be employed by the Jaipur Maharajah, but his family was then out-of-favor. Consequently he was given an officer's commission in the Indian Army, in a fictive body, The Native Indian Land Forces. However, this gave him no power of command. He served as Aide-de-Camp to Generals at the Mhow Cantonment, 1905-1914. He went to France with the Indian contingent in 1914 and to Mesopotamia with Indian troops in 1915; in neither case was he given any significant responsibility. Trouble with British officers led to his appointment to Bombay in 1916 to assist returning Indian troops. In 1917 Amar Singh and eight other graduates of the Imperial Cadet Corps were given full army commissions. Subsequently he served on the Northwest frontier during the Afghan War. However, conflict with his commanding officer and frustration with his military experiences led him to resign in 1921. In his years of essential idleness he was treated as a social equal by British officers, partly because of his horsemanship, but he was almost totally ignored professionally.
Joseph Elder, University of Wisconsin


Drawing upon data in the files of the American Institute of Indian Studies, this paper will illustrate how the themes and trends of American social science research (specifically Sociology, Political Science, and Economics — with some reference to Anthropology, which is being dealt with in detail in a separate paper) — have changed over the past 49 years. This paper will review the styles of research methodologies used by social scientists over the nearly five decades. For the same time period, this paper will compare Government of India research "access" for social scientists with Government of India research "access" for humanists. The paper will also take note of different "audiences" that have appeared for assigning and receiving research findings from social scientists studying South Asia. Alternative hypotheses will be entertained to explain the various findings, themes, and trends that are identified.
George Erdosy, University of Toronto

The Early Harappan: A View from the Periphery

It has frequently been asserted that our understanding of the Indus Valley Cultural Tradition is impaired by an undue focus on the most extensively excavated settlements of Moenjo-daro and Harappa. This paper attempts to correct this imbalance by examining the Regionalisation Era from the perspective of emerging poitics on the periphery of the Greater Indus Valley in the 4th-3rd millennia BC. It is argued that the cultural integration of the Greater Indus Valley resulted from the desire of emerging regional elites for greater intercommunication and exchange, which could legitimize their newly acquired positions. Moenjo-daro and Harappa attained their dominant position in the Integration Era as they were the most convenient central nodes in the vast interaction network which defines the Indus valley Cultural Tradition itself. Such a perspective may help to explain seemingly anomalous features of the I.V. C.T., which once again stem from a myopic view centered on its two largest cities, and could also shed more light on the eventual collapse of the Harappan Civilization in the 2nd millennium BC.

Kathleen M. Erndl, Florida State University

Goddesses and the Goddess in Hindu Religious Experience

Is there one Goddess, or are there many goddesses? On one level, it is possible to speak of the Hindu Goddess as a single omnipotent being, Mahadevi. On another level, it is possible to speak of various manifestations of this Great Goddess. On still another level, it is possible to speak of numerous individual goddesses as distinct entities. Scholars have debated the historical, theological, psychological, and sociological processes that account for the seeming contradiction between the unity and multiplicity of Hindu female deities. Yet these debates are of little concern to ordinary Hindus who move with apparent ease between universality and particularity in their ritual and devotional lives, speaking of the Goddess in some contexts and of individual goddesses in others.

This paper explores some examples of how Hindu devotees construct the identity of the Great Goddess and their relationship to her. It draws primarily upon interviews with male and female informants in cities and villages of Panjab and Himachal Pradesh and secondarily upon rituals, oral stories, songs, and written pamphlets. The main argument is that the identity of the Great Goddess, as understood and interpreted by individuals and religious communities, is both fluid and context-specific.
Habib Faisal

Dawat -- The Feast. A film based on true rumors.

This is a film about cultural stereotypes. The story depicts how Americans perceive the Indian community and vice versa. Without putting any blame on either side, the film will delineate their cultural interaction.

Story Synopsis: Dhananjai, an Indian, and Shiela, an American, are getting married. They love each other and in two years of courtship they have come to accept each other's cultural differences. But a week before the wedding, an apprehension about the future haunts both of them. They feel that as long as they have a difference of color, they will never be able to have a perfect bridge between their cultural backgrounds. So, Dhananjai decides to have a chemical treatment done to become fair. And Shiela undergoes heavy doses of tanning to become dark. They keep their transformation secret from each other. On the wedding day they discover, much like the characters of O. Henry's "Gift of the Magi," that they are still different. Having learned their lesson, that they cannot deny their differences, only accept them, they are much happier.

This film is made in a mock-documentary format. The story of Shiela and Dhananjai is told in conventional narrative style, but a cast of relatives and friends interviewed as in a documentary will create a cultural backdrop for the central plot.
Elemental Analysis of Anthropogenic Soil from the Harappan site of Dholavira: Reflections of Habitational Intensity

This paper considers the importance of chemical analysis of anthropogenic soil the Harappan site of Dholavira, Kutch. The aim of present study was: (1) To estimate the habitational intensity of occupation in different chronological phases, and (2) the assessment of the environment of Dholavira at the time of Harappan occupation. There are many different methods available to assess the intensity of occupation and the palaeoenvironment, but in this study trace element analysis has been used as the most appropriate technique. This approach allows one to analyze the elemental composition of the soil which results from the occupational activity.

The soil samples for this study were collected systematically from each habitational layer of the Citadel, Middle town and Lower town along with a set of controlled (modern) soil samples of outer peripheral fields. The hydrogen ion (pH) concentration of the soil was measured at the site and in the laboratory as well and it was found that the soil of Dholavira is slightly alkaline (pH 6.2 to 8.2) which is suitable for better preservation of some types of artifacts. Trace elements were analyzed through Inductively Coupled Plasma (I.C.P.) Emission Spectrometer and to achieve accuracy of the concentration of elements, the I.C.P. was calibrated against a certified reference samples.

The results of the trace element analysis indicates that habitational activity was most intense during the fifth phase, while the least activity is seen in the seventh phase of occupation. Moderate activity is reflected in all other phases of occupation. Relatively high values of Strontium/Calcium (Sr/Ca) and higher concentration of Barium (Ba) suggest that a desert environment prevailed around Dholavira at the time of Harappan civilization, but this needs further confirmation through botanical and faunal studies.
Towards a New Development: Grassroots Action in India

Dominant models of society and development are being challenged in India by the experiments and struggles of rural people on the one hand, and by activists and intellectuals on the other, who argue that rural development can be environmentally and socially equitable and sustainable only if the imperatives of ecological security are harmonized with the basic needs of rural populations. Furthermore, this harmony can be achieved only if local communities participate meaningfully in the management and use of the renewable resources upon which their lives depend. Local efforts are evolved as local praxis, leading to community empowerment. These efforts differ from place to place according to social and environmental conditions and the situation of the locality in the global and national political economy. Networks of intellectuals and activists work at the macro level in a number of ways to make space for rural communities to exercise increasing control over the circumstances of their lives as subjects, rather than objects of development. This paper draws lessons for redefining development from a comparative study of grassroots actions in India.

Land Reform and Caste Relations in a Sri Lankan Village

Using the lense of a government-instituted land reform project in a rural village in southern Sri Lanka, I focus on caste-based relations of dominance, intimidation, and resistance. On first questioning, many high-caste villagers suggest that caste in Sri Lanka now pertains only to marriage restrictions. However, interviews with lower-caste individuals, and field research performed in 1968-9 and 1992-4 shed light on changing patterns of land use and ownership over a 25-year period, revealing a steady displacement of lower by higher caste.

Population growth over time puts pressure on members of both major castes in the village to secure land for family use. Government intervention, in the form of a 53-plot land distribution effected in 1980, shifted the major land holding patterns from traditional inheritance and usufruct, to newer forms of title and ownership. Before and after this distribution, indebtedness to usurious high-caste moneylenders, and seemingly uncontrolled yet carefully directed acts of high-caste drunkenly disorder and violence, particularly threats and acts of rape against lower-caste women, drove numerous lower-caste families from the area. Political factions, and corrupt bureaucratic connections of several high-caste families brought yet another axis of authority to bear on the issue.

This case provides an excellent opportunity to examine and reevaluate our concepts of the overlapping domains of caste, class, and political affiliation as they emerge from and shape the microprocesses of village power struggles.
Class, Gender and Bengali Film: The Bhadramahila in Ray and Ghatak

Swagato Ganguly
University of Pennsylvania

In Bengal senses of class and gender intersect in the figure of the bhadramahila. My paper deals with representations of the bhadramahila figure in the corpus of two renowned Bengali filmmakers: Satyajit Ray and Ritwik Ghatak. In conventional representation, the bhadramahila marks out middle-class identity by being differentiated both from the "vain and promiscuous" Westernized upper-class woman and the "uncivilized" lower orders. Ray's films portray the bhadramahila under threat by placing her in situations that render problematic the signs of middle-class identity: the woman who puts on lipstick and ventures out to compete in the job market to fill in for an unemployed husband (Mahanagar), bored housewives who turn to adultery (Charulata, Ghare Baire, Pikoo), careerist women placed in sexually ambiguous situations (Pratidwandwi). By doing so, however, Ray's films on the whole reinforce a notion of middle-class order.

Ghatak's films, on the other hand, provide for a powerful reconstitution of the signs of femininity outside the bhadramahila framework, by drawing on folk images of femininity as shakti, a pre-Oedipal, powerful mother with a libidinized relationship to her offspring, which serves as a foil to Ray's Brahma/liberal concern with emancipation of the bhadramahila.
Enrica Garzilli

Change and Continuity of the Vedic dikṣā in the Trika System of Kashmir

In the Vedic literature the dikṣā is the consecration of the sponsor of the ritual (yajamāna) at the beginning of the soma ritual. By this initiation the yajamāna begins a sacrificial career of many steps, while he continues his everyday life.

In the Trika system the dikṣā belongs to the group of minimum means of liberation (ānāvopāya). It enables a person to become an adept, and it purifies and deifies his psychophysical whole. Through dikṣā the adept can either obtain particular enjoyments (siddhi), or he can become a liberated in life; that is to say, he recognizes himself as identical to Śiva. Burning the adept's past and future karman through initiation, the teacher destroys the adept's innate ignorance about his real nature.

In this way the Trika initiation enlarges the traditional Vedic form with new contents.
"Prostitution, Sanitation and Soldiers: The Contagious Diseases Policies in India, 1864-1888"

The Cantonments Act of 1864 and the Contagious Diseases Act of 1868 marked the entry of state intervention into a sphere of sexual behaviors that had been heretofore unregulated. Inspired by the Contagious Diseases Acts in England, the Government of India promulgated legislation that required Indian prostitutes who lived around military cantonments to be registered and medically examined in hospitals for the purposes of managing and curing venereal diseases among the British armed forces. This legislation was intended as a sanitary measure to improve the health of European soldiers when stationed in India. Once enacted, however, the legislation had myriad political implications that extended beyond motivations of improving troop health and sanitation. As in Great Britain, these acts were repealed in the late 1880s.

This paper will describe how this policy was instituted in the Bengal Presidency. Official discourse between municipal, military and governmental authorities highlighted how commonly held beliefs about race and gender played an important part in administrative decisions. Resistance by prostitutes showed how these women reacted to this plan: they refused to register and to pay the compulsory monthly fee, they moved out of the areas where these laws were enforced, and they mobilized local men to vouch for their respectability. The interaction of these complex forces demonstrates that although this legislation was intended as a sanitary measure, the act's introduction to cantonment areas amounted to a colonial state's attempts to mold the social order, especially in terms of European soldiers and Indian prostitutes.
Kaushik Ghosh, Princeton University

The Burden of Middle Class Nationalism: Thoughts on Primitivism, the Olympics and "National Pride" in India

In the late 1980's the Sports Authority of India (SAI), the Indian state's prime organization for "developing" sports, decided to undertake a radical program for the identification, selection and nurturing of sports talent with an eye towards international competitions. The program aimed at specific "tribal" or "aboriginal" communities who were identified as having certain "genetic"/"racial" traits that make them suited to certain sports. My aim in this paper is not just a denunciation of this state-sponsored racism or a mere questioning of the basis of such racism, which connects community, race and sports. Rather, I aim to rake over the very emotions of a middle class nationalism that constitutes and is constituted through participation in international sports and aspirations to international prestige. The deployment of "aboriginal" groups to recover and reconstitute middle class India's sense of the self is certainly not new. What does this recurrent theme of primitivism constructed and deployed for the reconstitution of the middle class signify for a history of savagery and civilization in modern India? How do middle class sexuality and notions of the self relate to the discourse of primitivism as brought out in this new program for a "scientific" sports plan?
David Gilmartin, North Carolina State University

Blood and Water: Boundaries and the Technical State

The history of the modern nation-state has often been connected with the inscribing of "blood" onto the land, the drawing of boundaries to link a "people" defined by common ancestry and heritage onto a particular piece of territory. But in what is today Pakistan, the colonial state defined its power over the land by inscribing onto it boundaries defined by state control of another, equally precious liquid, water. This paper will examine the policies of the British colonial government in the Indus Basin, focusing on the tensions between communities of "blood" and the emergence of a technical state seeking to control the environment. It will first examine colonial efforts to tie "blood" to the land, and in the process to define the ambiguous foundations of legitimacy that characterized the colonial state. It will then discuss how the colonial state attempted to establish a different sort of charter for state authority by establishing a massive network of irrigation works controlling the vital water needed to make the Indus Basin productive. Finally, the paper will discuss the contradictory implications of these colonial policies for the development of a Pakistani national identity.
Ann Grodzins Gold, Syracuse University

Foreign trees in rural Rajasthan

During fieldwork in 1993, interviews with young and old in rural Rajasthan revealed a remarkably consistent and powerful discourse of environmental, agricultural, social and moral change. One voice has echoed another in articulating a vision of interlinked and interlocked transformations that is ecological in its systemic nature. The most dramatically visible change is deforestation: Hills once densely wooded are largely denuded except for an aesthetically unpleasing, stubby acacia locally dubbed "foreign bambul" (vilayati bambul; Hindi babul), and often simply referred to as "foreign." Thorny and fast-growing, its leaves unappealing to goats, this imported tree spreads like a weed and is an unwelcome and hard-to-remove colonizer of agricultural land. Puncture wounds and splinters from its thorns cause dangerous infections. The presence of these foreign trees, however, has averted a severe fuel wood shortage.

Many trees indigenous to Rajasthan such as banyan, nim, and pipal are religiously valued, spiritually alive, and figure frequently in myth and folklore as embodiments of divine and beneficent powers. A widely shared understanding holds it an act of sinful violence to harm them. By contrast, people say, it is "no sin" to cut foreign bambul. How does the perceived ecological imperialism of foreign bambul intermesh conceptually and actually with other kinds of invasions Rajasthanis have experienced? How do people whose lives and work and imaginations are closely intertwined with land and landscape think about environmental transformation and its human consequences?

Sheldon Lee Gosline
University of Wisconsin, Madison

Some Pre-Urban and Harappan Gendered Images

Recent theoretical models concerning gender deconstruct masculine / feminine and homosexual / heterosexual binary distinctions. Sexual impulse is itself seen as constructed by culture and history. The application of this gender theory to both pre-urban and pre-historic South Asian representations is an exciting yet challenging endeavor. There is a continuity between representations of pre-urban India and the Boyas, Todas, Gonds, and others who live in the same central Indian Highlands. Similarly, there are symbolic links with representations from the Harappan period.

Of particular interest to the engendering process of culture are the apparently homoerotic scenes found in rock art. These representations compare with myths of the phallic divine founder of the gotul youth society, Lingo or Shiva-Linga and may be associated with some Harappan depictions. I argue that these scenes and symbols reflect a cultural engendering process to build group identity and affiliation to common value systems and ways of life. Such symbols therefore became increasingly complex when different groups came together within an urban setting such as that found at Harappa.
Steve Gravely

Shakti: Power, Gender and Sexuality in Indian Tantra

The convergence of South Asian and feminist studies calls for a revaluation of binary traditionalist/modernist discourse into a synthetic paradigm. Anthropological and other studies of caste have dominated South Asian social commentary, dividing scholars into two camps: those who advocate a traditionalist 'indigenous' ethic (Louis Dumont, for example), and those who advocate legalist reform (like Gerald Berreman). A third perspective of indigenous Indian notions of power (shakti) completes and shows the deficiencies of traditionalist and modernist ethical assumptions. The synthesizing concept of shakti is derived from the tantric tradition, thoroughly explicated by Agahananda Bharati.

Uniquely among worldviews, in Indian tantric literature and practice it is the female partner and/or her supernatural representative who is conceptualized as the dynamic, active force (shakti), reorienting the male to inertness and passivity, unless 'informed' by the goddess. The tantric vision, generated within a society of Brahmin/Kshatriya hegemony, and liminalized between the 'great' Sanskrit and 'little' village traditions, is the key to reconciliation between traditionalist and modernist contenders. A renewed arena for the continuing play of Indian polyvalence is a reconstruction of gender roles, informed and initiated by the indigenous notion of shakti. A fundamental obstruction to the revaluation of shakti is the pervasiveness, not unique to India, of a puritan conceptualization of sexuality. A puritanical fear of woman, the human body, and the earth, composed of the 'dirt' of pollution, is common to the major world religions. Puritanism is of course not limited to religion, and puritanisms of science and modern political philosophies can be shown. Puritan ideology should be seen nakedly for what it is: resistance to the acknowledgement of the power of shakti, and of women.
Brian Greenberg, University of Chicago

Myth, Regeneration and Environmental Change in Kangra District, Himachal Pradesh.

People in Kangra district of the Western Himalayas express a confident sense that the area is culturally distinct from those surrounding it. At the same time, certain aspects of life in Kangra are understood as related to or continuous with a far more inclusive north Indian culture. This dialectic of commonality and difference surfaces frequently in discussions about Pahari (mountain) culture and about Kangra as a region. This paper outlines the qualities which together give people in Kangra a sense that mountainous district in which they live is "no ordinary area". The qualities which set Kangra apart include food, climate, vegetation, the sacred geography of landscape features and pilgrimage sites, local deities, systems of agriculture, folklore, and folksongs, political history, the absence of nucleated villages, language, a "martial" tradition and so forth.

The paper suggests that the contemporary maintenance and mobilization of these cultural qualities is shaped in part by the sense that Pahari identity is increasingly tenuous and vulnerable to homogenizing forces from plains area culture. These forces include television, improved transportation, commercial commodities, foreign tourism and the Hindu pilgrimage industry, the invasion exotic plants, emigrant laborers who absorb plains culture, formal education, and various state institutions. The paper also suggests that the fractal-like quality of Pahari cultural distinctions, through which the perception of commonality and differences between the mountains and plains is replicated within Kangra along such lines as caste community or ethnic identity, residence location, occupation, and differences in local agriculture such as irrigated versus unirrigated areas.

Amit Gupta, Eastern Illinois University

Arms Technology, Technology Transfers, and Indian Security in the Post Cold War Era

Brief paper description: The collapse of the Soviet Union has left the Indian military establishment bereft of its primary supplier of cutting-edge military technology. Concurrently, punitive international regimes, often underpinned by the economic muscle of the world’s remaining superpower, delimit the spread of advanced, commercial, dual-use technologies. Faced with this dilemma, India faces a tough choice: to either lower its defense posture at a time of heightened tensions with its neighbours, or to increase investment in the research and development of domestic alternatives. The latter option, however, forces another uncomfortable choice: Given the fact that India’s defense industries, unlike in the West, do not feed back into the domestic economy, funds for further research and development can only be obtained through the sacrifice of other, perhaps more pressing, developmental goals. This paper explores India’s attempts to deal with these dual dilemmas.

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Shubhra Gururani, Syracuse University

The Forests are Forever!?: The Real and the Imagined in the Politics of the Environmental Discourse

Academics and environmentalists concerned with determining the underlying causes of rapid environmental degradation throughout the world frequently cast their analysis in terms of the disruption of ideally conceived ecologically balanced relationship between indigenous people and their environments. This disruption is either typically blamed on the exploitative policies of the colonial State or those of the modernizing ‘developmental’ post-colonial State. These analyses privilege romanticized versions of indigenous knowledge systems and local people’s relationship with the nature. The Himalayan dweller (Pahari) and especially the Pahari women are represented as repositories of ecological knowledge, practicing ecologically safe lifestyles. However, perceptions of forest and changing landscape among the Paharis I encountered in Kumaon Himalayas during my fieldwork contradict such representations. The Paharis saw the forest as an everlasting treasure, not threatened with imminent disappearance. Although they are respectful to their environment and are well informed about it, their everyday activity and attitude to the forest and grazing land is far from conservationist.

Through an analysis of Kumaoni narratives about mountains and forests, as they appear in everyday conversations and discussions, this paper will discuss some of the contradictions between Pahari beliefs about their environment and their everyday practices. It also aims to examine the representation of mountain dwellers as essentially environmentalist by those who participate in the environmental discourse.

