Arun Agrawal, Yale University

Can the Tail Wag the Dog? Development, Democracy, and Grassroots NGO's

In the past two decades, with the failures of top down, centralized development strategies, grassroots NGOs have emerged as the last great hope to achieve democracy and development simultaneously at the local level. Encouraged by the success of many small scale development initiatives undertaken by NGOs in the rural areas in many developing countries, some scholars have hailed NGOs as the wave of the future. The primary instrument through which NGOs seek to achieve development and democratization simultaneously are user group organizations they create to increase participation of their client populations. This paper presents a case study of two NGOs from India who have sought to weld development and democratic participation through user-group organizations. The objective of the paper is to examine critically the extent to which hopes placed in NGOs are justified.

Ashok Aklujkar, University of British Columbia

Did the Jains and Buddhists Redefine "Arya"?

The present paper forms part of a monograph-length study examining the current reconstructions of the sociolinguistic history of ancient and early medieval India, especially the reconstruction as given by Professor Madhav M. Deshpande. The word 'Arya' plays a well-known role in the scholarly determinations of Indian history through contrastive pairs such as 'Arya : Dasa,' 'Arya : Dasyu,' 'Arya : Mleccha,' 'Arya : Sudra,' and 'Aryan : Dravidian.' According to Deshpande, it also serves to shape Jain and Buddhist attitude toward language(s) in a way different from that of the followers of Brahmanism. He observes: "[The Buddhist use of the word ariya] represents an attempt on the part of Buddha to create a new concept of Aryanhood, and to combat the conservative concept of Aryanhood held in the Brahmanical traditions. ... The Jaina [in the time of Mahavira as reconstructed on the basis of the Pannavana-sutta], do seem to claim that the peoples listed as Mlecchas were not Aryan by ... region, birth, clan, function, profession, language, wisdom, realization and conduct. But on the other hand, there is an implicit claim that whoever is Aryan by conduct is Aryan, and the same statement may be extended to the other factors mentioned above. ... This is an important implication because the Jains and Buddhists seem to have collided with the Brahmanical systems of those days precisely on this issue. The Brahmanical systems themselves had indeed incorporated Aryanized indigenous peoples to a certain extent, and yet the Brahmanical system was much more conservative as compared to Jain and Buddhist social perspectives. ... the center of sociocultural prestige among the Outer Aryans was defined precisely in non-Brahmanical terms. ... It is not clear whether the Brahmanical traditions would accept any non-Sanskrit language as an Aryan language. ... the seeds of a regional, social and cultural conflict were present, and the conflict concerning the status of their languages was only a part of the larger conflicts." I shall point out that the Buddhists do not appear to be innovators in the use of Arya and that the evidence from the Jain Pannavana-sutta collected by Deshpande indicates, upon closer examination, that its sources must have been Brahmanical to a significant extent.

Vidyut Aklujkar, University of British Columbia
Why Build a Bridge Over the Ocean? Propriety in the Ananda-Ramayana

The conversation between Sita and Lopamudra in the Book of Enjoyment (Vilasa-kanda) of the Ananda-Ramayana (circa 15th c.) poses a question regarding the propriety of the bridge-building activity of Rama, and offers a unique gloss on the necessity of it. While focusing on the propriety of an accomplished action of an acclaimed hero, the two heroines demonstrate skill in conversational strategies and propriety of speech. A playfully innocent question turns into a challenge which is met head-on, using tact to convert an insult into an advantage, and scoring points by advancing impeccable arguments. When the debate is won, and the older heroine remains silent, age and reputation, rather than gender or caste, define the peace-making process and proper courtesy shown by the younger heroine saves the situation. The Sita-Lopamudra samvada thus offers a rich context for the study of propriety on various levels of spontaneous speech, behaviour analysis, myth interpretation and myth retention. The present paper proposes to analyse all these and take note of how the Ananda-Ramayana sanctifies alternate versions of well-known myths, and how it influences later vernacular versions of the Agastya myth in Ekanatha and Muktesvara.