Elizabeth Hanson

Public Opinion and Foreign Policy Change in India

The abrupt end of the Cold War has forced many governments to re-think the fundamental principles on which their foreign policies are based. In no country has the necessity for re-orientation been greater than in India. For more than three decades India’s foreign policy was self-defined as one of “non-alignment.” The large descriptive literature on Indian foreign policy has focused, for the most part, either on the ideological predispositions of individual leaders or on strategic imperatives to explain the non-alignment orientation. Very little attention has been given to domestic influences, other than personality characteristics of certain leaders, and virtually none to the influence of public opinion. This deficiency is all the more glaring in view of the fact that India claims to be the world’s largest democracy. Furthermore, there is a large data base in the Indian Institute of Public Opinion’s regular surveys of foreign policy opinion in four major cities in India since 1956, which has rarely been examined by scholars. Using these data, this paper analyzes the public perception of past non-alignment policies and the recent shift in public opinion regarding India’s basic foreign policy orientation.
"Imagined Ethnicity": Mujhir Quami Movement in Pakistan

1985 witnessed the dramatic rise of the MQM (Muhajir Qaumi Movement) in urban Sindh, a movement which claimed that the Muhajirs constituted a separate ethnic identity and as such must be granted official recognition as the fifth nationality in Pakistan. The rise of MQM provides important insights into the processes of identity formations and mobilization. This paper will apply two models of ethnic mobilization to the MQM: "instrumentalist," "constructivist." In the first glance, the "Instrumentalist' approach appears to be the most cogent explanation of the rise of the MQM. The Urdu-speaking 'muhajirs' who settled in the urban areas of Sindh were more educated (70% literacy rate compare to the indigenous Sindhi population with 10% literacy rate) and politically dominant for the first decade after the formation of Pakistan. But in the next two decades the Sindhi nationalists demanded greater share in resources which led to certain 'affirmative action' policies such as a quota for Sindhis for government jobs and college and universities admissions. This led to a reaction by 'muhajir' population and the rise of the MQM which complained of 'reverse discrimination' and mobilized the Muhajir population in Sindh around the idea that the 'muhajirs' constituted a fifth nationality which must be granted an official recognition and share of the resources.

But the case of the MQM also exemplifies one of the key concerns of the "constructivist" approach: "ethnicity as manufactured, rather than a given, an innovative act of creative imagination." (Young, 1993, p.24) 'Muhajirs' as an ethnic category is indeed manufactured by the leadership of the MQM. The 'muhajirs' (refugees) consisted of various ethnic groups though the Urdu-speaking Muslims from Uttar Pradesh dominated this group in the Urban Sindh. To define the boundaries of this new 'nationality' as those people who migrated from India to urban areas of Sindh but excluding the Punjabi refugees is very much an example of 'creative imagination'.

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Ishwar Harris

Encountering the Universal Dharma: A Christian's Tribute to Hinduism

This paper is an account of a personal faith journey to reconcile religious exclusiveness with religious inclusiveness. As an Indian Christian, who was raised in a minority community, I was instilled with the Christian message of "the one way" (the way of Christ). It was through my encounter with Hinduism as an academic discipline that I began to be attracted to "the many paths" approach (the way of the Upanishads) provided by the Hindu tradition. It was through Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan's exposition of "the Religion of the Spirit" (the Universal Dharma), and the philosophies of Ramakrishna, Tagore, and Gandhi that I began to understand the meaning of religious universalism and its place in my spiritual growth. Through this encounter, I began discovering Christian universalism via William Hocking, Paul Tillich, and presently John Hick.

Although this paper narrates a personal story, it deals with the complexities of theological and philosophical issues involved in experiencing the encounter of religions. In this process, I am indebted to Hinduism.
Stephan Hay

The Gandhi Men Rivalry with the Nagars of Kathiawar and its Effects on Mohandas K > Gandhi

Abstract: M. K. Gandhi, usually called "Mahatma Gandhi," though he hated the title, recalled that "The Gandhis were and are a big family. ... My father used to accommodate a number of them in some state service." (Collected Works, 39:203.) As a young adolescent he overheard whispered discussions that "started early in the morning and went on till it was time to leave for the office. ... The discussions centred on how to rise to a job of higher status and authority than the present one and how to increase the influence of the Bania [and especially the Gandhi men] as against that of the party of Nagars and Brahmins ...." (Ibid., 24.170-71.) I will quote archival evidence for the Gandhi men's competition with Nagars for high status jobs in the Kathiawar "princely states." On his return from law studies in London, Gandhi found himself embroiled in similar intrigues, and for this and other reasons he left Rajkot for South Africa in 1893. This rejection prepared him to deal in a more open way with his political opponents. And yet I sense in him a certain adeptness in taking command in crisis situations, whether in upstaging his British opponents or his Indian rivals, which may have had its earliest roots in his awareness of how one non-violently outwitted one's political rivals in Kathiawar.
Mary Elaine Hegland, Santa Clara University

Shia Muslim Women in Peshawar, Pakistan: Popular Piety During Muharram

Based on six months of field research in Peshawar, Pakistan, and two months of research with a Shia mosque of South Asian immigrants in California, I examine how Muslim Shia women and girls locate a place for their own creativity, competitiveness, and managerial skills to flourish within the framework of liturgical practices during the month of Muharram.

Without neglecting constraints and structures which channel women’s activities and place limits on their innovations, I concentrate in this paper on women as agents and individuals who actively pursue their own ends as much as possible within the confines of the available challenges and opportunities.

Popular religious practices offer an assortment of such opportunities. Case studies will be presented of women at different age levels who have excelled in hosting Muharram gatherings or majlis, preaching at gatherings, singing Muharram passion stories or rozah in Persian, singing mawla, gathering and chanting noha, performing arduous self-flagellation techniques, and arranging group trips to women’s Muharram gatherings in other locations.

Women and girls are devising means to incorporate literacy, utilize the burgeoning availability of Muharram tapes to expand their repertoire, balance conflicting school and Muharram demands, acquire a career to substitute for family, extend their boundaries, and evade husbands and household duties for more fulfilling activities in the process of practicing popular piety.

Brian E. Hemphill and Alexander F. Christensen
Vanderbilt University

The Oxus Civilization as a Link Between East and West: A Non-metric Analysis of Bronze Age Bactrian Biological Affinities

Despite the presence of walled cities, extensive irrigational structures, and fire temples, the Oxus Civilization remains little known to American anthropologists. Recent research by both American and CIS scholars has suggested that the oases of Bactria were initially settled by migrants from northwestern Iran who subsequently radiated southeastward into the Indian subcontinent after the fall of the Indus Civilization. The purpose of this research is to test whether the phenetic affinities of Bronze Age Bactrians support these contentions.

Ten non-metric variations of the permanent dentition and eleven of the cranium were assessed from over 200 individuals from the sites of Djarkutan and Sapalli Tepe (2200-1250 B. C.). Cranial non-metric variation provides support for a relation between Sapalli Tepe, the earliest Oxus Civilization site, and three northwest Iranian sites. Variation in dental traits indicates that, while Harappa period individuals bear little phenetic affinity to Central Asians, post-Harappan populations are marked by diachronically increasing affinities to Bronze Age Bactrians. In addition, it is clear from both data sets that the basic gene pool of these post-Harappan individuals derives not from their immediate Harappan predecessors, but from an older Indus Valley substrate.
Wilma Heston, University of Pennsylvania

Pashto Popular Poetry: Religious Themes and Images

This paper will begin by surveying Pashto chapbooks concerned with religious subject matter in order to place them within the broader South Asian chapbook tradition. Chapbooks form an important component of popular literature; new chapbooks keep coming into the marketplace despite the spread of television. They provide written forms of texts without requiring a high degree of literacy.

The paper will then look at various themes in both narrative and lyric religious poetry of Pashto chapbooks. This poetry offers entertainment and uplifting thoughts for both religious and secular settings. Its continued appeal illuminates the interests, concerns, and beliefs of the common people in the culture where it is produced.

Finally, the paper will look at the works of one particular chapbook poet to show the relationship of his religious poetry to his heroic and romantic narrative poetry, using material from interviews with him and focusing on his use of imagery.
Alf Hiltebeitel, George Washington University

Indian Epics in the Interdisciplinary Context

This presentation will examine treatments of Indian epics over the last fifty or so years that have developed in different disciplines, with special attention to issues bearing on the relation between classical, oral, and "living" epics. The fifty-year watershed will be identified around new directions marked off by the work of V. S. Sukthankar, and against the background of the consensus on issues, if not conclusions, that was reached in the turn-of-the-century exhaustion of epic scholarship following the influential but deadening paradigms of Edward Washburn Hopkins. Over the last fifty years, work in some disciplines that have not themselves engaged directly in epic studies (e.g., History, Art History, Political Science, Buddhist Studies, Media Studies) seems to have contented itself by-and-large with repeating elements of the turn-of-the-century consensus without registering recent challenges and "advances." Meanwhile, the disciplines more directly responsive to Indian epic texts -- Indian Languages and Literatures, Anthropology, Folklore, Religious Studies -- are quite divided, ranging from repetition of the century-turning consensus to challenges to it from radically different directions. The paper will question whether it is possible to envision the issues, if not conclusions, that might lie at the base of a new consensus at the turn of this century.
Subtle shapes and patterns of the British Raj in India can be seen in the "odd couple" relationship of Sir Salar Jung, dewan of the Nizam of Hyderabad, and Robert Knight, principal founder-editor of The Statesman of Calcutta. The two became allies, especially in 1879-81, against what they considered abuses of the imperial relationship by the British Indian government. Sir Salar wanted to protect Hyderabad State, and his own position within it, against bullying by British officials. Friendly journalists provided one means for enhancing his influence. Knight was a frustrated liberal and reformer who felt that his fellow-Englishmen were not living up to their obligations and responsibilities to the Indian people. Day after day he turned his sharp pen against the "insolence of office." But he needed funding for his journalistic enterprises. Specifically, in 1879 Knight determined to go to London and start a London edition of The Statesman to tell the British public "the truth" about the Disraeli-Salisbury-Lytton Conservative policies in India. He asked for, and received, funds from Salar Jung.

Knight was as good as his word. In 1880 he began publishing a weekly in London in which he denounced Conservative misgovernment, the invasion of Afghanistan, and the highhanded British takeover of Hyderabad's Berar districts. The British voters overturned the Conservatives for Gladstone and the Liberals. However, the liberals in office — Lord Ripon as viceroy, Lord Hartington as Secretary of State for India — proved just as defensive of the system and the status quo in India as the Conservatives. Knight was slapped with a criminal libel lawsuit by Salar Jung's archenemy in Hyderabad, Salar saw this lawsuit as evidence of official displeasure with Knight and decided he had to withdraw his support from him. The London journal soon shut down. Salar Jung died in 1883; the Berars were never returned to the nizam. Knight continued editing his Calcutta paper until his death in 1890. His editorial tone during these last years was much more systematically and bitterly anti-imperialist. Just changing the personalities on top would not reform what A. O. Hume called "the great blundering machine."

The principal source for the Salar-Knight relationship is the Salar Jung Papers, examined in the Andhra Pradesh State Archives in Hyderabad. Other primary sources include official papers in the National Archives of India, the Ripon Papers in the British Museum, and the files of the Statesman in both Calcutta and London. The story shows only when all pieces of the puzzle are assembled.
Hans Henrich Hock, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Om and Other Sacred Particles in Vedic Ritual: Their Origin and Early Development

Sanskrit has a long tradition of using a variety of particles in ritualistic and religious-philosophical literature, the most significant of which is the sacred particle par excellence, *om*. Many of these particles, including *om*, differ markedly in structure and connotations from ordinary Sanskrit words. As a consequence, the question of their etymologies has given rise to a number of conflicting views. Recently, rejecting earlier explanations, Parpola (1981) has claimed that *om* was borrowed from Dravidian in the meaning 'yes'.

I begin with a brief summary of Hock 1991: Close examination of the ritual contexts in which *om* is attested in the Vedic language shows that rather than being of Dravidian origin, it has an indigenous, dual, origin in Sanskrit:

(i) It reflects an earlier interjection *o(m/i)*, used with vocatives and imperatives, comparable to Engl. *O*, as in [1].
(ii) A second source lies in ritual recitation, where *o(m/i)* substitutes for *a*-vowels, especially in final position, as in [2].

Both of these contexts explain that *om* commonly is pronounced with extra, 'trimoric', length (indicated by 3 in the transcriptions).

[1] 63m krato smara (VS(M) 40.15)

vocative imperative

'O, mystical power, remember.'

[2] upāsmai gāyatī naro3m iti dhanaṇjaya
upāsmai gāyatī naro3 iti Śāndilya
upāsmai gāyatī narā3 ity eke (LŚS 7.10.16)

'According to Dhanaṇjaya, [the proper recitation of *upāsmai* gāyatī narāḥ 'sing for him, men' is] upāsmai gāyatī naro3m; according to Śāndilya, upāsmai gāyatī naro3, according to some (others), upāsmai gāyatī narā3.'

Like other ritualistic particles *om* gave rise in the Brāhmaṇas to speculations concerning its real, mystical meaning. The Jaiminiya- and Aitareya-Brāhmaṇas attribute special status to *om* as an embodiment of the three Vedas. The motivation for singling out *om* in this way probably lies in the fact that, alone among the various ritualistic particles, it was employed in all three of the Vedas.

In its ritual use, *om* was entirely comparable to other particles, such as *ho*, *haye*, *hai*, *he*, and *vā*, of which *ho* and *vā*, too, were subject to a fair amount of mystical speculation in the Śāma-Vedic Brāhmaṇas. Many of these particles, e.g. *ho*, *haye*, *hai*, *he*, are used as interjections like *om* [1]; others, such as *vā*, commonly identified with *vāg* (‘holy’) speech, are employed in recitation like *om* [2].

I conclude by showing that paying close attention to the Vedic texts and their ritual uses makes it possible to explain two further particles that figure prominently in Vedic ritual, viz. *vāsat* and its variants *vāt*, *vāt*, and *vet*, as well as *śrausat*. The latter clearly must be derived from the root *śru-* ‘to hear, listen’; but its phonological shape is problematic. The particle *vāsat* and its variants are commonly derived from the root *vah-* ‘convey’; and again, present numerous phonological problems. I show that the contexts in which *vāsat* etc. occur are more compatible with deriving the particle family from the root *vās-* ‘enjoy’, and that this derivation opens the door to a more satisfactory explanation of its phonological peculiarities. The peculiarities of *śrausat*, then, can be explained as influenced by *vāsat*, with which it is closely affiliated in the ritual.

The explanations offered in this paper underline the need in Vedic studies to pay close attention to the texts AND to the ritual uses to which they are put.
Sarah Hodges, University of Chicago, History Department

"Marking the Colonial in Medicine: Race in the Indian and English Contagious Diseases Acts, 1864-1888"

In this paper, I examine the interstices of race, gender and medicine in the colonial Indian context. Taking the example of the late nineteenth-century Indian and English Contagious Diseases Acts, legislation enacted to control the spread of venereal disease throughout the British empire, I discuss how the different careers of passage and repeal of the acts in India and England illustrate distinct conceptions of contagion and its threat. I argue that this differentiation was based on, and implicated in the creation of, a rule of colonial difference based on race.

Piper Hodson, University of Illinois-Urbana

The South Asian Nuclear Standoff: Some Insights from Prospect Theory

Brief paper description: Employing one of the primary theoretical alternatives to rational choice theory, i.e., prospect theory, this paper seeks to delve into some of the conundrums of the Indo-Pak nuclear stand-off that have, in the past, baffled both observers and policymakers in the West. In doing so, it sheds new light on the hitherto misunderstood motives behind the nuclearization attempts of South Asia's primary actors.

Peter E. Hook

The Compound Verb Gradient in Gujarat

The text frequency of the compound verb in modern Indo-Aryan languages varies dramatically from less than 1% of verb forms in Kashmiri to nearly 20% in Hindi-Urdu. Gujarat happens to sit astride a major east-west isogloss in compound verb frequencies (isopleths). The paper relates the higher frequencies (>10%) in the northern dialects to a greater sensitivity to syntactic and semantic contexts and the lower frequencies (<10%) in the southern dialects to lesser sensitivity to such contexts (finite vs. non-finite, negative vs. positive, durative vs. non-durative tenses, etc.)
Frank J. Hoffman, West Chester University

Satisfactions and Obstacles in Philosophizing Across Cultural Boundaries

Descriptively speaking there are several logically possible forms that philosophizing across cultural boundaries can take. One might philosophize across cultural boundaries in order to achieve understanding for its own sake, to attack, or to defend. In doing one of these (or some incoherent combination) one might also engage in comparison and/or contrast. Seen in this way, comparative philosophy is only one among various possible modes of philosophical encounter with other cultures.

One view sometimes heard among proponents of comparative philosophy is that all philosophizing is necessarily comparative. (This might, for instance, be used to cut off inquiry as to what is comparative method.) It is open to proponents of the "necessity of comparison thesis" to argue that philosophy in an evaluative sense (philosophy at its best) is necessarily comparative, but it is dubious that philosophy in a descriptive sense must necessarily be comparative.

Philosophizing across cultural boundaries involves both significant satisfactions as well as difficult obstacles. This paper is about these satisfactions and obstacles and how they arise in the process of philosophizing across boundaries.
Stephen P. Hughes, University of Chicago

Musical Drama, the Gramophone Industry and the Beginnings of Tamil Cinema

Early Tamil cinema has usually been explained as being little more than a direct extension of musical stage dramas which were popular during the 1920s. However, I argue that the translation of musical drama into Tamil cinema was to a large extent mediated by the gramophone recording industry. In this paper I examine how in the early 1930s Tamil cinema was invented through a complex convergence of already established forms of entertainment.

In South India, the transition from silent to sound films between the late 1920s and about 1935 brought significant changes to the fields of popular entertainment. The predominance of Hollywood silents films was displaced by the rapid expansion of Indian sound film production which was reorganized along linguistic lines to form a number of regional cinemas. An entirely new form of cinematic entertainment emerged when the early Tamil film-makers integrated music and songs into their productions forging new relationships between the cinema and the other commercially successful cultural forms of musical drama, classical music and gramophone recordings.

Javed Husain, Karachi University

Some Selected Pottery Types from Shaikhan Dheri-Charsada

Two seasons (1963 and 1964) of work at Shaikhan Dheri-Charsada, Pakistan yielded a large quantity of well stratified pottery. The published report (Dani:1966) on this material is brief and has not studied many of the possible inferences that may be drawn from it. Certain types of pottery, amongst those found at Shaikhan Dheri appear to be of particular interest for a variety of reasons. Some are of importance in terms of their archaeological occurrence and distribution at their sites, others because of the particular external relationships or cultural affinity which they display. A third group is interesting because of their inferred functions and therefore their role in society.

This paper aims at bringing to notice some of the selected pottery types from Shaikhan Dheri for establishing cross-cultural contacts with the contemporary sites in adjoining areas. A range of types have been selected for discussion in the present paper. The overall analysis of these selected pottery types suggests that some of these types are definitely imports from contemporary sites in Pakistan and Afghanistan, while some are unique to Shaikhan Dheri only, still others are significant because of their inferred functions.
Casualties of IMF Conditionality: Economic Reforms and Human Rights in Pakistan

Syed Hussain

The substance of economic reforms supported by the IMF and other international agencies is privatization in the context of a free market economy. Even though restructuring of the stagnant economies of the less developed countries is desirable and even inevitable, the drumbeat of the enthusiastic endorsement of market forces and solutions as the magic elixir to cure the ills of the global economy is so deafeningly pervasive that it is hard to fathom if one is being confronted with a theoretical argument, a logical construct or an article of faith. The issues of market failure, social inequality, deteriorating levels of poverty and illiteracy and other such effects are being totally sidestepped in these discussions. The purpose of this paper is twofold. First, to explore and examine critically the limits of market reforms in solving the social and economic problems endemic to the condition of underdevelopment. Second, to make some empirical observations on the effect of market reform on the human rights and other social conditions in Pakistan — a country that has, for sometime now, been in the process of implementing these reforms.

Wayne R. Husted, Penn State University

Dashed Dreams: Local Shi’ite Community Projects in Pre-Partition India

One of the least explored areas of local manifestations of Islam in South Asia are community projects of Shi’ite Muslims. During the first part of the twentieth century, Shi’ites of the Agra/Bharatpur region undertook the planning of and fund raising for various religious, educational, and welfare projects.

In this paper I reconstruct the history of this local Shi’ite community, using both oral and rare textual sources. I focus on the concerns and visions of these people as reflected in proposals put forth at conferences held in Agra during the early twentieth century. I show the reasons for the success and failure of various plans that culminated in the exodus of the majority of Shi’ite Muslims of this region to Pakistan in 1947, ending a vibrant period in the modern history of Shi’ism in India.
Paul C. Jenkins  
University of Wisconsin, Madison  

Chronology, standardization, and intrasite variation  
within the pottery assemblage from Harappa  

Recent excavations at Harappa have provided new sets of comparative pottery data from both cemetery and non-cemetery contexts. These data make it possible to begin addressing questions about chronological developments in the ceramic industry which will be useful for both intra-site application as well as for relative dating with other sites. The recovery of many complete vessels and groups of vessels apparently made in the same workshop allow a more detailed study of standardization as well as intrasite variation. Together these approaches will allow a more comprehensive reconstruction of the production of ceramics and craft specialization in an urban setting. This paper will present a preliminary discussion of the results to date and outline the objects of on-going studies.

Alan Johnson, University of California-Riverside  

Cantonments, Women, and the Discourse on Health in Colonial India  

Colonial health legislation in British military cantonments was instituted largely to guarantee the health of British (male) army personnel. Consortion with prostitutes, both Indian and European, and resulting cases of venereal disease were cause for great concern among British officials. Reasons for concern other than health included the fear of racial, moral and psychological contamination. My paper will discuss, on the one hand, how Indian women were contortedly figured in this context in both British and Indian written accounts (both official and non-governmental); and, on the other, how English women were ambivalently idealized in the colonial imaginary so as to contrast with, as well as complement, Indian women in order to subserve imperial interests. Interlinked with this discussion are the ways in which various tropes in the avowedly male cantonment setting—among them the loyal ayah, the mysterious Indian wife, the inscrutable Indian warrior—have worked simultaneously to sexualize and desexualize Indians, reflecting a conscious as well as unconscious mix of desire and fear among the British in both the legislative and the private spheres. Concurrently, I shall address the ways in which Indian women might be read as resisting, however conditionally, the various forms of health control in and around the cantonment.
"We Are All in the Same Boat": Middleness and Collective Identities in Colonial Lucknow

This paper explores some of the ambiguities about class, nation and "community" that went into the making of an Indian middle class in colonial Lucknow. Interventions in public arenas were one of the most important sites where English educated Lucknavis came to articulate a collective identity as a middle class. It was through newspapers or other literary and political forums that a predominantly upper-caste and ashraf group was able to play crucial mediating roles in colonial Lucknow. Their cultural constructs in public and political arenas, however, reflected the inherent "middle-ness" of their position in the colonial milieu. This paper examines how aspects of this middle-ness were negotiated by the middle class in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Lucknow.

Specifically, I look at how Lucknavi Hindus active in the public arenas negotiated the emerging contradiction between their championing of Hindu traditions and their desire to construct the widest possible constituency with which to challenge colonial rule. Through this examination I hope to open up the discussion regarding the categories of "nationalism" and "communalism" in modern India, as well as demonstrate the central role played by the middle class in the production of these ideologies.
David J. Kalupahana, University of Hawaii

The True and the Useless: Building a Case for Moral Pragmatism

The essentialist search for what is true has been one reason why a pragmatic notion of truth ran into difficulties for decades in spite of its half-hearted sponsorship by the philosophers of science. The legacy of modern science has left us with the nuclear bomb and nuclear waste. Could these and many other ills of modern science and technology have been avoided if humankind adopted a morally grounded pragmatic notion of truth that insisted upon the true being not only useful but also morally relevant? Was it the absence of such a notion of truth that has created the insatiable demand for courses in applied ethics?

My paper will focus on the early Buddhist and Jamesean versions of pragmatism as possible solutions to the modern human predicament.

Sangeeta Kamat, University of Pittsburgh

Accomodation and Resistance in Development Praxis: Studies in Maharashtra

Development theory and practice in the third world has been closely connected with two projects: one of nation building and the other of integration into the capitalist world economy. The logic of the two endeavors may appear paradoxical, in that nation building calls for upholding the interests of the nation-state whereas the international economy requires a dedication to the logic of the market whose interests have little to do with national boundaries. However, within the development discourse they work in a complementary manner. The effects created by such an impetus have led many intellectuals and activists to analyze the contradictions that constitute the dominant discourse of development, and to reframe the agenda of social transformation in both theory and practice. Some of the most innovative efforts have been made by "autonomous grassroots groups" in many different regions of India. In this paper I shall present some of the analysis on the contradictions that arise from pursuing the hegemonic discourse of development, and discuss in detail some of the efforts being carried out by two grassroots organizations in Maharashtra and their implications for a discourse of radical change.
Pramod Kantha, University of Missouri-Columbia

Marginalization of Moderates and the Rise of Militancy in India and Sri Lanka

Abstract: One of the central factors causing the militarization of ethnic conflicts is the marginalization of moderate groups and the subsequent rise of militancy. Once the leadership of an ethnic movement passes to the militant groups, the conflict invariably turns into a protracted and costly quagmire both in human and material terms.

This paper looks at the dynamics of interaction between the government and moderate groups in the case of Sikh and Tamil ethnic movements in India and Sri Lanka respectively. The paper will focus on the analysis of critical stages in shaping the role of moderate groups in both countries.

Aftab Kazi, University of Virginia

Ethnicity, 1993 Elections, and Provincial Boundaries in Pakistan

With a geopolitical and geocultural perspective, this analysis differentiates between administrative/provincial and ethnolinguistic/cultural boundaries in Pakistan. Ethnonational issues of identity, historic political legitimacy, colonialism versus nationalism, nationalism versus patriotism, etc., have been conceptualized from the specific Pakistani/South Asian political culture, thus the growing importance of ethnic identity in national politics. The results of October 1993 elections demonstrate the voting pattern based on ethnolinguistic homogeneity across the operating administrative/provincial boundaries. Data analyzed concludes that the ethnocultural problems in Pakistan can be possibly resolved within five to ten years with a consensual sociopolitical reordering of the Pakistani society.
On Diasporic Splinters: Against Fragmentation of Race and Gender

Shortly after its publication in Britain on September 26 1988, *The Satanic Verses* became the catalyzing force in foregrounding a tremendous conflict between fundamentalism and liberalism. In Britain this conflict became encoded as between racism and fundamentalism. The South Asian community in Britain predominantly expressed outrage at the publication and called for the banning of the book. The liberal establishment, on the other hand, reprimanded the protestors, expressing disdain at their demands for infringement of Rushdie’s freedom of speech.

Further splintering within the confines of this polarized debate helped create spaces for women’s involvement in the debate. One such space embodied the emergence of a feminist group, Women Against Fundamentalism, as a result of the Rushdie Affair. On March 9 1989, nearly 200 women gathered to discuss the effects of resurgence of religious fundamentalism on the lives of women. They issued a statement expressing solidarity with Rushdie while claiming to represent all women. This avowed unison, however, was only the simulacrum of accord: discordant voices from within this gendered divide were clearly discernible. Needless to say, such dissonance, even while ensuing from women, would be categorized as fundamentalist if we are to work within WAF’s paradigm of gender emancipation versus fundamentalism.

This paper will attempt to restructure WAF’s paradigm, and will deal with the politics of making statements, and of taking sides, which, in turn, is not only about what is denounced but also about what kinds of alliances are forged. The protestors against *The Satanic Verses* speak against the affront they perceive to their racial/religious identities while eliding the issue of gender. WAF, on the other hand, speaking from the vantage point of their gender identities, elide the issue of race. In effect, if we are asked to take sides, we are posed with the daunting task of choosing between racial emancipation and gender emancipation. The urgent question, then, is: how do we rethink this problematic in a way that accounts for both gender and race? How do we avoid the trap of choosing between either racial emancipation or gender emancipation? For given the condition of postcoloniality, if either one is possible it cannot come without the other.
Santhi Kavuri

The Pharmacological Aspects of Betel Nut Chewing and How They Impact Cultural Perceptions and Practices in India

This paper will examine the scientific and cultural aspects of betel nut chewing in India as it has been informed by the betel quid's pharmacology. The first half of this paper will discuss the chemical composition of the betel quid and each component's physiological effects. This analysis will be followed by the medicinal use of betel as it has been administered in India by the Sushruta Samhita, the ancient system of medicine and surgery. The negative attributes of betel, such as it being a carcinogen, an accelerator of tooth decay and its possible addictive quality, will also be examined.

The second half of this paper will discuss how these pharmacological aspects of betel chewing have informed the cultural perception of those societies that chew it by the western world. These historical observations start when the westerners first came into contact with betel, during precolonial times, and lead up to the present day with the banning by U.S. Food and Drug Association of its importation.

The attitudes and fears that the pharmacological aspects of betel plays on Indians today will conclude this discussion. Have the new scientific studies changed the cultural practice of consuming betel due to the fear of subsequent health problems or has it just gone out of vogue? Interviews with the Indian community here and abroad will be included to help paint a clearer picture of this situation.
M. Whitney Kelting, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Finding the Place of Devotional Singing in Jain Laywomen's Religiosity: Recent Findings

The most prominent public expression of a Jain laywomen's religiosity is the singing of devotional music (stavan). It forms the bulk of the women's participation in major communal rituals, and holds a central place in the smaller rituals and their daily worship. The women's participation in the singing collectives (mandal) allows them a forum in which to learn new stavan, to publicly perform stavan, to be creative and social in a female-dominated sphere and a religiously encouraged break from daily work. The stavan, usually in Gujarati or Marwari, are set to the melodies of Gujarati folk songs, ghazals and, nowadays, popular Hindi film songs. My paper will discuss the location of devotional music in the laywomen's religious experience of Jainism and the sources from which the laywomen cull the stavan.

Sharon Kemp, University of Minnesota-Duluth

The Voices of Two Village Women

In 1982 Shindubai said to me, "I am going to look for work in the city," a drastic step for a village woman, brought on, as she continued, "because I can no longer support myself and my three children with what I can earn in the fields. The times when my husband comes home from driving a taxi, he takes even that little bit to buy liquor." Vimal, in whose fields Shindubai worked, told me about her life in a land-owning extended family with her politically ambitious husband, "So many important people come to our house, I am always busy cooking and serving to benefit my husband." Ten years later Shindubai said to me, "I am an important person in this village," as she recounted her good fortune in being accepted to receive nursery school training and become a teacher. By contrast, Vimal narrated the suicide of her husband, "because people were always asking him for things," her own descent into widowhood and the disgrace of a once prominent village family.
Kenneth A. R. Kennedy, Cornell University

Biological Adaptations of Harappans to Urban Life

ABSTRACT: The transition from hunting-foraging to agricultural-pastoral socioeconomic strategies undertaken by many human populations over the past 10,000 years, as documented by archaeological investigations, is paralleled by biological changes evident in the skeletal records of ancient peoples. Biological responses to village/urban settings within the Harappan cultural domain are examined with respect to health and nutritional status, mortality, morbidity, expressions of degree of sexual dimorphism, genetic affinities and other demographic variables. It is concluded that the Harappans were descendants of long established communities adapted to food-production technologies, acquiring their genetic heterogeneity through maintenance of widespread regional enclaves and gene flow through social and commercial contact with neighboring hunting-foraging populations. The biological profile of the Harappans defined by recent morphometric studies does not support earlier hypotheses concerning their racial origins and precipitant creation of civilization in the Indus valley.
J. Mark Kenoyer, University of Wisconsin, Madison

The dynamics of city growth and decay at Harappa, Pakistan

Ongoing excavations at the ancient city of Harappa, Pakistan are providing a new perspective on the growth and decay of early urban centers. This paper will summarize the results of excavations on a new area of the site, Mound ET, where a major extension of the ancient city has been discovered. This extension or suburb is surrounded by a massive city wall that also has a large gateway and drains. Enclosed within the walls are habitation and craft activity areas which provide a unique glimpse of the functional variation in different sectors of the city over time. A large number of seals and inscribed objects have been recovered from specific areas of Mound E and Mound ET, while in other areas no seals or tablets have been recovered. The patterned distribution of artifacts and architecture combined with other functional features provides new evidence for the complex political and economic structure of the ancient city.
Cow-hides, Caste, and Conversion: A Christian Mass Movement in Andhra Pradesh, 1865-1878

The uneven imbrication of religion and politics in India has made the phenomenon of conversion a perennially vexing problem. When large numbers of people simultaneously exchange one religious affiliation for another the political tensions inherent in conversion are further exacerbated. Because of the highly charged political ramifications of such an event, "mass conversions" call for an analysis of conversion that discards the model of the individual's inward transformation and instead takes as its starting point widely shared structures of belief and practice and their location within a particular socio-political context. In this paper, I would like to do a close study of the events that led up to one of the most remarkable "mass movements" of the late 19th century. In the summer of 1878 (at the tail end of a devastating region-wide famine) John Everett Clough, an American Baptist missionary stationed in what is now Andhra Pradesh, stunned the world by baptizing 9,000 Madiga harijans in six weeks. Although the effects of the famine were an extremely significant reason for this massive "outpouring of faith," they cannot adequately account for the fact that most of these converts retained their Christian identities. I would like to demonstrate that during the thirteen years prior to this event molecular changes had taken place in the area due to the proselytizing and mission-building activities of Clough and a group of about thirty native preachers. The content and context of these small transformations may be traced back to the conjunctural relation between Clough, the representative of a global network of missions equipped with a reasonably efficient fund raising apparatus and sophisticated organs of publicity, and the native preachers, who constituted an upwardly mobile sector of the Madiga harijan community with diverse networks of personal contacts throughout southern Telegu country.
Zillur R. Khan

World Bank/IMF's Development Priorities and the Disadvantaged in Bangladesh

After analyzing policy priorities of WB/IMF the paper will explore the socio-economic needs of the Bangladeshi polity, focusing in particular on the status of women in both rural and urban areas who comprise the vast majority of the disadvantaged. In this context, the paper will examine such issues as (1) WB/IMF prescribed structural adjustments and their impact on women and other disadvantaged groups, (2) the relationship between donor agencies and planning/line ministries, (3) government's public investment and annual development program and their prospects for meeting WB/IMF guidelines for poverty alleviation, requiring an annual growth of 6-7% of GDP instead of the continuing average of around 4%, (4) the extent to which the two largest NGOs, i.e., BRAC and Grameen Bank, are making a difference in the empowerment of the rural disadvantaged, particularly women, and the extent of support or lack of it from WB and Bangladesh Government.

Meena Rani Khandelwal, University of Virginia

Women and Renunciation: A Sannyasini's View of Sexual Difference

When Anand Mata spoke to me about why women have been denied initiation into sannyasa (renunciation), she framed her explanation in terms of "inner" and "outer" reasons. Her "inner" reasons include the idea that women are complete in themselves and do not need sannyasa, while her "outer" reasons assume a male effort to deliberately exclude women. I ask how Anand Mata's ideas about sexual difference relate to those of feminist anthropology. Feminist analysis might take Anand Mata's inner causes as evidence of "essentialization" and her outer causes as "social criticism." I argue, however, with reference to Hindu conceptions of sharir, that the question of whether she locates sexual difference in the body OR in social contexts is irrelevant, for the two are both continuous and mutually constituted. I also examine the feminist distinction between autonomy and social relationships with regard to Anand Mata's notion that women are "complete" because they perceive Paramatma (Universal Soul) in their children, their husbands, and themselves. I conclude that some categories of feminist analysis, specifically the distinction between essentialist and constructivist arguments and autonomous and relational definitions of women, may obscure more than they illuminate.
Immigrant Nationalism in the Post-Modern World: The Case of the Transnational Gujarati Swaminarayan Community

The Gujarati Swaminarayan socio-religious group constitutes a growing proportion of the United States' South Asian population. Within the context of a supposedly secular and subtly homogenizing environment of America, the Swaminarayan community's efforts to create a community held cohesive by common religio-cultural traditions presents a case-study of a group in the process of self-definition. Late twentieth century research has sought to correct the long-assumed isomorphism of space, place, culture and people. A lack of congruence between identity and space, culture and territory is most evident in diaspora populations. Yet each overseas Swaminarayan community subscribes to a single body of religious beliefs and practices transmitted from the organization's headquarters in Gujarat. The community is thus constantly engaged in the maintenance of those traditions considered to be reflective of the ideal Hindu life in their homeland. Dismissing this production as mere imaginings or outdated traditionalism would, however, overlook the role of agency--resistance, contestation and resolution--on the part of the Gujarati in determining the framework for their lives abroad. This paper will examine those objectified coordinates and boundaries of meaning: that the personal project of the community coincides with that of the avowedly secular but distinctly Hindu agendas of India's nationalist parties makes for an interesting re-presentation of nationalism in the diasporic context.

Christopher R. King, University of Windsor

Urdu in Nagari?: The Writings of Devkinandan Khatri

Devkinandan Khatri (1861–1913) did more to popularize the Nagari script through his extremely popular series of novels, especially Chandrakanta and Chandrakanta Santati, than any other Hindi writer of his generation. These and other novels, drawing on the earlier Urdu dastan tradition, as well as those of his son and successor Durgaprasad Khatri, made Hindi in the Nagari script more accessible and more attractive to many Hindi readers than any previous writings. Even the renowned Hindi and Urdu writer Prem Chand confessed to eagerly reading Khatri’s works.

Yet despite Khatri’s popularity, the leaders of the Hindi literary world and of the Hindi movement did not consider Khatri’s writings to be literary Hindi, but rather Hindustani (by which they meant a simple Urdu), a medium, in their view, incapable of producing any worthwhile literature. Thus it is not surprising to find that for a few years he became first a member and then an officer of the Nagari Pracharini Sabha (Society for the Promotion of Nagari) of Banaras, but finding the atmosphere uncongenial, left.

The study of Khatri’s life and works reveals some of the complexities of the tangled relationship of Hindi and Urdu which still affect India today, shows the importance of continuity in literary traditions, and gives us a glimpse of the popular culture of his time.
This work offers a critical assessment of the conventional social science approach, and of rational choice theory in particular, to understanding peasants and village agriculture. Based on observations and interviews in villages of northeastern Uttar Pradesh, India (and elsewhere in the state), and on broad inter-disciplinary research, village action and understanding are shown to be sharply at odds with conventional models.

An extensive look at the place of village agriculture in the popular culture of the region reveals it to be thoroughly embedded in a discourse of ritual-productive practice that "sacralizes" farming as a ritual undertaking. Actions are shown to be based on local knowledge which is metaphysical, discontinuous, and therefore an obstacle to the "continuous" economistic models of objective social science, and to the kinds of actions they enable.

The dissertation argues that knowledge of "the peasant" is constructed in a discourse of power, that its use in social science research has evolved in harmony with the changing needs of the state and outside interests, and that such knowledge is part of a deployment of power against its subject which is normalize in its effect on village life and agriculture. One purpose of this work is to chart a course away from the sorts of discursive entanglements which turn scholarship against its subject.
Chetan Kumar, University of Illinois, Urbana

"Millenium" Revisited: The Information Technology Revolution and the Security of the Indian State in the Twenty-First Century

Brief paper description: This paper draws upon Jacques Attali's recent work, *Millenium: Winner and Losers in the Emerging World Order*, to explore the ramifications of the ongoing global revolution in the production of goods and services for India. Employing a broad-based theoretical understanding of security which embraces the social, economic and the military spheres, the paper makes the following arguments: (i) As the traditional demarcation of the core and the periphery areas of the world system changes with the information technology revolution, India's policy planners need to urgently target certain key areas for development and investment if the country is to be a part of the core, and not the peripheral, processes (ii) The advent of information technology has eroded the power of the Indian state by empowering certain sections of the civil society which have found themselves far better placed than the former to satisfy the welfare demands of varying sections of the population; the Indian state needs to carry out a broad-based internal reorganization to recapture the initiative in these areas (iii) Reorganization of the state's planning and policy processes will have to be accompanied by a new strategic vision which will take into account the emergent centers of global power suggested in Attali's work. At the minimum, this strategic vision will recognize the primacy of information and wealth, and not military might, as the sources of security, and will also be cognizant of the factors generating these resources in the "emerging world order."

Maneesha Lal, University of Pennsylvania

Discourses of Health and Hygiene in *Stri Darpan*

In the early decades of the twentieth century, the Hindi women's magazine *Stri Darpan* carried many articles on health and hygiene, with titles such as "Dharmastra and Health," "Women and Tuberculosis in India," "The Importance of Good Midwives," and "Why Do Children Die?" Published from Allahabad and edited by Rameshwar Nehru, *Stri Darpan*, in the words of Vir Bharat Talwar, brought "gravity and depth to the examination of women's issues," and became "the most important instrument in the women's movement in the Hindi provinces."

Focusing on journal issues published between 1917 and 1923, my paper will examine conceptions of the body and prescriptions concerning proper bodily practice as presented by the articles on health and medicine. It will analyze how ideologies of gender and feminism structured these discourses which contributed to the nationalist rhetoric of improvement and modernity. This aspect will link my paper to the recent work by South Asian scholars that has been concerned with the gendered body, nationalism, and reformulations of the public and the private, but they have focussed primarily on Bengal. Simultaneously I will mine the articles for what they reveal about medical practitioners, therapeutics, and changing medical ideas in North India during the early twentieth century.
The Newari Pancaraksā Kathasara: Five Mahayana Dharanis and their Testimonial Stories

The subject of this paper, a modern Pancaraksā text from Nepal, is one compilation of verses Mahāyāna Buddhists codified across Asia in order to confer protection and promote well-being upon individual monks, householders, and communities. The Newari Pancaraksā traditions provide a paradigmatic example of how Mahāyāna masters extended their service to householders beyond instruction in salvation-oriented belief and practice to the performance of rituals for pragmatic purposes.

This paper summarizes the content of a modern Newar recension of a Pancaraksā text from the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal, including the distinctive recitations and line-drawing images that are still used in traditional practice. It also draws upon modern ethnographic research to relate the text to its context in order to develop a deeper understanding of later Mahāyāna-Vajrayāna Buddhism as a practical religion. The paper discusses the text's background, content and usages in the Newar community. It ends with some reflections about how this text and related traditions might revise common scholastic presentations of Indic Mahāyāna Buddhism.
Subsistence Change And Secular Trend In Tooth Size: Differential Stress During Ontogeny In Prehistoric India

Tooth size variation in prehistoric and living humans has been interpreted to reveal genetic relationships between populations, as well as to show a reduction through time in association with cultural development. In addition, tooth size appears responsive to short term changes in environmental stress. Since humans are diphyodont, examining changes in primary and permanent dental dimensions through time should permit insight into differential levels of stress during ontogeny.

This paper examines tooth size change across an atypical subsistence transition at the prehistoric site of Inamgaon in western India (1700-700 BC). In contrast to Cohen’s model of declining health and the transition from hunting and foraging to agriculture, at Inamgaon the subsistence transition is reversed: from agriculture to pastoral nomadism. The hypothesis to be tested here is that tooth size will respond to increased dietary diversity and better health, which are held to accompany pastoralism, by a short term size increase.

Dental dimensions and crown areas are reported for Early (1400-1200 BC) and Late (1200-700 BC) Jorwe cultural phases at Inamgaon. While the permanent teeth tend to support the hypothesis and show significant size increases, the primary dentition contradicts the hypothesis and displays several significant decreases in tooth size. Ethnographic study of dietary variation reveals numerous prohibitions and restrictions for pregnant females in some modern tribals. The proposition is advanced that with greater mobility and contact with new food sources during the late Jorwe phase at Inamgaon, pregnant women may have been subject to new dietary constraints thereby directly influencing fetal dental development.

Caitrin Lynch

Arranged Marriages on the Oprah Winfrey Show: What Difference Does It Make?

Through analysis of an episode of The Oprah Winfrey Show (March 1994) which dealt with Indian arranged marriages, this paper will examine issues of Indian identity and difference with a particular focus on issues of marriage, gender, and violence. What does a discussion about arranged marriages on such a widely circulated television program do for Indian-American and non-Indian American constructions of India and Indians? In order to analyze how arranged marriage is a key notion through which both Indian-Americans and non-Indian Americans construct and understand “Indianness,” the paper will look at how arranged marriages were presented and understood on this program. The way in which Oprah, her guests, and her audience dealt with different Indian and non-Indian views of arranged marriages—especially when it came to issues of violence against women—will be understood in the context of the place of gender in constructions of national and cultural identity and difference. Finally, the paper will discuss the place of domestic violence—especially in arranged marriages—in constructions of India by the Indian immigrant bourgeoisie in the United States.
Krishnakali Majumdar

Women in Polyandry: A Pawn in the Game of Brotherhood

The people of the mountains (Paharis) in certain regions of the Northwestern Uttar Pradesh (Jaunsar-Bawar) traditionally practiced a form of polyandry: fraternal polygynandry (i.e., two or more women share husbands who are brothers). There is a strong indication in early Himalayan ethnographies that women in polyandrous societies enjoy a fairly high "status." Women do not observe purdah and enjoy greater sexual freedom in their natal home than women who live in the plains of Uttar Pradesh. This raises interesting questions about patriarchy and the cultural construction of gender, kinship and marriage.

In this paper, I have made an attempt to show how polygynandry oppresses women. The bonds of brotherhood are so strong that they can share a wife instills a deep sense of obligation among brothers. I suggest, the sharing of a women through common marriage is a strategy to keep the brothers together. If common property and residence holds the brothers together, a common wife would further increase the obligations between the brothers. Clearly, the women are used as a "commodity" to strengthen the bond between the brothers.

This suggestion is especially illuminated by the fact that though women can initiate a separation, the ultimate control to consent and dissolve a marriage is in the hands of male kin members. In this paper, I will demonstrate how marriage and kinship rules strengthen the male authority while having a negative effect on women's selfhood.

Colin P. Masica

Alternate Subordination Strategies in Gujarati

The presence in Gujarati of alternate subordination strategies together with statistics on the relative frequency of their use are appropriate for the geographical position of Gujarati and illustrate the existence of an areal and typological "gradient" which according to Hook 1987 may be crucial evidence of areal influence on linguistic patterns. The particulars of their evolution further illustrate the mechanism by which a language may adjust its typology in the direction of greater consistency and areal conformity. Four kinds of subordinate clauses are discussed: conditionals, adverbial clauses, adjectival clauses, and object-complement clauses. Other, competing influences as well as other examples of areal-typological intermediacy are also discussed.
Biju Mathew, Rider University

The Sardar Sarovar Project and the Retheorizing of the Indian State

Since 1992 a distinctive trend has characterized the actions of the state regarding the resistance to the Sardar Sarovar project (SSP). Forcible evacuations, police cordonning of villages, firing on activists and a declaration by the state that the police are authorized to fire at "unruly mobs" - meaning villagers, tribals and activists - all mark a new, violent, response of the state to anti-"developmentalist" work. The Indian state has been tremendously violent in the past with reference to only some kinds of political activity, such as the ruthless suppression of the Naxalites, but it has maintained its relation to the developmental sphere as largely non-violent. The SSP, thus, marks a departure in the relation of the state to development projects and the people resisting such projects. An examination of the events surrounding the Narmada Bachao Andolan movement and the state’s response to it reveals that the state is beginning to look increasingly like a bourgeois state (in the standard Western democratic sense) representing the interests of not just a local bourgeois but a transnational one. That such a politics emerges from Gujarat is even more significant if one looks at the role that "politics framed within Gujarat" has had in the nationalist movement and the state formation that emerged in the three decades that followed 1947. It is towards a theorization of such a "new" state that this paper points.

Lise McKeen, University of Chicago

Behind Every Great Woman Guru: Hindu Religious Organizations and Female Leaders

How do Hindu women become gurus? How do their status and work as gurus conform to and differ from the the dominant model based on the male guru? These questions orient my presentation of materials on women gurus in Hardwar and Rishikesh that analyzes both life histories and the sociology of the religious institutions to which they belong and build up around themselves.

Richard H. Meadow, Peabody Museum, Harvard University

Provisioning Cities of the Indus Valley Civilization

Many of the plant and animal remains found in the debris of the earliest South Asian cities are indirect or direct indicators of consumption activities of their inhabitants. Going beyond questions of consumption to those of supply, the investigator confronts issues of the very nature of Harappan urbanism. Were these agricultural cities? How many if any of the urban population kept animals and grew crops? If all or a substantial portion of the people were non-agriculturalists, how and by whom were they supplied? Were there provisioning specialists -- farmers, herders, fisherfolk, hunters -- and were these domiciled within or at a distance from the city? Answers to these questions will come not only from study of bioarchaeological remains, but also from consideration of architectural and artifactual configurations. The many strands of evidence must be drawn together and evaluated with the aid of models derived from historical situations.
S. Ashraf Meer

Stages of Integration

The film is an experimental narrative that questions assimilation as a desirable goal. In the film an American-born Indian man, recently returned from a trip to India, is unsuccessful in his attempts to woo an Indian-American woman. His frustration leads him to commit an absurd act of extremism, only deepening his alienation.

The film uses video, black & white and color to emphasize the conflict between the political/idealistic and the personal/social dialogues of immigrants. The three characters of the film, like a medieval morality play, do not represent individuals, but ideas. Arif, the protagonist, is obviously assimilated but resents the power American culture has over him. He unsuccessfully tries to connect to the Indian-ness that he perceives in Angela/Anjale. However, though her Indian origin is visually apparent, mentally she has no ties to her ethnicity. This is expressed through her preoccupation with television and her relationship with Rick, the roughly drawn "ugly American."

"Stages of Integration" also uses Anglo-asian music and overlapping dialogue to add to the portrayal of the uneasy blending that occurs in immigrant communities.

The filmmakers present the film as revenge for a lifetime of having their names mispronounced. While the film doesn't provide any viable solutions, it is cathartic in its vengeful conclusion.

S. Ashraf Meer and Maria T. Rodriguez are M.F.A. candidates at Temple University's graduate school of Film and Television. Ashraf is currently finishing his thesis, a documentary on his grandfather's role in Partition. Maria recently completed the experimental short, "Morning Tide."

Margaret Meibohm, University of Pennsylvania

Representations of Velankanni Matha: a South Indian "Goddess" in Story, Song, and Narrative

The Shrine Basilica of Our Lady of Good Health in the coastal town of Velankanni in the Tanjavur region of Tamil Nadu is a center of devotion for both Catholic and Hindu pilgrims and is known for the syncretic forms of worship practiced there. The central holy figure of the shrine is the Virgin Mary, known to most Tamil pilgrims as Velankanni Matha. Both Matha and the shrine are celebrated in songs, legends of origin, and stories and personal narratives told by devotees. These representations, stemming from different sources, all combine aspects of local and Catholic tradition yet offer distinct portrayals of Matha's character and power. This paper, based on ethnographic research at the shrine, will examine the nature of these different portrayals with regard to source and context of use.
Robin Messick

A Formal Analysis of Selected Betel Related Objects

The focus of my paper will be on the formal qualities of a selected group of betel related objects made in India. I will be considering such factors as: forms, motifs, materials, and techniques. I will be relating these elements to other aspects of the visual culture of a given area. For example some of the cutters made in North India have a cusped arch form which is similar to those seen as doorways and windows. This particular architectural feature gained popularity in the 17th c. Some of the cutters made in South India are enlivened with human forms which are closely related stylistically to sculptures, both stone and metal, as well as paintings, of gods and goddesses.

The reason I have chosen to study the formal characteristics is because most objects related to the use of betel are embellished with decorations unnecessary to their utilitarian function. By utilitarian function I am referring to the characteristics necessary for proper fulfillment of an objects primary function. For example: cutters need nothing more than a sharp blade secured to hinged handles to operate as cutters of areca nuts and spitoons to serve as receptacles of betel spit need not be engraved or inlaid with precious metals. My study will highlight the fact that "display" is part of the function of most betel related objects. In this way, the elaborate detailing on betel related objects may function as markers of status, wealth, taste, etc. in the same way that elaborately decorated tea sets, and dinnerware do in the West.
Heather M.-L. Miller, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Identification of Manufacturing Areas at Harappa, Pakistan (3rd mill. BCE): The City as Producer

In urban studies across a number of disciplines, much has been written or assumed about the city as consumer (or even parasite), drawing on its hinterland to supply its needs. My research focuses instead on the role of the city of Harappa as producer, particularly in the production of commodities using high-temperature processing, for consumption by urban inhabitants, and presumably others outside the city. Selected aspects of the discussion of city-hinterland relationships within Classical Mediterranean archaeology, derived from critiques of Finley's work, may provide a profitable approach to future research on this topic in the context of the Indus Civilization. I discuss the applicable information from work to date in the Indus region, and also suggest future research to examine the validity of this approach for the Indus Civilization.

Ananda Mitra, University of Illinois-Urbana

Mapping the Field: India and Indians in Western Film

Since the time of films such as Gunga Din to current films such as Bhaji on the Beach the Indian sub-continent and Indians, both in their original putative place of origin as well as transplanted Indians in the west, have been the object of filmic narrative. This paper investigates the range of films which address Indians and India and provides a generic map of these various films. Using the syntactic-semantic approach to genre analysis as suggested by Altman, this study would provide a way of classifying these films to produce a framework within which it would be possible to study the representation of the people and the place in western film. Following such a classification it would be possible to analyze the ways in which these representations have been produced and the specific cinematic narrative and textual strategies that have been used to present the people and places to a western audience. This paper is a part of a larger project to discover the ways in which the representations have been produced to find a point of entrance into the ideological analysis of a set of such films to investigate the effectiveness of such representations on the political and cultural locus of the people from the sub-continent who have now immigrated to the West. The analysis will include a set of films that span the period from early nineteen fifties to the present and will thus include in the map films such as Gunga Din, Around the World in Eighty Days, Gandhi and more recent films such as City of Joy and Salaam Bombay.
Rachel Meyer, University of Texas-Austin

Women's Stories/Women's Bodies: Emotion and Embodiment is North Indian Women's Storytelling

Recent literature on emotion\(^1\) and feminist theory\(^2\) problematize interconnected, ideologically potent oppositions between nature/culture, emotion/cognition, private/public, woman/man. Emotion, not naturally endowed nor opposed to that which is culturally learned, intersects with the larger social context. As embodied though and embodied experience, sentiment gains meaning and force only within the public realm of discourse. Feelings are the politics of everyday life.

Based on material collected in Varanasi, I will show how Indian women’s practices communicate shifting sensibilities and world views. In particular, I will focus on one song and the ways in which it is framed by and connected to storytelling and personal testimony. Seeped through with sentiments of pain and suffering, these practices negotiate and transform conceptions of self, family and community. India’s dramatically changing political economy and growing consumer culture have powerful repercussions on the lives of Indian women. In response to a changing world, these practices reveal and enact rupture within society. They are performed in moments of intimacy and solidarity, binding women together through sociability, shared experience and group identity. Simultaneously, they internally question and parody “traditional” notions of family and community, thus fracturing and distancing ties to a larger group.

By violently marking women’s bodies with pain and suffering, these expressive practices acquire a “truth” apart from the performance. The bodies marked by emotion testify to the reality in which the performances are embedded; song, story, and identity are not only performed but lived and experienced. After all, “emotions are about the ways in which the social world is one in which ‘we’ are involved...[they] take their shape from what one’s world, one’s conception of such things as body, affect, and self are like. Feelings are not substances to be discovered in our blood but social practices organized by stories that we both enact and tell” (Rosaldo 1984: 143).

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Barbara Miller, George Washington University

Sex Ratios in South Asia: From Peripheral Topic to Popularized Problem

In this century, the first marker of sex ratio studies in India was demographer Pravin Visaria's 1961 Census of India monograph on *The Sex Ratio of the Population of India* in which he established that the substantial numbers of "missing" females (compared to males) in the Census data were real and not errors. But it was not until around 1980 that further in-depth studies of female scarcity in South Asia—its extent, causes, and social correlates—began to appear: my book on regional and social differences in daughter neglect in India, *The Endangered Sex* in 1981 was paralleled by the simultaneous publication of important articles on gender-biased intrahousehold food allocations and medical care in Bangladesh by Lincoln Chen and colleagues. Since then, many other analyses have added to our understanding of why and how the "gender gap" in survival is so marked in much of South Asia. In the early 1990s, economist/philosopher Amartya Sen published an essay on the missing females in India and China in *The New York Review of Books*. His essay, paralleled by the nonacademic book (*May You Be the Mother of One Hundred Sons* by Elizabeth Bumiller) marks the beginning of the "popularized problem" stage. In my paper, I assess the development of sex ratio studies in South Asia by exploring what we have learned and yet to learn.

P. J. Mistry, California State University-Fresno

Gujarati Poems: Some Linguistic Notes

Current poetic compositions in Gujarati are in one of the four modes: the traditional *aksarmel* and *maatraamel*; and comparatively recent and adopted *apadyaagadya* and *gazal*. The paper attempts to show the sound system associated with these modes and constraints that they impose on a poet. It also examines four poems, each representing one of the modes to inquire about the poet's contribution in his compositions. More specifically the effective use of phonological features (end and internal rhyme, alliteration, pause, etc.), lexical choice, syntactic structures and different styles are highlighted for their bearing on the interpretation and enjoyment of these compositions.
Barbara D. Metcalf, University of California at Davis

"Exemplary lives in the Tablighi Jama’at: An Introduction to Three Life Stories."

The Tablighi Jama’at, a major pietist movement of the twentieth century, seeks to ground the lives of participants in the exemplary stories, conveyed in hadith, of the Prophet Muhammad and his Companions. In this paper I want to look at one autobiography and two biographies of major figures in this movement: Maulana Muhammad Zakariyya Kandhalavi, the great elder and scholar of hadith whose writing form the core “curriculum” of the movement; Maulana Muhammad Ilyas, the founder and first over-all leaders; and Maulana Muhammad Yusuf, his son and successor. In looking at these texts I want to analyze the organization of the lives presented and the implicit and explicit interpretation of the lives, particularly trying to see the way these representations are informed by the representations of the hadith that are, in principle, so thoroughly internalized in the movement.

Diane Paul Mines, University of Chicago

Waiting for Vellalakkantan: Narrative, Movement, and Making Place in a Tamil Village

Establishing temples to "fierce-gods" is one way in which persons living in a particular Tamil village extend themselves socially, temporally, and spatially, as they literally make a place for themselves. The paper demonstrates these extensions and placements. It focuses on one example: the temple and story of Vellalakkantan, a Dhobi (Washerman) who usurped the rights of Thevars to become guardian of the fields and who was murdered as a consequence. The story of Vellalakkantan, like most fierce-god temple stories told in the village, pivots on actions that subvert "proper" productive relations to the land, to the fields in particular. Often it is through events such as those in Vellalakkantan’s story that the landless gain place in the village. The places they gain are the temples built among the fields of landowners. The paper explores both narrative practices (the "pragmatics" of telling temple origin stories as local history) and motile practices (e.g., processions out from temples), and shows how it is through such practices that many persons constitute and assert their place in the village today, often in ways that comment upon and at least temporarily reconfigure relations of dominance.

Purushottam J. Mistry

Accidental Morphology in Gujarati

In Gujarati, a root through suffixion or vowel alternation forms passive and causative stems. Thus the root paD ‘to fall’ has the passive stem in paDa and the causative stem in paaD. The same root-causative distinction is manifested in pigal: pigal ‘melt’; ukaL: ukaaL ‘boil’; etc. However, there exists a sizable number of verbs with the a:aa alternation (taar: ‘swim’; nam:naam ‘salute’; upaD: upaaD ‘begin (a journey)’; etc.) which are described as root-causative (Cardona, Bhayani, Vyas) but which are syntactically and semantically different. Similarly a number of roots affixed with -aa are not passive syntactically or semantically. This paper brings forth such unnoticed facts and argues for aligning verbs into passive and causative on the basis of their lexical properties rather than on their morphological composition.
Ananda Mitra, University of Illinois-Urbana

Mapping the Field: India and Indians in Western Film

Since the time of films such as Gunga Din to current films such as Bhaji on the Beach the Indian sub-continent and Indians, both in their original putative place of origin as well as transplanted Indians in the west, have been the object of filmic narrative. This paper investigates the range of films which address Indians and India and provides a generic map of these various films. Using the syntactic-semantic approach to genre analysis as suggested by Altman, this study would provide a way of classifying these films to produce a framework within which it would be possible to study the representation of the people and the places in western film. Following such a classification it would be possible to analyze the ways in which these representations have been produced and the specific cinematic narrative and textual strategies that have been used to present the people and places to a Western audience. This paper is a part of a larger project to discover the ways in which the representations have been produced to find a point of entrance into the ideological analysis of a set of such films to investigate the effectiveness of such representations on the political and cultural locus of the people from the sub-continent who have now immigrated to the West. The analysis will include a set of films that span the period from early nineteen fifties to the present and will thus include in the map films such as Gunga Din, Around the World in Eighty Days, Gandhi and more recent films such as City of Joy and Salaam Bombay.

M. Rafique Mughal, Department of Archaeology and Museums, Pakistan

The Harappan Fortifications

Ever since the identification of mud brick wall at Harappa mound AB, and discovery of fortified Harappan settlements by Majumdar and Stein, more settlements enclosed by substantial wall of mud brick or stone of considerable width and height have been discovered. These sites fall into two distinct categories; (a) forts built essentially for defensive purpose on the main lines of communication, and (b) urban centers wholly or partially enclosed by huge walls which in size and extent are interpreted as fortifications.

The paper critically examines the new and old evidence on the Harappan forts and fortifications in the Greater Indus Valley and analyzes their locations, characteristics, functions, and socio-economic implications.
Sunita Sunder Mukhi

Hindi Film Song and Dance and Overseas Indian Nationalism

How is national allegiance asserted by expatriate Indians? In looking at the cultural variety shown organized for the Indian Independence Day celebration by the expatriate organizations in New York, it seems that the main source of inspiration for the numbers are Hindi film song and dance sequences put on a live stage and enjoyed by the primarily Indian audience. The grand marshall for the parade is always a well-known Hindi film star. It seems that Indian identity, facilitated by the spectacle of Hindi cinema, is redefined on (often benign) secular lines, reconstructed as a homogenized pan-Indian national identity. It is a vernacular expression of Indianness rather than a more classical, more official, archaic one imposed by government, the orientalist west, or by the Indian intellectual and cultural elite. With the use of video clips and impressions gleaned from my witnessing of these performances, I would like to illustrate and discuss how this type of Indian national identity is represented by 'ordinary' overseas Indians who enjoy, savor and relish the kitsch, pomp and vulgarisms of popular Hindi cinema. In this presentation, I will dare to suggest that this type of nationalism is an honest (even affectionate) though problematic manifestation of the overseas Indian's relationship to the motherland as opposed to the official patriotic rhetoric.

Paul Mundschenk

"Support Your Local Guru": American Seekers Encountering the Hindu Tradition in the U.S.A.

A large but imprecise number of American seekers, mostly young people raised Christian or Jewish, have encountered and embraced the Hindu religious tradition, or, more precisely, elements of the Hindu philosophical and/or mystical worldview, usually taught by a central figure—a holy man, a guru, a teacher, a yogi. There is a tremendous variety in the skill, the motivation, and even the veracity of these teachers, but they have undeniably made their mark on the American religious landscape, and continue to do so.

This paper explores three of these groups, specifically 1) members of the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (better known as the Hare Krishnas); members of the Vedanta Society; and 3) practitioners of Transcendental Meditation as taught by the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi. It focuses on the motivation of the Americans who join, the kind of religious practices they find, and the reasons they stay—or leave.
Isabelle Nabokov  
University of California-Berkeley

Panel title: Tamil Geographies: Dialogues between Land and Person in Tamilnadu  

Based upon ethnographic research in Tamilnadu, this paper explores the changing spatial attachments of possessing demons, know as pāy (human spirits who have met untimely deaths). First I sketch the ontological and moral status of such spirits. Then I review local knowledge regarding the landscapes in which they are said to "catch" the living. My interviews suggest a consistent mapping of such demonic aggression. At the twenty-four exorcist rituals I recorded, demons who spoke through their possessed victims situated their bases of operation in different settings. While drawing connections between these conflicting representations, I pay attention to the articulation of experience and self these spirits provide. Finally, I compare the outer and inner landscapes of demonic possession.

Savita P. Nair

Masala in the Melting Pot: Representations of History and Identity in Mississippi Masala

This paper examines how the film Mississippi Masala (Mira Nair, 1992) constructs marginalized Indian and African diasporic identities that serve to question American identity. Yet at the end of the film, Indian and East African identities remain essentialized, static, and traditional, while American identity is characterized by an openness to change, and a sense and practice of the modern. This binary opposition is not portrayed as entirely stark; this dichotomization is problematized in this film through the two main characters, the young lovers. Nonetheless, one consequence of this tension is that class and economic identity are highlighted as more essential than ethnic origin in defining a modern, American identity. The Indian community is not represented as the stereotyped homogeneous educated elite often represented in American popular media. Instead the working-class community’s struggles are consonant with those of other American immigrant experiences. The film privileges the politics of identity through highlighting its more accessible features, race and nationalism. But these ethnicities are characterized by the diasporic characters’ attenuated relationships with their origins; these identities serve mainly to construct an American working-class modernity that shadows ethnic identity. This paper will integrate analysis of the film, historical analysis of diasporic movements from India to East Africa and the U.S., and ethnographic data concerning identity.
Daniel M. Neuman, University of Washington

Video Documentation of Rajasthan Performance Genres

This is part of a large-scale project conducted in association with Dr. Shubha Chaudhuri of the AIIS Archive and Research Centre in Delhi and Komal Kothari of the Rupayan Sansthan now in Jodhpur. The project is an ethnographic atlas of West Rajasthan performance specialists and includes video documentation of a variety of performances genres, contexts and specialists. The video I will present will include the variety of data collected in this project. It can be called, accordingly, a video atlas of West Rajasthan performance genres.

Andrea Nightingale

Gender Issues in Land Management: A Case Study from Mugu District, Western Nepal

Land management practices and accompanying environmental effects are often assumed to be uniform throughout Middle Hills Nepal. Research has shown, however that conditions are not uniform and that generalizations are not appropriate (Thompson and Warburton 1985).

A study of Mugu district in northwestern Nepal demonstrates that microclimate and social conditions have a tremendous effect on land management strategies. These strategies vary significantly from other areas. The region is dominated by Blue Pine forests which thrive in dry, disturbed areas. Ecological conditions allow different strategies for division and utilization of land resources in the local communities.

The high caste Thakurs and a variety of lower castes live in lower Mugu. Thakuri social customs are influenced by their relative isolation, high caste status and availability of land. The pressures Thakuri women face result from their work loads and social positions. Men of lower castes are willing to collect firewood and fodder whereas Thakuri men rarely do. These factors influence women's management of land resources and the social status of women.

The ecological and social conditions in Mugu have significant implications for development in the area. Community forestry programs are met with different reactions than in other areas of Nepal. Understanding the position of women is critical to ensure that development programs do not have negative impacts on them. Minimal outside aid has been invested in Mugu creating the possibility of first understanding local conditions before development projects are initiated.

Panna Naik, University of Pennsylvania

Predicament of an Asian American Woman Poet

As an Indian woman in America, I do not feel marginal. If anything I feel confident. I do things here that I would not dare do in India. Indeed, I started writing poetry in America. More than that, the theme, the content, and the expression which came rather uninhibitedly to me here would have been risky back home.

If America gives me freedom and flexibility to write whatever I want, it also takes me away from my readers. My fundamental problem as an immigrant poet comes from the fact that I write in Gujarati language - the choice is consciously mine — which is neither read nor spoken in the society in which I live. My readers, however few, are not around me. Thus, it is a double jeopardy here for me.
James Nye, University of Chicago

Naval Kishore’s Books Abroad

The availability of Munshi Naval Kishor’s imprints outside the subcontinent was and is a bellwether of academic interests in South Asia. I consider lists from the late nineteenth-century British booksellers Luzac and Trubner in conjunction with contemporaneous European and American catalogs in order to assay the nineteenth-century scholarly edifice for study of India and its textual basis.

A century later one sees a shift in the interests and pretensions of scholarship on South Asia. Earlier assumptions about canons of South Asian publications have undergone scrutiny. While Naval Kishore and his printing press are lionized, holdings of his publications outside of South Asia have remained notably thin until very recently. I conclude with a critique of recent projects to make accessible the nineteenth-century Indian holdings of the British Library, demonstrating how they perpetuate ideas of the scholarly canon that are nearly a century old and I suggest remedies which will enable new scholarly efforts.

Robert C. Oberst, Nebraska Wesleyan University

War and the Social and Political Transformation of Eastern Sri Lanka

For the last decade, the Northern and Eastern Provinces of Sri Lanka have experienced a civil war between the forces of the government and a guerrilla army of Tamil youths. The conflict has taken a heavy toll of lives and disrupted economic and social relations in the country. This paper will examine the social and political changes in the Eastern Province of Sri Lanka now that a tense peace has returned to the region. The political changes that the region has experienced have transformed the political landscape of the east coast with the emergence of new political parties and the loss of support for old parties. Related to this are the social changes that have been experienced in the province. The emergence of large numbers of widows and a shortage of young males has had a major transforming effect on the economy of the province. In addition, a new generation of children have reached adulthood without knowing anything else but war. Many of these children have been traumatized. This new generation has become a political force in the province and their behavior is a consequence of the experiences that they have known.
Geoffrey A. Oddie

Christianity and Pre-Existing Systems of Belief: the Case of Kartabhaja (Vaishnava) Converts to Evangelical Christianity in Bengal, 1800-1845

There has in recent years been considerable controversy about the way in which pre-existing ideas and beliefs can affect the character of newly emerging religious movements. For example, what was the role of pre-conversion ideas in religious conversion? How far did these ideas inhibit or facilitate or in some way shape the new movement? How strong were the continuities in apparent change? The Kartabhaja sect, which was a branch of Chaitanya’s devotional movement, arose in the flux and turmoil of rapid political, social and economic change in Bengal in the mid eighteenth century. The purpose of this paper is to explore Kartabhaja ideas about God, the guru, and social equality, and to discuss how far the parallels and differences with Christian teaching (including ideas involved in messianic expectation) appear to have been factors in the conversion of Kartabhajas to Protestant Christianity in Bengal in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Leslie Orr, Concordia University

Wife, Patron, or Devotee: Diversity and Change in Women’s Identities in Medieval Tamilnadu

In Tamil inscriptions of the Chola period (ninth to thirteenth centuries), we find women of various types mentioned -- the wives of landlords and merchants, queens, palace women, Brahman women and temple women (devadasis). Women are quite prominent in these South Indian inscriptions, especially in the role of temple patron, in the early Chola period. But by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, most types of women have become much less visible in the inscriptions. Although certain types of women, notably Brahman women and temple women, are still in evidence in the later Chola period, even they seem to have experienced some alteration in the definition of their positions and the character of their activities. In this paper, I propose to analyze the ways in which these various types of women are identified in the inscriptions, with a view to understanding the distinctions between them and to discovering the precise patterns of and the reasons for the decline or transformation of their public personas. This investigation will be particularly focused on the analysis of the ways in which women may have been increasingly identified with reference to their situations within the family, particularly with regard to their definition as wives and mothers.
Jyoti Panjwani, University of Illinois-Urbana-Champaign

Images of Women, Rural and Urban, in the Short Fiction of Mannu Bhandari

The Feminist emancipation movement began in India simultaneously with the Indian nationalist struggle for emancipation from the rule of the British (in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century). One of the questions addressed in the social reforms for women was that of the introduction of a formal education for girls. But has education (i.e. formal education) for women and the opportunity for economic independence that has come with it really emancipated Indian women from patriarchal domination?

Partha Chatterjee in his essay "The Nationalist Resolution of Women's Question" published in Recasting Women: Essays in Indian Colonial History (edited by Sangari and Vaid, New Jersey; Rutgers University Press, 1990, 246) states: "Formal education became not only acceptable, but in fact a requirement for the new bhadramahila (the respectable woman) when it was demonstrated that it was possible for a woman to acquire the cultural refinements afforded by modern education without jeopardizing her place at home." In other words, the purpose of education for women was a way of perpetuating the traditional values of purity and homebound nature of woman, thereby subjecting women to the same old patriarchal domination in the Post-Colonial Indian society.

In this paper I propose to discuss Mannu Bhandari's reaction to the role of education in the Indian feminist emancipation movement by analyzing her two short stories, (i) "Rani ma ka chabutari" which deals with the story of a rural, uneducated woman who resists the oppressive behavior of her husband by attempting to make herself economically independent, while the other story (ii) "Darar bharne ki darar" revolves around the life of an educated, economically independent woman who refuses to come out of her psychological and physical dependence on her oppressive husband. In her other stories too (like "Ghutan", "Ek bar aur", "Bahon ka ghera", "Bandh darajon ka saath") Bhandari shows how formal education for women cannot be the only means of creating self-knowledge in women. Rather it can be, as suggested by Partha Chatterjee, a way of reinforcing the traditional patriarchal ideas which make it impossible for women to take charge of their lives.

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Pramod Parajuli, Syracuse University

Ecology in Tharu Myths: Survival and Transformation in Chitwan, Nepal

Tharus of Chitwan are perhaps the most indigenous people in Chitwan. For centuries, Tharus thrived in this malarial and riverine habitat with the help of magical powers, which they say helped to clear the fores, cultivate and control floods in the two mighty rivers -Narayani and Rapti. They mastered the thick Sal forest by bringing in the tiger into their own magical realm. As surviving Guraoins (Tharu priests) still recall, Tharu cosmos was firmly grounded on ecological principles in the pre-colonization period.

Tharu ecological cosmos is fast changing. Since the last forty years, Chitwan has been colonized for planned resettlements of the hill people. Tharu farms, forest and pasture are taken over by model agricultural schools, roads, and the Royal Chitwan National Park. Alienated from their land, forest and pasture, Tharus experience a major breakdown in their survival and livelihood, culture and identity, rituals and rationalities. Yet they retell the past as a solace, recreate myths in order to explain, if not change, the present for the better. Any program of ecological regeneration in these communities is doomed to fail if it does not revolve around their myths, their sense of decay and regeneration, a sense of enoughness in the past and scarcity in the present.

This paper will explicate some of these questions; How have Tharus survived this transformation? How is their ecological cosmos changing? How have they resisted as well accommodated this colonization? how should we devise programs of ecological regeneration while taking account of the Tharu myths and rituals, their history and sense of being?
Maureen L. P. Patterson, Mount Holyoke College

From Indology to South Asian Studies: An Overview

Almost fifty years have passed since American scholarly interest in Indic civilization added to its highly-regarded, century-old Indological base broad-based humanistic and social science concerns with the contemporary subcontinent. Sanskrit studies (established at Yale in 1841) have developed from the context of nineteenth century comparative Indo-European philology to being indispensable adjuncts to much current work on religion, art, and literature, as well as being contributory to modern linguistics.

The transition from classical Indology to wide-ranging studies of all aspects of the history and culture of all the South Asian nation-states began in the aftermath of World War II when American academic horizons expanded to encompass most of the world.

This paper will attempt to summarize the phenomenal proliferation in a few decades of South Asian subjects studied, including: the movement away from a northern India, Indo-Gangetic centered vision of Indic civilization to one encompassing the Dravidian south; the complexities of Islam in the subcontinent with its largest aggregation of Muslims in the world; the resurgence of Buddhism in Sri Lanka as well as in India, the land of its birth; the distinctive cultures of the Himalayan rim and the Nepal-Tibet convergence zone.

Americans, moving in the late fifties and early sixties from national level concerns to concerns at the cultural-linguistic regional level, discovered languages of the two dozen major subnational units within the South Asian area. This exposure opened up perspectives for study of distinctive regional social structures, historical traditions, religions, art, and folklore. And from economic development to ecology, from astrology to indigenous science and medicine, from martial arts to music, American scholars have gone far beyond the half-dozen narrow discipline boundaries of the first decade of South Asian studies.

Support for this vast proliferation of interests by a rapidly expanding number of scholars has brought about an organizational infrastructure of funding agencies, university Centers and programs, overseas research institutes, as well as many integrative communications mechanisms at home.

It can be said that in fifty years South Asian studies in America is no longer ghettoized but has become institutionalized into mainstream American academe. The era of "area studies" is over, although it must be given credit as an important developmental stage on the road from Indology to South Asian Studies.
Ajita Patel, Harvard University

Approaches to the Study of Prehistoric Subsistence and Settlement Systems in North Gujarat

Continuing surveys and excavations in North Gujarat are revealing sites dating to the fourth and third millennia BC, making them contemporary with 'Early Harappan' and 'Harappan' settlements in the Greater Indus Valley. Some of these sites have permanent architectural remains while others lack a significant structural component. Of the more ephemeral occupations, some contain artifact complexes similar to those of the village sites, while others are 'Mesolithic' in character. Specific problem-oriented studies are needed to investigate the possibility that these sites do not represent chronologically distinct occupations as has often been assumed but, in fact, were contemporaneous and that people with different lifeways—e.g., village agriculturalists, specialized pastoralists, and hunter-gatherers—were living side-by-side and interacting with one another. In particular it is necessary to demonstrate contemporaneity, define the nature of subsistence and seasonality of occupation, characterize the archaeological assemblages, identify features of local manufacture, and demonstrate trade and exchange between sites and, indeed, regions. Such investigations would provide a different and more dynamic dimension to our understanding of continuity and change in the pre- and protohistoric occupation of northwestern South Asia.

Bimal Kanti Paul, Kansas State University

"Out of Bangladesh": Trafficking in Women and Children

Many poor women and children of Bangladesh are now trafficked to neighboring or Middle Eastern countries. They are lured away by professional gangs and pimps with the promise of attractive jobs abroad. Many of these women and children are illegally taken to foreign countries and often become a commodity of slave and sex markets. The main objective of this paper is to shed some light on the process and routes of trafficking in women and children from Bangladesh.
Chandrika Paul, University of Cincinnati

The Indian Lady with a Lamp: The Origins of Professional Nursing in India, 1865-1920

Although imperial medicine is a growing specialization, there is no historical survey of nursing in India comparable to Barbara Melosh's "The Physician's Hand: Work Culture and Conflict in American Nursing" (1982) or Darlene Clark Hine's Black Women in White (1989). My paper will investigate the introduction of modern military and civilian nursing in India. In 1865 the Sanitary Commissioner in India asked Florence Nightingale to suggest a system of nursing for military hospitals in India. By 1914 Nightingale was instrumental in forming the Queen Alexandra's Military Nursing Service which recruited Indian nurses for the First World War. Traditionally Indian girls were trained to nurse sick relatives at home. But the introduction of professional nursing among Hindu women meant caring for people of different castes and dealing with polluting substances such as blood and human emissions. Consequently professional nursing did not enjoy high status and initially attracted women from marginal groups in Indian society.

Military and civil hospitals provided the institutional structure of which nurses and physicians formed crucial components. Professional nursing in India meant doctors and nurses interacted across gender and racial categories. Indian male doctors had mixed attitudes toward women in medicine. Since they wanted to stave off the entry of Indian women into their profession as physicians to avoid competition, they encouraged Indian women to seek employment as nurses. My paper will examine: (a) the formation of professional nursing training in military and civil hospitals; (b) how the training of nurses differed between government and missionary hospitals; (c) the problems in recruiting Indian women to nursing and the ways in which these women achieved agency in their professional and personal lives.

Geeta Patel, Wellesley College

Speaking Silences: Gujarati and English in Sujata Bhatt's Poetry

Diasporic writing between worlds or shuttling linguistically between one world and another seems to provoke images of death and disjunction as well as those of facile multilingualism. Sujata Bhatt's poem "Search for my tongue," refuses to limit itself to one language. Rather it moves back and forth between Gujarati and English, mediated in these linguistic shifts by metaphors of death, deserts and silence. In this paper I would like to explore the ways that speaking about death and speaking about writing in two languages are affected by poetry written simultaneously and consecutively in two languages. How does this poetry scripted in just English (English interspersed with transliterated Gujarati) perform the shift between two languages: through mapping one language onto another, through translation, or through diglossic dissonance or through all three under different circumstances? What are the spatio-temporal implications of the poet's slide between two languages? Does Bhatt's work embody "double consciousness" (a term used by Americanists like Veve Clark to describe diasporic Afro-Caribbean literature)?
Amanda Perrygo, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Sri-Laksmi, the Sovereign Rain Cloud

As symbols and art shifts with culture, certain symbols hold to the base of their power and combine into powerful representations of the consciousness within the cultures that use them. In India, the iconography of gods and goddesses are often amalgamations of older cults and cultic symbols, depicting ideas in the fore of Indian worldview. The Gaja-Laksmi is one such representation, amalgamating the images of Sri and Laksmi to depict an image so powerful and staying that it appears in Buddhism, Jainism, and Hindu traditions through time to the present day. By tracing the two main cultic roots of the Gaja-Laksmi iconography, kingship and water, the motif she is representing and its power in the Indian consciousness become apparent.

The image is derived from the amalgam of Sri, the goddess of sovereignty, and Laksmi, the lotus-yakshi. Sri and Laksmi come together early in iconography, trading roles and then coming together into the various forms of Sri-Laksmi. Sri is the consecrated goddess, who delights in the sound of elephants, representing sovereignty. Laksmi is the water goddess, surrounded by lotuses. Together, the goddesses represent water as sovereignty, the basis of royal authority. The Gaja-Laksmi show the consecration of Sri-Laksmi by the elephant, which is both kingship and rain cloud. She sits or stands on the lotus, the water symbol that abounds in Indian culture. The whole scene is supported by the purnaghata, the water jar producing vegetation and thereby prosperity. In modern times, her abhaya and varada mudras often rain down coins, the mark of wealth and prosperity of today. The image as a whole appears in Jain, Buddhist, and Hindu art, and worshipped at Diwali, the festival of lights. She is the rain cloud, bringing sovereign power, prosperity, and life.

Indira V. Peterson, Mount Holyoke College

The Play of the Kuravanci Fortuneteller: Land and Landscape in the Discourse of Social Relations in an 18th-Century Tamil Genre

The kuravaṇci ("The Play of the Kuravaṇci Fortuneteller") is an 18th-century Tamil literary genre featuring as its principal characters a fortuneteller (Kuravaṇci) and her husband, a birdcatcher, itinerant members of a hill/forest hunting tribe called "Kuravar." In this paper I examine the kuravaṇci play's portrayal of these "wild" figures in relation to the hills, and to the temple, the agricultural landscape, and the people of the temple-town where they come to ply their trades. I suggest that the kuravaṇci demonstrates the seemingly enduring centrality of landscapes and particular places in Tamil literature, showing at the same time that the 18th-century genre deploys these elements in ways that are significantly different from their use in classical Tamil lyrics (1st-2nd c. C.E.) and the temple-oriented hymns of the Tamil saints (circa 6th-9th c.). The kuravaṇci's focus on the Kuravar couple is both a response to and an expression of the rapidly changing social relations and relations to the land in rural Tamilnadu in an era of fragmented kingdoms and principalities ruled by "little kings" from diverse linguistic communities, and from socially marginalized groups.
Carla Petievich, Montclair State College

Tazkirah as Primal Urdu Prose

Less glamorous, perhaps, than the fanciful storytelling and fabulous characters of *dastan* and *fasana* literature is our image of the *tazkirah*. Perhaps this lack of glamour explains why *tazkirah* as a genre has attracted so little scholarly attention in English. Yet there is good reason for cultural historians and students of Urdu literature to give the form further consideration. No less central to the body of 19th century Urdu prose than are *dastan* and *fasana*, *tazkirah* literature represents among the most crucial reference materials scholars have to draw upon in reconstructing the literary sensibilities of pre-modern writers. I discuss this literary form as an early "crossover" genre that owes nothing to western models of literary criticism. Rather *tazkirahs*, typically blending prose-based biography with samplings of verse, draw upon models dating from the earliest centuries of Islamic literature and imply much about the role and status of both poet and biographer in Islamic culture.
Kavita Philip, Cornell University

Imperial Science Rescues a Tree: Global Botanic Networks, Local Knowledge and the Transcontinental Transplantation of Cinchona

During the course of the nineteenth century, the rise in the number of British troops stationed in India, along with the increasing number of women and children who joined the colonial administrators, made military and public health a matter of imperial concern. Malaria in particular was responsible for thousands of English deaths. Worried at the South American monopoly over the quinine trade, British colonial administrators and scientists put together an ambitious plan that was to result in the establishment of an enormous global network of exploration, collection and systematization of botanical knowledge, a centralized array of botanical gardens, and a colonial science of natural resource management.

This paper follows the official records of the quinine story, in particular the memoirs of Sir Clements Markham, an employee of the East India Company and an amateur geographer who volunteered to undertake the exploration of the Peruvian forests in search of the cinchona tree (and was knighted for his success). The extraction of local knowledge of the cinchona tree from the native South American Indians, the smuggling of the tree across national boundaries, its nurturing at Kew Gardens, and its subsequent transplanting in the Nilgiri hills of South India, raise several interesting questions: How did economic and political concerns inform theories of how to manage nature? What distinguished local, indigenous 'ecological' knowledge of the cinchona tree from European botanical knowledge of the same tree? Who spoke for 'nature,' the Peruvian Indians who taught the Spanish, French and English explorers the medicinal use of 'quinquina,' the colonial geographers, explorers, and botanists, or the indigenous inhabitants of the Nilgiris whose lands were taken up for cinchona plantations?

In this paper I use the case of the cinchona tree to examine the rhetoric of colonial science in conjunction with its economic and political functions, in order to understand how ideologies of progress and modernity constitute and are constituted by historically specific constructions of nature.
David Pinault, Loyola University of Chicago

"We are the Moths of Husain": Chapbook-Poems and the Performance of Muharram Rituals Among Three Shi'a Men's Associations of Hyderabad, India

In Hyderabad, India, many of the city's largest Muharram liturgies are organized by the matami gunuhan, the Shi'a Muslim men's associations or self-mortification guilds. In this paper I examine the texts of the chapbooks published by three of Hyderabad's most prominent Shi'a guilds. These chapbooks contain Urdu- and Persian-language poems to be chanted during the liturgical performance of matam (lamentation-gestures in honor of the Karbala martyrs). I begin with a textual analysis of technique and theme as found in these poems, noting the recurrence of two motifs: the obligation to commemorate sacred history; and references to the poet's contemporary audience, namely the Shi'a congregants participating in the actual chanting of these poems. My argument is that past and present are represented in these chapbook-hymns in such a way as to reinforce Hyderabad Shi'a communal identity. Finally, I discuss the relationship of these chants to their performance contexts, giving particular attention to the mimetic-representational qualities of certain matam-processions which take place during the guilds' recitation of the poems.

Tracy Pintchman, Loyola University of Chicago

Negotiating Sectarian Allegiances in Puranic Constructions of the Goddess

Several of the major Purāṇas recognize the existence of a Great Goddess, and despite sectarian differences they tend to construct the identity of the Goddess in a similar way. In the Purāṇas as a whole, the identity of the Great Goddess has less to do with who she is--who she is changes from text to text--than what she is. Above all, she is identified as sakti ("power"), māyā ("illusion," also creative power), and prakṛti ("materiality"). The equation of the Goddess with these principles appears primarily in the context of accounts of primary creation (sarga), where the principles are viewed as different levels of manifestation of a single, inherently feminine cosmogonic power that unfolds in a logical sequence. The Purāṇas thus postulate the existence of a unique, all-encompassing feminine principle that is expressed on different levels of creation in diverse ways but can be understood in a theistic framework as a Great Goddess no matter what the sectarian allegiance of the given Purāṇa might be. By formulating the Goddess in this way, the Purāṇas are able to balance Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical elements and negotiate sectarian allegiances.
Karl H. Potter, University of Washington

Why I Bet on Indian Philosophy

I came to the study of Indian philosophy for crass reasons (intellectual, dislike of theistic religions, academic bent, wish to find a small puddle where I could be a big fish). I discovered something not only intellectually challenging in the extreme, but a view which seems to provide the satisfactions of religion without involving its standard absurdities. Of course, perhaps I'm only preferring absurdities less known in my society. Still, liberation is an attractive ideal if one accepts karma and reincarnation, and, strangely enough, the karma theory is not entirely ruled out scientifically even now. Anyway, I've got enough scholarly tasks to involve me for several lifetimes, if they have to come. And if I have to bet, I prefer to bet on liberation.

Binoy Prasad, University of Missouri-Columbia

Comparative Political Violence: A Case Study of the 1984 Delhi and 1992 Los Angeles Riots

Abstract: There are certain aspects of political violence which appear to be common to societies as diverse as those of the United States and India. Among other factors, the riots of Delhi (1984) and Los Angeles (1992) are comparable in terms of conditions leading to violence and the state-administrative responses. The situations in both the cases seem to have gotten out of control because of a number of reasons. One of the primary reasons is that political considerations weighed heavier for the state apparatus than the requirements of maintaining law and order, at least in the initial stages of the riots. Also, the human dimensions of politician-administrators evidently complicated the situations.

This paper seeks to take a comparative look at the above-mentioned aspects of state-administrative responses to the two cases of political violence and to establish certain common patterns. Source materials consist primarily of personal accounts, reports and interviews that appeared in the media.
Vijay Prashad, University of Chicago

Born Under a Bad Sign: Making Sweepers of Chuhras

In recent years, the literature on caste has become fairly dogmatic, being divided along the lines of the classic modernity-tradition dichotomy. There are those who argue that 'caste' is a distinctly Indian phenomenon, rooted in India's ancient traditions. There are also those who point out that 'caste' as we know it is a contextual social phenomenon, and the 'caste' of modern India bears in its practices the inscriptions of modernity. The 'modernity' argument offers many insights to the problem of caste, and in my paper I borrow much from it at the same time as I try and elaborate and reformulate the argument.

In this paper, I show how a set of castes, following from a Anglo-Brahmanic theory of castes and occupations, find themselves being encouraged to work as 'sweepers.' As untouchable farm laborers in Punjab, the Chuhras worked at a number of tasks, and their 'traditional' occupation was complexity itself. As they moved to the expanding cities, the Chuhras struggled to find employment -- the surprising thing was that the urban municipalities welcomed them with open arms. If the Chuhras, as Bhangis, are now largely sweepers, it is a consequence of the logic of colonial local government. In this sense, 'caste' itself is radically transformed.

Frances W. Pritchett, Columbia University

Muhammad Husain Azad and His Water of Life

Muhammad Husain 'Azad' (1830-1910) knew that poetry was a sustaining necessity, "water of life to the spirit." Thus he called his great masterpiece, the first and still the definitive history of Urdu poetry, *Water of life* (Ab-e hayat). Published in 1880, *Water of life* immediately became, and has remained to the present, the single most influential sourcebook for anecdotes, judgments, and historical theories about Urdu poetry. Its influence has been so pervasive that even a hostile critic has called *Water of life* the most often reprinted, and most widely read, Urdu book of the past century.

Azad's general linguistic and historical knowledge, however, was limited and often incorrect. Even in literary matters, Azad was unquestionably guilty of distorting the accounts he found in his sources, in order both to exalt the poets he favored (notably Zauq), and to discredit those he disliked. His uniquely seductive prose style and passionate involvement with his material have made him a powerful reshaper of the past. I am in the process of translating this extremely important text, and will discuss the problem of Azad's ability and reliability as a historian—in this text that has so largely shaped Urdu-speakers' view of their own history.
Omar Qureshi, University of Chicago

Homelessness or Muslim Identity as Problem in South Asia

During the last decade Pakistan has witnessed the emergence of a powerful sub-nationalist movement based on a Muhajir (literally, migrant) identity in its economic center and largest city, Karachi. In 1947, large numbers of mostly Urdu-speaking North Indian Muslims moved from Muslim-minority areas of India into Karachi, and it is among them and their descendants that a pronounced ideological shift has now taken place: away from identification with official Pakistani nationalism toward an identity based on the experience of migration and exile. The question then arises as to why Muhajir identity forms itself primarily on the shared experience and memory of migration and exile rather than on the more obvious notions of commonality of geography, language, culture, race and/or interests? What then does it mean for an active political self to be defined as homeless?

Among the urban Muslim elite of North India the idea of hijrat or migration, exile, homelessness as a condition of being appeared at least as early as the eighteenth century, as Muslim political authority was collapsing, and was being replaced by British colonial rule. During colonial rule hijrat was repeatedly invoked as response and resistance to British political domination even though it was simultaneously being overshadowed by the modernization drives of Sayyad Ahmad Khan and his Aligarh heirs in their attempt to reconstitute Muslim political practice. Subsequently, in the work of Iqbal hijrat emerges again as a significant concept existing side-by-side in an ultimately unresolvable tension with the Aligarh ideology of Muslim nationalism and separatism.

In this paper I will attempt to probe the nature of this Iqbalian tension by tracing the intellectual career of the concept of hijrat in post-1947 Pakistan, and try to grapple with the question of why the idea of exile and homelessness reemerges when the Muslim nationalist elite is presumably successful in capturing state power and in establishing a home/land for Indian Muslims. What does a renewed attachment to homelessness on the part of Muhajirs have to do with the increasing autonomy of the state in Pakistan, the virtual non-existence of a "civil society," and a disappointment with an attempted transnational pan Islam or attempted reform and renewal in the private sphere? What relationship exists between the local, material conditions of Karachi Muhajirs and their intellectual history that leads them to resist the Bangladesh model (i.e. yet another nation-state)? In effect, I will attempt to point to hijrat as an unfulfilled (unfulfillable?) desire to transgress the restriction of the sphere of political solidarity and agency to the singular nation-state. Furthermore, homelessness-as-idea successfully suppresses a desire for an impossible return to pre-Colonial politics. In other words, homelessness reemerges as resistance, and a remapping of the possibilities of a Pakistani nationalism which has refused to exploit its Iqbalian contradiction and remains satisfied with mere belonging.
Gloria Goodwin Raheja, University of Minnesota

"Smash the Grindstone and Scatter the Grain in the Courtyard": Representations of 'Slovenliness' as Everyday Resistance in North Indian Narrative Songs

In long narrative 'dancing songs' sung in Gujar villages of western Uttar Pradesh, women critique the notion that the shirking of household tasks is always a sign of a particular woman's essential laziness or slovenliness. In these songs, women are often portrayed as grinding the grain too coarsely, as scattering grain in the courtyard, as avoiding household chores of cleaning, cooking, and serving food to senior affinal kin. It is implied that these women justifiably behave in 'slovenly' ways because they are placed in one or other difficult kinship situation, and their behavior is read as a strategy of resistance to these difficulties and the power that is wielded over them. The husband is often, at the end of these narratives, made to see things from his wife's point of view, and to recognize that an allegation of 'slovenliness' may be part of a larger strategy mounted by his patrilineal kin to exert control over a wife who has no allies.

Mushtaqur Rahman, Iowa State University

Technology and Social Change in Sindh, Pakistan

Traditional Sindh was a luck-leisure, agrarian, and a self-satisfied society with a strong sense of Sindhi nationalism. Intense nationalism prompted Sindh to be the first to demand partition of India in 1938, and the first to adopt the Pakistan Resolution in 1943. If Sindh did not want there would be no Pakistan, and without it there would be no Pakistan.

After Pakistan Sindh faced new realities, new challenges, and some exceptionally important changes in its demography, economy and the folk culture. One such change was the adoption of new technologies and emergence of industries. Prior to Pakistan, Sindh had hardly any industries and no functioning middle class. It was owned by waders, ruled by the British, and governed by the non-Muslims.

This paper is a study of technology, and its impact on the ethno-linguistic scene in Sindh. In the beginning evolution of Sindh boundaries are discussed. Then the industrial technology and its impact on the ethnic structure of the province is discussed. Towards the last, a "New Sindh Order" is proposed in place of a feudal-folk, majoritarian or a holistic nationalism.
Amit S. Rai, Stanford University

The World According to Apu: The Kwik-E-Mart as Contact Zone

Here’s today’s contact zone:

After buying Lisa a pony, Homer is desperate to pay off the bills associated with owning such a pet. Homer tries his luck with a lottery ticket he buys at the local Kwik-E-Mart. Coming up empty, he tries to dupe Apu Nahaspeemapetilon, the Asian Indian owner of the convenience store. Apu discovers Homer’s perfidy and wonders, “Oh, Mr. Homer, what has reduced you to such cheap chicanery?” Upon hearing of Homer’s plight, Apu urges him to take the position of check-out clerk at his store. Homer accepts. Apu, overjoyed, declares, “Always I dreamed the day would come when one of you would be working for me!”

How are we to read this scene? Or perhaps the more important question is, How is this scene being read? How are South Asians resignifying the figure of Apu in the construction of their own interpretive communities? I hope to argue in what follows that South Asian diasporics are involved in the semiotic negotiation of this Kwik-E-Mart as violent contact zone. By looking at a series of postings on an Internet bulletin board, I hope to trace the beginnings of an outline of today’s contact zones.

Kalyani Rai, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Women at the Cultural Crossroads: An Analysis of Nepalese Women in the United States

Abstract: The purpose of this paper is two fold. First, to capture the complexities of Nepalese women’s lives in transition. Second, to help women develop an understanding of themselves and their relationship to the outside world. The paper will include stories told by a small group of Nepalese women living in the United States. It will be divided into four sections: 1) exploring the dilemma that women are experiencing by being at the cultural crossroads; 2) recognizing the roots of the dilemma; 3) identifying the ways of integrating the internal and external values and cultures in their lives; and 4) identifying key learning experiences that can be applied for the future research.
Arvind Rajagopal, Purdue University

Ramjanmanhumi and the Coming of Age of Image-Based Politics in India

Economic liberalisation has usually been accompanied by political conservatism and a reinforcement of the cultural hegemony of ruling groups. The liberalisation policies initiated by Rajiv Gandhi in the mid 1980s, modelled in many ways on Reagan and Thatcher, emphasised economic growth, private initiative, and a conception of national identity that idealised a rich 'Hindu' heritage. Hindu right-wing groups (of whom the parent is the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), or National Volunteer Corps, with the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) or Indian People's Party as the political wing and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) or World Hindu Council as a recently revived cultural-activist front) utilised the spaces opened up by these changes to advance Hindu communal discourse, to gain a greatly enlarged audience, in a series of moves that drew on and reinforced the recent ascendancy of image-based politics. The vehicle chosen for the advancement of communal politics was the movement to capture what was alleged to be the 'birthplace of Ram' (Ramjanmabhumi) in Ayodhya, to demolish the mosque that stood there and build a temple in its stead. In this paper, I discuss the television serial based on Ram's story, commercial advertisements as well as propaganda for the Ram temple itself, drawing from Marx's analysis of commodity fetishism. I argue that there is an overlap between the narratives of consumer identity formation and 'communal' (in this case, Hindu communal) identity formation. Understanding the relationship between these two narratives is important in understanding the scope and limits of recent communal politics in India.
The Search for "Security": An Examination of Three Classic Indian Works

As Western policy practices and theoretical schools are rooted in the Greco-Roman heritage, the Judaeo-Christian tradition and the astonishing modern history of dominance that is the Euro-American, so are the practices of other cultures rooted in their respective legacies, some of which are of great antiquity. To research their world view then means to unearth from their living traditions and older texts, those ideas of "security" and "insecurity" that underlie the modern, often postcolonial, Western-informed structures of state security. Often older, precolonial ideas persist in the strategic and political thinking of the elite and transform the Western institutions and ideas that the colonial powers left, into indigenized models.

The objectives of this paper are two-fold: one, it will discuss the theoretical and epistemological problems involved in undertaking such a project and suggest a suitable framework of analysis, and two, it will apply that framework to one small part of the political traditions of South Asia. This study will survey existing research on the subject and then focus on an examination of the three most sources for the ancient "Hindu" tradition - the Mahabharata, the Ramayana and the Kautiliya Arthasastra. If one of the oldest surviving layers of this civilization is the post-Indus, Vedic layer, then its political ideas originate and are best expressed in these three works. All else is either commentary or codification.

This project is useful for two reasons. First of all, it addresses questions that are raised by the "west versus the rest" school - who are the rest, what are their perspectives and by what are they informed? In so doing, it provides a framework whereby this question can be actually researched in non-Western contexts, and then proceeds to do so.
The Early Tamil Novel and Women's Emancipation

Between 1879-1924 the new genre of the Tamil novel served as a vehicle of social change affecting women. This paper looks at the work of three male reformers who explored controversial issues like women's education, early marriages, widow disfigurement and remarriage through modern fiction while simultaneously drawing inspiration from their primary literary idiom. In 1879 Vedanayagam Pillai patterned the first Tamil novel, Pratapa Mudaliyar, on an English romance with a well-delineated, melodramatic plot about love and courage in the face of adversity. It had an immediate appeal for a culturally ambivalent middle class, educated at western schools but psychologically rooted in aphorisms and epic sagas on justice, compassion, evil, cruelty, and fate. However, V. Pillai's virtuous heroine of hyperbolic sagacity far outshone the hero thus giving a strange twist to the western romance, while his homilies on contemporary gender relations set fresh norms for Tamil prose. As the 19th century's rejuvenating zeal caught many by storm, A. Madhavaiya used realism to explore stark themes in the chilling novels, Padmavati Charitram (1892) and Muthumeenatchi (1912). Riding on the crest of national fervor, C. Subramania Bharati used poetic finesse to denounce sexual hypocrisy in Chandrikaiyin Kadai, published posthumously in 1924.
Anupama P. Rao, University of Michigan

Tele-visions: Bombay Doordarshan, Representations of Caste and (Middle-Class) Domesticity, and the Re-Writing of Women’s History

The proposed paper "Tele-visions: Bombay Doordarshan, Representations of Caste and (Middle-Class) Domesticity, and the Re-Writing of Women's History" is concerned with interrogating contemporary television culture as an ambivalent site for the reproduction and circulation of visual representations of women. It attempts to examine the divergent agendas (and desires) television culture engages at the moment of viewing with reference to a Marathi serial, Paulkhuna (footprint), broadcast by Bombay Doordarshan from September-December, 1993. The thirteen-part serial underwritten by the famous publishing house Popular Prakashan, aimed to provide a "history" of women's emancipation through education and economic independence by relying on six novels and a short story which belong to the "canon", as it were, of Marathi literature. Written in the style of "expressive realism", and embodying the conflicted desires of a largely upper-caste oriented discourse on social reform, the visual representations of these literary narratives on Doordarshan served, this paper argues, to raise more questions than the serial itself was able to answer. To that extent at least, Paulkhuna broke away from the overdetermined representations of women that characterize most television portrayals, and provided a space for the viewer as [critical] reader (of the literary texts, as well as the highly contradictory desires that underwrote social reform as a historical moment encompassing the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries).

In interrogating the teleological thrust of Paulkhuna- where education is seen as the motor that propels an empowering women's history along- this paper attempts to examine other records of education (i.e. becoming educated) that map its aspects of terror and violence, in order to question the all too easy "solution" offered by the serial. Simultaneously, this paper attempts to question the Brahminical bias evident in the historical narrative the serial emplots for middle-class women by linking the telling of Paulkhuna's story with the current project of writing gendered histories; arguing that the latter is also complicit in ignoring the imbrications of caste and domesticity.

I attempt, then, to link contemporary culture to the historiographical project; viewing these as coeval rather than contradictory fields of knowledge about women. In suggesting that the reproduction of visual and historical narratives about women are linked by their interest in re-creating Brahmin, middle-class women as desirable subjects, my aim is to engage with the means whereby caste is annihilated as a critical category in contemporary discussions about domesticity, constructions of the private sphere, etc. in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
Shahla Raza, Southern Illinois University

Dharma's Daughters

Women in India are brought up to believe that their role in the society is that of homemakers. Girls grow up believing that even if they do follow careers they still have to fulfill their duties as homemakers. Do things change for Indian women in America? Do the feminist role models of the West clash with the traditional ones they have been brought up to believe in? Does freedom from the claustrophobic extended family situation make Indian women more independent?

"Dharma's Daughters" tries to answer these questions by talking to three Indian women settled in Carbondale (Illinois), a small mid-western town.

Seetha N. Reddy, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Integration of Agricultural and Pastoral Economies: Implications for the Late Harappan of Gujarat, India

The distinctive nature of the Gujarat Late Harappan settlement system has been attributed to increased pastoralism and millet cultivation. Although the correlation of Late Harappan settlement proliferation to a revival of a pastoral economy or and cultivation of millets is intriguing, this paper argues that simply suggesting that they are the prime explanations for the Late Harappan phenomenon is limited and the problem needs further clarification. To define and address the subsistence economies of the Late Harappan of Gujarat, it is important to distinguish the range of possible interfacing between pastoral and agricultural economies. This paper presents an ethnoarchaeological and paleoethnobotanical investigation of millet usage and the definitive identification of their cultivation at the seasonal pastoral camp of Oriyo Timbo and the sedentary community of Babar Kot. Based on these results, an interpretive model with three alternatives is presented to explain the Late Harappan subsistence and settlement systems.
Leah Renold, University of Texas-Austin

Gandhi: Patron Saint of the Industrialist

During the years of the Indian independence movement, a leading Indian industrialist, G. D. Birla, was Mahatma Gandhi's most generous financial supporter. The close relationship between Gandhi, the political agitator, and his wealthy patron did not escape scrutiny. Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy of India, questioned the Gandhi-Birla connection. Linlithgow, who had blamed Gandhi for the sabotage and violence of the Quit India Movement of 1942, had suspicions that Birla was actually the hidden hand behind the violence. Investigations by the governments of both colonial and independent India into Birla's dealings with Gandhi and the Indian National Congress failed to bring criminal indictment. Nevertheless, there were reasons for inquiry. Gandhi and Birla were strong defenders of social conservatism and their shared objectives were not brought out openly. In the shadow of Gandhi's public persona and popular teachings, Gandhi and Birla were able to weave conservative policies into the social, political, and economic fabric of independent India. This paper brings forward aspects of the Gandhi-Birla relationship, such as the question of origin of Gandhi's idea of trusteeship, Birla's and Gandhi's attitudes towards industrial workers, and Gandhi's part in the defeat of Nehru's socialist aims. The relationship between Gandhi and Birla reveals that Gandhi in many ways supported capitalism and policies that were favorable to the industrialists, particularly in respect to his teachings on trusteeship.

Robert Rigolosi, University of Wisconsin-Madison

The Evolution of Hindu National Consciousness

The construction of the Hindu Nationalist identity, like all political identities, has a history that can be traced. Using Ernest Gellner's construction of a nation — that nations are constructed through cultural recognition between individuals — I will trace the development of Hindu Nationalism through the use of manu dharma sastra.

My argument will be that the British orientalist scholars, particularly Sir William Jones, created the antecedents for Savarkar's Hindutva, as well as the Indian nationalism of today. I see this history in three different stages: The first stage I call "Orientalist and Brahminic Ideology". This is the first scholastic encounter between Orientalist scholarship and Sanskrit literature. The second stage I call "Empire and Nation". This is the stage where orientalist scholarship injects itself into the internal political dialogue of India. The third stage I call "Secular State vs. Hindu Nationalism". This is the stage where the identity of India as a secular nation-state becomes subsumed by the BJP political maneuverings.
Mark Rohe, University of Chicago

Becoming Mothers: Origin Stories of Female Gurus
Origin stories are frequently part of the repertoire of constituting knowledge about female gurus or Matajis. These stories are about how, when and sometimes why particular girls and women have become special devotees, representatives or embodiments of a goddess. These origin stories are parallel to the jamn katha of localized deities. Such stories are often written in booklets and shared among disciples and with newcomers as one means of constructing the identity, and thus the power and accessibility of the particular Mataji. In this paper, a comparison of several origin stories told about different Matajis shows how they serve to establish the Mataji’s authority by defining an initial relationship with the goddess, with particular places and times, and by locating them within the wider social context of familial relations. The origin story reveals the logic by which an ordinary woman, often a virgin girl, is transformed into a medium of the universal Mother and reveals distinctions in definitions of gender.

Ratna Roy, Evergreen State College

A Cultural Analysis of Folk-Classical Dances in Singhbum District

There is a folk-classical continuum that is often not visible in many areas of South Asian culture. In Orissa, this continuum still exists as tribal dances, folk dances, folk theater dances, traditional dances, semi-classical dances, and classical Orissi or Odissi. The genres are so distinct to the practitioners of the classical genre that the continuum is often denied. Video documentation and comparative analysis provide the necessary data to construct the inevitable link and are also essential to the documentation of the relationship of the various genres of dance that emanate from a particular geographic region. Also, political forces, such as the unnatural division of state boundaries that placed Seraikela Chau in the Singhbhum District of Bihar, when it is linguistically and stylistically related to the are forms of Orissa, especially Mayurbhanj Chau, gain in clarity from video documentation. The presentation seeks to view this continuum in Orissa through analysis of video documentation.
Lord Curzon's Imperial Cadet Corps

This paper will deal with the creation of the Imperial Cadet Corps, the "deal child" of the Viceroy, Lord Curzon; it will include an analysis of its early years, based primarily on the diaries of Amar Singh of Jaipur for his seven terms in the Corps; it also will include a sketch of the careers of ICC graduates in the "Native Indian Land Forces" and, after August 25, 1917 when nine graduates were regularly commissioned, in the Army of India. Much of this information is based on Amar Singh's diaries, supplemented by the Indian Army Lists. Amar Singh retired in 1922, after the "Third Afghan War"; the last ICC graduate apparently retired in 1926.

To my knowledge, the story of this abortive effort to Indianize the army corps via the Imperial Cadet Corps and its sequels is little examined in standard histories. Rather, the 1917 Indianization of the officer corps is seen as a offshoot of gratitude in official circles for the contributions of Indians to victory in World War I; this feeling had modest impact after the war.

Lakashmana Sabaratnam, Davidson College

Occupational Dissimilarity and Ethnic Dissension in Sri Lanka 1910-1939

The paper uses published census data from 1911 and 1921 for Ceylon (i.e. Sri Lanka) to compare the occupational participation patterns of different ethnic groups for the island. The measure used to compare the groups is known as the Index of Dissimilarity. Using the index the paper will a) compare Low-country Sinhalese, Kandyan Sinhalese, Ceylon Tamils, Indian Tamils, Ceylon Moors, Indian Moors, Europeans, Burghers and Malays; b) compare changes between the two censuses and, c) use the information to consider the causes of ethnic division in the 1920s and 1930s. The comparisons between the groups sheds light on the rhetoric associated with the Manning reforms of the early 1920s, the Donoughmore Constitution of 1928, and the State Councils of the 1930s. These political changes and institutions brought differences between the Tamils and the Sinhalese to the forefront of political debate in the colony and this investigation of quantitative historical data is useful in contextualizing this ethnic irritability.
Caroline Woodford Schmidt, Independent Scholar

Sirkap Gold: Jewellery of the Saka-Parthian and Kushan Eras

Given the universality of man's love for objects of personal adornment, historical accounts of any culture seem incomplete without references to such ornaments. Many of the finest examples in jewellery from early times had been preserved over the millennia in royal burials and temple treasuries, only to have been recovered more recently through chance findings and the work of archaeological missions of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Beyond the stone replicas depicted in Buddhist art, very little was known of Saka-Parthian and Kushan period jewellery preferences of the greater Gandhara region until the first quarter of this century when numerous pieces, including some two hundred objects of gold, were recovered by Sir John Marshall from a wealthy residential area in the historic city of Sirkap, Taxila. Among these objects, inset with gemstones and pastes, and distinguished by the use of filigree, granulation, and relief imagery, are unique pieces which display a virtuosity in gold working that was unsurpassed in the ancient times. An investigation into factors that underlie the development of this tradition offers many opportunities to define, more precisely than in the past, the dynamics of the complex, cosmopolitan society that gave rise to the creation of these spectacular pieces. The three foci of this paper include recent research into material and stylistic preferences, symbolic content, and technological aspects of manufacturing.

Gregory Schopen, University of Texas-Austin

Caught in a Web of Continuing Relationships: Buddhist Nuns in Indian Donative Inscriptions

It appears that few, if any, of the enormous number of surviving Buddhist literary sources were authored by women. Since most histories of Indian Buddhism have been based almost exclusively on such sources, it is hardly surprising that Buddhist women and Buddhist nuns are barely visible in them. Buddhist women, and in particular Buddhist nuns, are, however, a major presence in Buddhist donor inscriptions during the period that starts just before the common era and continues up to about the 5th/6th century. During this period they left several hundred inscriptional records of their religious activities. These records tell us not only what actual Buddhist nuns did, but also how they chose to identify themselves and with whom they maintained continuing relationships: monks, to be sure, and other nuns, but also with their parents and children and with their own disciples. The present paper will look at each of these categories in some detail and show that Buddhist nuns -- like Buddhist monks in India during the same period -- had by no means cut themselves off from the social world, but were securely caught in a web of continuing relationships.
Stanley Scott, Colgate University

Learning Environments in North Indian Classical Singing

The Hindustani word ghar, meaning house, is central to the word gharana, which means family and particularly refers to teaching lineages in North Indian classical music. In this paper I will examine the significance of the contents and organization of space in the singing rooms of three teachers of North Indian classical singing: the late Krishna Chandra ("Keshto") Banerjee of Calcutta, Mohan Singh of Santiniketan, West Bengal, and Sushil Mukherjee of Lenox, Massachusetts. In each room, the presence and organization of objects can be related both to musical/pedagogical function and to the personal and cultural backgrounds of the teachers who use/used them. Illustrating my talk with drawings of the three rooms, I will compare these spaces, searching for clues to help us understand the musical lives and transmission processes they contain.

Susan Seizer, University of Chicago

Gender Plays: Social and Spatial Paradigms on the Tamil Popular Stage

This paper analyzes the role of gender in structuring the use of stage space in performances of Tamil "Special Drama." I argue that gender paradigms inform spatial use onstage in ways that index the organization of spatial domains offstage in Tamilnadu, on the ground and in the social imagination. I further argue that as a microcosm of Tamil cultural production, the recreations of the drama world — through the acts of representing other worlds and positioning actors inside the eschatological realms at the heart of Tamil "mythologicals" — literally create spaces for commentary on some of the unstated organizing principles of Tamil social life. I discuss the gendering of the standard scenes enacted in these dramas: scenes of same-sex bonding; heterosexual love duets; soliloquies of pain and longing; and opposite-sex debates and confrontations. I map out the use of stage space in these four types of scenes (supported by video clips). I analyze the constraints of the staged space in relation to the constraints of the social spaces they index. Finally, I suggest that it is this mapping of a mythological world continuous with the daily social world that makes popular Tamil "Special Drama" theatrics effective, and suggest a theory of spectatorship that is based not on a model of individual ego-identification with actors, but rather on notions of resonance between relations represented onstage and enduring features of social organization offstage.
Critic Georges Poulet has written that "the advantage of literature is that it frees one from the usual sense of incompatibility between consciousness and objects of consciousness." Poulet writes of poetic language and the creation of an "interior universe" in which "external objects are replaced with a congeries of mental objects in close rapport with one's own consciousness." It is this process of replacement and the very erasure of the "incompatibility" described by Poulet that appear to be the chief concern and ideal ultimate goal of cañkam Tamil rhetoric as described in the latter chapters of the Tolkappiyam, the earliest extant work on Tamil grammar and poetics. This paper will examine various ways in which Tamil cañkam writers were never quite free of that sense of incompatibility in their readings of reality: Tamil poetics seems to have developed from an acute and inescapable awareness of the incompatibility of the human body and its psychic trappings with the environment in which it moves, lives, and breathes. My paper suggests that the language of the cañkam poets arose from a desire for an erasure of the split between self and tīnai (geographic/poetic "landscape"), foisting this desire outward onto the environment itself. Through close readings of poems from the two cañkam anthologies Nāṟṟipaḻ and Kuṟuntokai, I will examine several ways in which the cañkam poets reshaped their geophysical surroundings by literally "incorporating" them and transforming them into a system of language and poetic "gesture."
Satadru Sen, University of Washington

Work and Sickness in the Carceral Society

In its various forms, imprisonment in British India was an attempted synthesis of four identifiable techniques of power: medical classification, social segregation, surveillance and the coerced performance of work. It was inseparable from the evolving discourse of pathology: Indian criminality comes to be construed as a set of diseases - physical and psychological - that the colonial state must cure. The most commonly prescribed remedy was labor, or rather, specifically those kinds of work that encourage the individual to maintain a stable address where he can be effectively observed and supervised by the state. Incarceration becomes an instrument of demographic engineering: a method of creating stable, healthy, hard-working and manageable populations.

My paper examines this process as it is conceived and experimented with on the Indian mainland, and applied in the penal colony in the Andaman Islands. I also examine the specific adjustments that had to be made in the 20th century, when the colonial state was confronted with large numbers of political prisoners: my argument is that the regime of medicine and work was largely retained, not as a tool for rehabilitation, but as a technology of torture and control. I also argue that the prisoners - nationalist agitators as well as "common criminals" - found ample opportunities for resisting this penal regime, and were, to some extent, successful in establishing a kind of alternative state within the prison. This "convict state" had its own agenda, but it necessarily used the machinery of colonial incarceration; its relationship with the "official" penal state, whose borders it shared, was as often symbiotic as it was hostile.

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Sudipta Sen, University of Pennsylvania

Legibilities of Rule: Inscribing Command in Early Colonial India

Meaningful rulership in late medieval India rested to a large extent on a documentary repertoire and formalized usage of the Persian language through which the pleasure, displeasure and commands of the court were made legible. Texts such as farmans, nishans and parvanas were thus honored not merely for the clauses through which precise points of rule were inscribed, but because, above other things, they assumed the iconic character of writtenness, a feature in which calligraphy, draughtsmanship and insignia all played important parts. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, when the East India Company sought political domination in northern India, this immense documentary tradition could hardly be disregarded, and the Company state was keen to appropriate not just the courtly language, but the very political language and style in which texts of rule were produced. Yet, for a commercial corporation documents were essentially legal instruments, most often imputed with the narrow intent of contract. In this paper I shall explore ambiguities in the meaning in the written forms of rule in colonial society, exercises of deciphering and communicating authority, acts through which the legible signs of previous regimes were translated into the uncertain documentary register of the colonial.
Sagaree Sengupta, University of Texas-Austin

By Any Means: Persuasive Strategies in the Essays of Hariscandra

Hariscandra of Banaras, the pioneer Khari boli Hindi author of the latter 19th century, adapted a variety of English, Bengali and Urdu forms and argumentative styles to his own prose writings. Not only do we experience startling switches in diction and tone when reading his collected essays, we are subjected to dramatic shifts in rhetorical method. In his hands, archaeology, satire, civic exhortation and sentimental pieté are all tools to build up, and weapons to defend, a redefined Visnu-ite Hindi culture. Seen in this light, Hariscandra's multifarious catalog of prose works organizes itself around a socio-political rather than purely artistic mission. Famous essays such as Bhāratvarṣ ki unnaṭ kaise ho sakati hai ("How Can India Progress") and Vaiṣṇavatā aur bhāratvarṣ ("Vaiṣṇava Faith and India") will be considered in my discussion, as will lesser known satires and preambles from Hariscandra's drama and poetry works.

Amita Shastri, San Francisco State University

Fifteen Years of Economic Liberalization in Sri Lanka: A Balance Sheet

Sri Lanka launched on a process of economic liberalization earlier and more enthusiastically than any of its South Asian neighbors when the center-right United National Party (UNP) came to power in 1977. In February 1994, Sri Lanka attracted international attention for a week as the country whose stock market had shown the most rapid rise in the world the previous year. The passage of fifteen years provides us with a suitable vantage point from which to analyze the structural changes that have taken place on the island despite the ongoing civil war. The paper will assess the achievements and shortfalls in the policy of export-based industrialization and its prospects for continued growth. It will also evaluate the impact that the changes in the economy have had on the polity and society.
Mohan N. Shrestha, Bowling Green State University


Abstract: Nepal is one of the least urbanized countries in South Asia. With the exception of the Kathmandu Valley, urbanization in other parts of the country was almost non-existent until recently. In the 1991 census, there were 33 designated urban centers or municipalities, and about 9.2 per cent of Nepal's total population live in these centers. The growth of these urban centers has not been uniform in all geographic areas of the country. The initial impetus for urban growth was first brought about by large-scale regional and international migration after the malaria eradication in the 1950's. During the last 40 years the focus of urbanization has shifted to the Tarai region, the Eastern Tarai in particular. Urbanization in the Hill region is proceeding at a much slower rate than in the Tarai due to the poor resource base, problem of access and transportation, and limited employment potential in non-agricultural activities. The Himalayan region has no urban centers. The present location and distribution of urban centers in Nepal, therefore, are direct results of the differences in natural resource base among geographic regions in the country, and the differential growth rates of the economy in these regions, initiated and maintained by national planning policies and economic projects administered by the government.

Nanda Shrestha, University of Wisconsin-Whitewater

When the Darkness Fall: Selling Sex in Nepal

In a narrative style, this paper will examine the nature of growing prostitution in Nepal. The paper will particularly focus on how the feudal-religious nexus and development-tourism nexus have converged together in promoting prostitution in the country. To illustrate the problem, the real life story of a prostitute — Gita — will be highlighted.
Chew on This: Betel Stories from India

This paper will analyze the role betel plays in Indian society by looking at its functions within stories and storytelling. The chewing of betel eases social interaction, thus acting as a catalyst for storytelling. Betel shops in India serve as places to gather after dinner to exchange stories and chat. Betel related paraphernalia, many of which depict mythological characters, function as props to facilitate narrating; thus material culture, in this case, functions to reinforce and maintain oral tradition.

Analogous to Claude Levi-Strauss' structural theory of binary oppositions, betel functions within Indian society to mediate oppositions such as those of gender, age, class, rank, and social staits. As the folktales demonstrate, betel serves as a vehicle of bringing together these dichotomies. For example, in the story of the "Areca Nut Princess," a princess is born out of a magical areca (betel nut) flower, a gift from Lord Brahma. She subsequently gives birth on a bed of betel leaves, and offers betel to the Lord as an offering, among other events of the story. This tale shows the liminal associations betel has, one of an intermediary between life and death, god and human, sacred and divine. Another tale, "The Legend of Siri" is used to validate a possession ritual, acting as a "charter of belief," according to the characterization of the nature of myth by Malinowski.

By analyzing the objects associated with betel, it is made clear that betel can function in precisely the opposite way as well. Jewel encrusted betel boxes and cutters, for example, serve solely to flaunt the wealth of their owners, and thus widen the gap inherent between people. An analysis of the material culture reveals that the folktales portray an idealized view of Indian society, one in which social equality is possible, whereas stratification is in fact the basis for most interaction and identity in India.
Subir Sinha, Northwestern University

Gender and Class in the Kerala Fishworker's Movement

Explanations of popular movements around 'nature' in India come to be dominated by a 'neo-traditional narrative' in which the victims of development are women, peasants, tribals and fishworkers. They are also the chief protagonists fighting for the recovery of a 'tradition' in which resource use informed by a system of indigenous knowledge was wise and restrained, and social relations were marked with equity. These movements, authors such as Vandana Shiva have argued, symbolize the biggest challenge to 'modernity' in India and the need for women to recover their 'traditional' roles as managers of natural resources. In this paper, using the case of the Kerala Fishworkers' Movement, I will argue that while neo-traditionalism correctly identifies the chief actors in the new popular movements, it errs in its reading of gender politics around the question of natural resource use, and in suggesting that 'class' is an irrelevant category in explaining these movements. Women have participated in these mobilizations not because of their traditional roles but despite them, and part of the new politics around natural resource use is concerned with defining new gender roles. Secondly, the self-definition as 'fishworkers' and the role of unions in this movement indicates the formation of class identities around natural resource use.

In quite another context, it has been suggested that a class struggle is a struggle about class before it is one between classes. In my paper, I will argue that while ostensibly a dispute over resource use, the Kerala Fishworkers' Movement is a struggle about and between classes and also about and between genders. I will outline the 'traditional' role of women in Kerala marine fisheries and analyze the process by which new gender and class identities were formed in the Kerala Fishworkers' Movement. On this basis, I will argue that new social movements such as this posit counter-hegemonic alternatives at three levels. The Kerala Fishworkers' Movement seeks to alter gender relations, to alter relations between those involved in catching, selling and buying fish, and between these classes and the state. As an alternative to neo-traditionalism, I will propose that this movement is fundamentally concerned with the redefinition of nature as a resource rather than as having intrinsic value, of fishing as a strategic economic activity, and of fishworkers who, in becoming a class must address gender questions.
Walter Smith, Appalachian State University

India and Contemporary Western Art

This paper will explore how "Indianness" goes beyond national boundaries, and is a significant element in the formal and conceptual structures of contemporary world art. Various artists trained in the West have incorporated Indian imagery and philosophical concepts into their work, producing imagery evocative of sensations and states of mind for which Western forms have proven inadequate. Yet many 20th-century Indian artists do something very similar, synthesizing with their Western academic training images and ideas derived from traditional India. These two groups of artists serve as "mirror images" of one another, and demonstrate how nationalistic labels for contemporary art are becoming irrelevant.

The Indian aspects of several Western-trained artists will be considered here. Ad Reinhardt was perhaps the first to create a highly abstracted synthesis of Western and Indian art. His intellectualized, "classical" paintings can be compared to the "romantic," visionary work of Morris Graves. The Italian painter Francesco Clemente, through living and working in India, has thoroughly suffused his work with "Indianness." British artist Anish Kapoor shows the ambiguity of ethnic classification. Born in India but trained in England, his work is "minimalist with an Indian flavor." Boundaries are further broken down by performance artist Sha Sha Higby, whose meditative dances are performed in "sculpture-costumes." A long stay in India and Indonesia informs her work with imagery inventively incorporated yet respectful of and insightful toward the cultures from which she borrows.
Marcella Sirhandi, Kansas City Art Institute

Reinventing Hindu Mythology on Contemporary Indian Art

Many contemporary Indian painters refer to Hindu mythology for thematic imagery. Some use images of gods and goddesses or events from the epics to enhance their "Indian" identity, others refashion or reinterpret the myths to meet contemporary demands. The feminist painter Gogi Saroj Pal asks her audience to reexamine the impact of 17th and 18th century Nayika paintings—woman as sex object. Manjit Bawa likes to reinvent Krishna with his usual wit and occasional sarcasm. One painting depicts Krishna playing his flute for a pack of adoring dogs—gopis and cows no where to be found. Suhas Roy paints Radha nude, alone, barely visible in a misty, verdant world of ferns and palm bushes. She is Prakriti as well as Krishna's lover. Hindu mythology though still a popular motif is far removed from the traditional imagery depicted in Pahuput paintings.

Rajan Sivaramakrishnan, East-West Center, Honolulu
Toufiq A. Siddiqi, East-West Center, Honolulu

Growth of Electricity Use in India, and Strategies for Reducing Greenhouse Gas Emissions

India was a major actor in the drafting of the Framework Convention on Climate Change, and is a signatory to the Convention. It is thus obligated to assess current emissions of greenhouse gases (GHGs) from human activities and to formulate policies to reduce future emissions of these gases, which are believed to be the principal cause of global climate change. At the same time, energy use in India and many other developing countries is growing rapidly due to economic growth and population increases. This is leading to corresponding increases in the emissions of carbon dioxide, the principal GHG, as well as methane and other GHGs. Electricity use is growing at an even faster rate than overall energy use in most developing countries, including India, and this trend is expected to continue for the next several decades.

In this paper, we examine 3 different scenarios for meeting India's projected needs of electricity up to 2020 A.D.: (i) A continuation of the present emphasis on coal for electricity generation; (ii) Accelerated development of hydro- and nuclear- power; and (iii) Increased use of newer renewable sources of energy. Emissions of carbon dioxide are calculated for each of the scenarios, and some of the implications of each scenario for policies dealing with global climate change are discussed.
Rakesh H. Solomon, Indiana University

Extremists on Stage

The Maharashtra Natak Mandali's 1907 production of Kichaka-Vadha demonstrates how Krishnaji Prabhakar Khadilkar intertwined ancient narratives and modern nationalist yearnings, Edwardian melodrama and Indian theatrical traditions, to create a rich interplay of texts, cultures and politics in colonial India. Kichaka-Vadha transformed a quintessentially Indian saga, the "Virata Parvan" episode of the Mahabharata, into sensational political theatre that attacked British colonialism while marrying Western and Indian theatrical traditions. Khadilkar created this Western-style melodrama ostensibly for the cultural and religious edification of his Brahmin audience, but his overarching goal was to demonstrate--through allusion, allegory, and parody--the efficacy of militant methods over peaceful ones for the overthrow of British rule. Through his dramatization Khadilkar, a close confidante of Lokmanya Tilak, the leader of the Congress' Extremist wing, championed direct action over exclusively constitutional means advocated by the Moderate wing led by Gopal Krishna Gokhale--a matter of momentous debate that culminated in the Surat Congress of 1907. The presence of Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, and other Extremist leaders at the Bombay performance of the play a few weeks later, confidential police records of the Bombay Presidency, and the British Governor's ban on the play testify to Khadilkar's powerful anticolonial politics on the stage of British India.

Selma K. Sonntag, Humboldt State College

Language-issue Saliency in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh

It is often suggested that while India was rocked by language controversies in the 1950s and 60s, they have substantially subsided in the last few decades. Based on field research conducted this past year while on a Fulbright research grant, I argue that while this assessment is fairly accurate for Bihar, in Uttar Pradesh language tension remains salient. I offer an explanation for this difference between the two Hindi-belt states by analyzing contemporary politics within a theoretical framework of elite competition. Factors analyzed include the degree of OBC political consolidation in each state, the degree of electoral stability, the competing power bases of main political players, inter- and intra-party tensions, the role of interest groups, and the interplay between executive, legislative and judicial forces, and between Centre and state, since 1980. The data I use for my analysis is based primarily on newspaper accounts, legal briefs, and interview material regarding the Hindi-Urdu controversy and the "Remove English" movement. The data was gathered in Patna, Lucknow and New Delhi from September 1993 to February 1994 and covers the recent electoral victory of Mulayam Singh Yadav in Uttar Pradesh.
Colonial domination in the political realm is always facilitated and supported by cultural conquest. This paper is an attempt to explore, as they operated in the Andhra region of India, certain cultural technologies of power in a society being colonized, to demonstrate the disparate ways in which an emergent colonial state conjures up a new world in which the native becomes a foreigner as it were, uprooted, disoriented, and thus more malleable, more acquiescent.

While focussing upon the Andhra region, this paper examines the manner in which the East India Company constructed new locii of space and time. The systematic mapping of India from the 18th century was not only creating the necessary knowledge, without which the East India Company could not exercise its new gained territorial imperatives, but was also constructing a new spatial episteme, to create a disjuncture with the past.

Similarly, the Company regime also imposed a new chronos on the Coromandel economy. In the new regularity introduced into the mercantile activity of the region, lay the seeds of a new temporal order that replaced an important element of the ancien regime.

This reconfiguring of space and time contributed, this paper argues, to a fundamental restructuring of the cultural world of the colonized Indian people.
Giorgio Stacul, University of Trieste

Pit Structures From Early SWAT (C. 1700-1400 BC)

The earliest recovered evidence on the pattern of residence at open sites of Swat, Pakistan, goes back from the beginning of 2nd millennium BC, notably from Period IV in the Ghalegay sequence. Small-sized settlements consisting of circular/oval underground or semi-subterranean structures, have been located by the Italian Archaeological Mission of IsMEO at various sites, such as Loebamr 3, Aliagra, Bir-kot-ghwandai and Kalako-deray. According to the structural features and the recovered finds, some pits have been used for dwelling purposes. Around the Mid-2nd millennium the pit-dwellings have been replaced by stone-walled buildings at the ground level.

Fresh excavations evidence a different distribution of agricultural and craft activities during this period in the Valley, according to environmental factors and as a result of a planned economy. The artifactual inventory from Kalako-deray, show a comparatively high incidence of agricultural stone artefacts, including tool-types suggestive of inner Asian traditions.

Chandar Sundaram, McGill University

The Prevention of "Idleness": Officer Commissions in the British Army for the Sons of Indian Princes and Gentlemen, 1897-1898

Britain's empire in India always depended upon a complex structure of collaborative relationships with Indians. Nowhere was this more evident than in the Indian Army -- the main instrument of British power. During the East Indian Company's Raj some of its officials sought to cement this collaborative relationship by increasing the responsibilities of "native" officers, but the 1857 uprising banished all thought of this. Thus, Indians could only obtain the Viceroy's Commission and remained subordinate to British Officers.

However, during the period, 1885-1900, the issue of admitting Indians into the higher officer cadres of Her Majesty's Home and Indian Armies was debated in "Official India." This paper deals with a proposal which was adumbrated by the Maharajah of Cooch Behar; it marked the first time that Indian agitation on the question was taken seriously by British officiaIdom. This was indicative of the anxiety of the British at the growth of Indian nationalism, which resulted in their renewed search for collaborating classes amongst the Indian populace. Though the Maharajah's proposal was rejected, an examination of this rejection reveals the interaction of Indians, the Government of India, the India Office, and the War Office on a fundamental issue of Indian Army reform.
Molly Sutphen, Yale University

Invisible at Home: Women and Domestic Hygiene in Calcutta, 1866-1897

Over the last decade historians and sociologists have begun to analyze the ways in which different societies define public and private space. This paper will use the history of public health in Calcutta as a means to investigate how colonial officials demarcated public and private spaces and who belonged where. By 1900 public health offices increasingly began to enter the homes of Indians, opening private homes to the gaze of public officials. As they did in Britain, state officials entered to vaccinate individuals or inspect the houses for pockets of filth which they considered to be the sources of many diseases which spread to the community. While public health officials in both countries held property holders responsible for keeping their houses clean and safe, in Britain there arose a movement to target women for education on how to keep their homes hygienic. In Calcutta, there was no such program. This paper will analyze why colonial officials did not target Indian women, making them invisible in their own homes.

Cynthia Talbot, Northern Arizona University

Female Donors and Their Families in Andhra, 1000-1325

While male donors in medieval Andhra inscriptions typically identify themselves in a standard manner as the sons of their fathers, female donors vary considerably in the kinship information they provide. Some tell us merely that they are the wives of prominent men, others give us the names of their fathers as well as their husbands, while a few only mention their mothers. In this paper, I will examine approximately three hundred inscriptions documenting religious gifts made by women in Andhra between the years 1000 to 1325, in order to explore the significance of diversity in female identities. Inscriptional evidence from this period suggests that natal ties continued to be important for many women subsequent to marriage and that the identity of the father was sometimes irrelevant to an individual's social identity. Additionally, the large numbers of female donors in this time period stands in contrast to the following three centuries, when few women appear in inscriptions. A possible explanation for the difference is a decline in the importance of women within the family context and/or a change in the definition of the family.
Mohamad Tavakoli, University of Indiana

India’s Polyglotism and the Munshi Newal Kishore Press

In his efforts as a publisher, Munshi Newal Kishore (1836-1895) unified diverse linguistic, religious, and cultural trends that constitute formative elements of Indian history and culture. By establishing a pioneering scholarly press in Lucknow in 1858, he played a leading role in the formation of modern literary canons in Hindi, Persian, and Urdu. Abdul Halim sharar (1860-1829) viewed the Newal Kishore Press as "the key to literary trade" and argued that "without using it no one could enter the world of learning." In this paper, I will evaluate Munshi Newal Kishore's contribution to the preservation of India's polyglotism.

The staff of Munshi Newal Kishore Press prepared the seminal texts of medieval history such as A’in-i Akbari, Akbar Namah, Tarikh-i Firishtah, Tarikh al-Muta’akhkhirin, and Rawzat al-Safa. He sponsored the translation and the publication of Sanskrit classical texts including Bhagavad-gita, Upanisads, Rg-veda, Devi-bhagavata-purana, Ramayana, Matsya-purana, and Mahabharata into Persian and Urdu. Among his publications were eighteenth and nineteenth century Urdu and Persian texts on Hindu religion; many have yet to be explored by scholars of Hinduism. He also published editions of the Qur’an and printed more books on Islam than any other nineteenth century publisher. His staff edited, translated, and printed classical Qur’anic commentaries, collections of the hadith, and Islamic legal texts in Urdu, Persian, and Arabic. Modern Islamic studies is greatly indebted to Munshi Newal Kishore for the publication of the seminal texts of both Shi‘i and Sunni Islam. These included works Abd al-Haq Dihlavi, Mujaddad Alf Sani Imam Ghazali, Abd Allah Nasafi, Ibn ‘Arabi, Muhaqqiq Tusi, 'Allamah Majlisi, Mu'in al-Din Chishti, and Qutb al-Din Bakhtyar.

By publisher classical and contemporary dictionaries and literary texts, Munshi Newal Kishore contributed to the preservation and advancement of both Persian and Urdu languages. Among the dictionaries edited and published by him were Lughat-i Kishuri, Najm al-Lughat, Karim al-Lughat, and Nasir al-Lughat in Urdu and Burhan-i Qati, Bahar-i ‘Ajam, Farhang-i Jahangiri, Farhang-i Anandraj, and Haft Qulzum in Persian. These classic dictionaries have been reprinted frequently. His contribution to the Persian literary world also includes publication of scholarly editions of and commentaries on Shahnamah, Divan-i Hafiz, Divan-i Amir Khusraw, Divan-i 'Urfi, and the complete works of Jami, Sa'di, Anvari, Zahir Faryabi, Hazin, Bidil, and Ghalib. The staff of Munshi Newal Kishore Press also translated, edited, and published an impressive number of medical dictionaries and texts in urdu, Arabic, and Persian. Many of these texts are still used as references by contemporary Unani physicians. They are essential for any serious scholarly activity in history of medical sciences in South and South-West Asia.
Gary Michael Tartakov, Iowa State University

Two Sisters from Vadodara

Naina Dalal and Rekha Rodwittiya are artists of Vadodara. Dalal is a woman of the first generation of artists to come on the scene following independence in the 1950's. Her work is exemplary of the India's entry into the international, if still predominantly Western, gallery art tradition in the wake of colonialism. Rodwittiya, by contrast, is an artist born a full generation after Independence, whose work demonstrates both the progress of Indian artists out from under the colonial shadow and the ongoing contradictions of the international gallery tradition in India today. They are also a pair of quite distinct and interesting artists whose work gives some clue to changes in women's situation and attitudes over the past half-century.

Rachel Tolen, University of Pennsylvania

Contesting the Middle Class: Servants and Employers in a Madras Railway

This paper focuses on everyday talk about the "middle class" in urban south India. In my conversations with the households of Railway officers in Madras, people often referred to themselves as "middle class." In talking with the servants of these households, the servants often disputed such a claim by their employers to middle class status. Rather, the servants defined their employers as "rich," while defining themselves as middle class. This paper explores the implications of this divergence in perspectives on the category of "middle class." For the Railway officer families consumption of key commodities plays an important role in their definition of their class position. But also, they define "middle class" in reference to a transnational formation of a middle class lifestyle as imagined through media images and encounters with relatives abroad. In contrast, servants' discourse on class diverges markedly from their employers'; for them, to be middle class is to not go hungry, to earn enough for food for each day. This paper argues against accepting constructions of self as given and that such shifting definitions of class status are a meaningful site of everyday contestation of class domination.
Nandita Uppal

Gift Giving in the Cave Temples at Kanheri

My paper deals with the role of gift giving at the Buddhist cave temples at Kanheri, near Bombay, India. This study will analyze gift giving as a microcosm of a larger system. In this sense I will speak of the "embeddedness" of gift giving in the social, political, and religious history of the area. Against this historical background of the caves I will consider the significant economic, social and religious context of the site and how changes in gift giving reflect broader historical changes and in turn are affected by them. My aim in this paper is to focus on how change in a macrocosm engenders change in the micro and vice versa.

The primary source materials for this project are epigraphical sources- Pali and Sanskrit Pali inscriptions found in the Kanheri caves dating from the first and eleventh centuries A.D. I will also be studying numismatic and art history sources in Maharashtra. Research on this project will conducted at Kanheri in Summer 94.

This paper is the second in a proposed series of papers dealing with gift giving in the Buddhist cave temples of Western India. I presented the first paper titled "Gift giving in the cave temples of Western India", last year at the same conference.

Virginia Van Dyke, University of Washington

Violence, Chaos, and the Consolidation of Communities: A Study of the 1984 Pogrom against the Sikhs

This paper will argue that the pogrom against the Sikhs following Mrs. Gandhi's assassination in 1984 provides a case study of the deliberate fomenting of communal violence against a minority group in order to serve the political purpose of controlling such a recalcitrant group while consolidating the majority Hindu vote. The creation of a communal divide between Hindus and Sikhs had been part of the design of delaying settlement of the Punjab crisis in order to gain electoral rewards in the Hindi heartland. Further propaganda against the Sikhs during the riots—that the Sikhs were attacking and the Sikhs had poisoned the water supply—ensured that the majority Hindu community would view violence against this group to be in their interest and defense. This paper will further argue that this highly perfected use of violence was only possible in the changed situation which emerged post-Emergency. The induction of goondas and criminals into the Congress party, and their links with underworld figures who control the chaotic jumble of social groups and castes which comprise the resettlement communities, the area from which the rioters were largely drawn, and further their links with the police, assured that any challenge to the dominance of Congress could be dealt with ruthlessly.
A.R. Vasavi, Indian Institue of Management, Ahmedabad

Voices from a Landscape of Liberalization

Gujarat -- India’s most industrialized state and the most enthusiastic promoter and supporter of the liberalization agenda -- displays in stark contrast the impact and implications of the new economic and industrial agenda. It is in Ahmedabad (Ambavadi), home to Gandhi’s ashram and several Gandhians and one of the fastest growing cities in Asia, that the denouement of the liberalization agenda is fully and succinctly expressed. Two sets of voices, one critical and the other desperate and despondent, speak of the shift in the environment. For Gandhians, contemporary Ahmedabad -- highly industrialized, over crowded, polluted, and exhibiting in manifold ways the new consumerism of urban India -- is the very antithesis of Gandhi’s agenda for a new India and the symbol of the defiance of Gandhian values. For the pauperized and the rural poor, who are either displaced by the new economic agenda, are escaping the harsh social conditions of the rural societies or who are eco-refugees from lands that no longer provide sustenance, Ahmedabad provides a threadbare existence while corroding their physical and mental well-being. These constructions and commentaries on changes in the environment speak of different sources of betrayal. For the Gandhian it is the betrayal of the commitment to swaraj life-style that is the source of the problems. For the urban poor, it is the betrayal of democracy in which they are used only as vote banks and continue to be exploited and abused.

Susan S. Wadley
Department of Anthropology
Syracuse University

"Kulakshani and other Disorderly Women in Karimpur Folklore"

In the Brahman-dominated village of Karimpur in western Uttar Pradesh, the view that women are to be condemned for disorderly or disruptive behaviors is largely upheld. In this paper, a series of folk stories depicting images of the slovenly or disorderly woman are analyzed and are related to the dominant Hindu norms found in this village. In these stories, women who stuff themselves, keep dirty homes, and advocate other disorderly behaviors are chastised for their behaviors. I also investigate the root causes, as presented in story and song, of these women’s behaviors: some, like Kulakshani, sister of Lakshmi, are born under auspicious stars and seem to be "naturally" disorderly. Others are also given a more "natural" disorder because of caste status. Hence the disorderliness of women is related to the generally attributed disorder of those low in Hindu hierarchies.
Clare Wilkinson Weber, University of Pennsylvania

Masters or Mastered? The Autonomy of Skilled Artisans

THE AUTONOMY OF SKILLED ARTISANS. An important role of state and central
governments regarding Indian handicrafts is to ensure their survival through nurturing
aesthetic excellence. Essentially a revised form of elite patronage, government support
has produced changes in the way in which the finest work of Indian artisans is
appreciated and consumed. This paper will focus on the influences of award competition,
designed to recognize and reward outstanding craftspeople.

In the case of Lucknow chikan embroidery, award competition has affected the style of
the finest embroidery, as well as the kinds of pieces on which it is made. Making pieces
for award competition also draws on a markedly different productive network from that
of past fine work, or of contemporary commercial work. In addition, new levels of taste-
makers are implicated in defining and shaping fine work, exercising their own, culturally-
framed, critical abilities.

I will consider the social and cultural contexts in which decisions about the best work and
best craftspeople are reached. Finally, I will consider the role of artisans themselves in
the evaluation of chikan, and the impact on their productive and creative lives of award-
winning.

Robert White, Humboldt State University

Technology Choice in Nepal: The Arun III Dam

While much attention of first world environmentalists has been focussed on India's
Sardar Sarovar project, a possibly more interesting controversy swirls around the
proposed Arun III dam in eastern Nepal. It is more interesting because it represents
an important step in defining Nepal's technology policy in the new era of democracy.
At issue is whether the policy will favor large-scale projects that benefit urban areas,
where there is frequent load-shedding, and perhaps earn precious foreign exchange by
exporting electricity to India, or smaller-scale projects that will benefit rural villages
presently without electricity, and stimulate domestic industrial production. This paper
examines the arguments for and against Arun III from the social, economic, technical
and political perspectives. It concludes that Nepal would be better served by adopting
a technology policy favoring smaller-scale hydro-energy technology like that suggested
by Tony Hagen in the 1950's. The material for this paper was collected in Nepal in
the spring of 1994 and consists of interviews, government documents and English and
Nepali language newspapers and magazines.
Angelina M. Whitford, University of Texas-Austin

Vaikom Road Satyagraha: Where Did it Lead?

The Vaikom Road Satyagraha attempted to convert both orthodox Hindus and the Travancore government to the belief that the "depressed classes" should be allowed to use public roads near temples. Vaikom is the home of a large, well-known Shiva temple and, at that time, forbade avarna (also called untouchable) Hindus from using the roads around the temple. The struggle lasted for twenty months, from March 1924 to November 1925, and ended in an amorphous victory for the satyagrahis. Three of the roads were opened to all, but one, the eastern road, was blocked with a newly built gate and reserved for those who were allowed to worship at the temple. While all the supporters of the satyagraha agreed that avarna Hindus should be able to walk along these roads, they interpreted the meaning of their struggle in various ways. Some saw this as the first step in eradicating the caste system altogether; others believed simply that the civil rights of the avarna Hindus were not being upheld by the government (i.e., the right to walk on public roads). What was the purpose and meaning of the Vaikom Satyagraha? The leaders of the satyagraha never satisfactorily answered this question, leaving the movement unfocused and occasionally working at cross-purposes. In this paper, I attempt to explore the views of these various leaders and how their differences hampered their efforts to achieve their shared aim of opening the roads to avarna Hindus.

Andre Wink, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islamic Iconoclasm

The aim of this paper is to show that iconoclasm is a phenomenon which has no indigenous roots in the Indo-Iranian religious traditions but, by contrast, is a product of the Judeo-Christian-Islamic monotheistic tradition. At the same time, the paper will attempt to explain in what ways the Islamic state in India was different from its predecessors and why its establishment in the 11th-13th centuries entailed a more or less systematic subversion of India's sacred geography (at least in so far as it was expressed in temple architecture and iconoplastic art). Finally, some attention will be given to the question why Buddhism did not survive in India after the Islamic conquest.
Richard Kent Wolf, University of Illinois-Urbana-Champaign

Mourning Songs and Human Pasts among the Kotas

The most elaborate and important rituals of the Kotas of the Nilgiri Hills in south India fall into two indigenous categories, "god," and "death." The music and symbolic vocabulary associated with these two categories seem to involve two pasts. The past associated with the gods is an idealized, timeless period in which the Kotas followed their traditions assiduously and were duly rewarded. Funerals and philosophies concerning death evoke an ambivalence towards a very different past—a human past, composed of deceased Kotas. Mourning songs, which are musically and linguistically rather special, provide insight into some of the conflict involved as Kotas remember their dead. I argue that part of the modern ambivalence concerning the ancestors stems from contact with high-caste Hindus, but that the role of the dead in the identity of the living seems always to have been somewhat of an issue for the Kotas.
Leela Aditi Wood, University of Michigan

"Mapping Readings" of a Gandharian Narrative Relief

This paper is concerned with the nature of visual narrative and how meaning is carried by visual forms, one of which is its narrative structure. It will explore the visual forms of the Sikri Stupa relief panel representing the meeting of Dipankara and Sumati, paying attention to the cultural context of contemporaneous Buddhist thought, belief and practice. It will locate this narrative as a visual text belonging to the northern Hinayanist Sanskritic tradition of the Divyavadana, "reading" the panel as an avadana, in terms of (1) the structure of offering, of acts and fruits characteristics of avadana literature and (2) the correlation between the physical and the abstract which is typical of avadana literature in the Divyavadana. This paper suggests that the use of the visual narrative structure of conflation can be read/seen as a comment on the nature of time. The construction of time in the relief accords with Sarvastivadin notions of time.

Dean Wright, Drake University

The Rise and Demise of a Culture: The Last Two Anglo-Indians in Dumka, Bihar, India

This paper will focus on one inevitable outcome of colonial domination, a racially and culturally mixed population, the Anglo-Indian Community of India. We will look at the socio-geographic character of this population focusing primarily on one particular part of the state of Bihar, the Commissionery of Santhal Parganas and its headquarters the town of Dumka. During the summer of 1993 the authors traveled to Dumka and completed in-depth interviews with the two remaining members of the Anglo-Indian Community of that assemblage, a brother and sister now in their 50s and 60s. Once they are gone a community that numbered perhaps as many as 200,000 in India and 75 in Dumka will no longer exist. This was a community that had a very distinct life-style that almost fully emulated the British and isolated itself from the indigenous populations, a community that, as one of its member said "...is on its last leg...in the saddest of states."
Phillip B. Zarrilli, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Staging the "Social": Tooppil Bhaasi's Drama and Theatre of Social Crisis and Conscience

There is perhaps no better example of a "theatre of social crisis" than dramas and theatres spawned during periods of social revolution. This paper focuses on the drama and theatre of Kerala, India's Tooppil Bhaasi (1924-1992). Arguably Kerala's most noted and prolific leftist playwright and director, Bhaasi's first drama, You Made Me A Communist, was produced by the Kerala People's Arts Club (KPAC) in 1952 while he was incarcerated in the Alappuzha jail for his political activities and as a member of the Kerala branch of the Communist Party of India (CPI). This and his later dramas, all staged by KPAC, helped galvanize a generation of Malayalis to issues of social crisis and conscious, and helped initiate a mass theatre of social drama throughout the state of Kerala. Since then, You Made Me A Communist has been performed by KPAC more than 2,000 times, and continues to be performed today as part of its repertory. Indeed, it may be the longest continuously running popular political drama in the history of the modern theatre.

Attending You Made Me A Communist in 1952-53 was an "event," i.e., it was part of an unfolding and evolving socio-political revolution as it was happening. Journalist, essayist, playwright, and activist Kaniyapuram Ramachandran explains how the dividing line between stage and audience was simply erased! What they saw there was their real lives! The workers, agricultural laborers, people coming onstage and speaking their own dialects and ordinary language—not literary language. The ultimate aim is to make the audience part of the experience. There is no detachment, but attachment. So with the social issues in the play—it was all so relevant. At the end of a performance the entire audience would come to its feet.

So, You Made Me A Communist wasn't a drama at all! The social relevance of the play made people forget everything when they saw it. It was a drama for the people, by the people. It gave people what they wanted to see at the right time. It was a magic wand. The audience was like a mental vacuum that sucked up what was given... People were ready for that message of social change.

So important a role did KPAC and this production play in the popular spread of the communist point of view during 1952-54 that some commentators have suggested that the election of the communists in 1957 with 35 percent of the popular vote (capturing 60 of 125 seats) would never have happened without the impact that this production had on the political concerns and popular imaginations of Malayalis during the 1950's.

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1 Personal interview, 1993.
Eleanor Zelliott, Carleton College

Voices of Women: Stories from Maharashtra

While the Tamil, Kannada and Hindi bhakti traditions all include at least one woman poet-saint, the Maharashtrian tradition has recorded the voices of at least nine over a four hundred year period. Poetry or, in the case of the 17th century bhakta Bahunabai, an autobiography, that seem authentically to be by women has been preserved for each. The stories of five, Soyrabai and Nirmala, Untouchable Mahar women; Janabai the serving maid of Namdeo; Kanhopatra the Dancing Girl; and Bahunabai, the Brahmin follower of Tukaram, reveal something of the nature of women's lives of the 14th and 17th centuries respectively. They also may be seen as the earliest voice of Marathi-speaking women, part of the heritage of the many women's voices of this century.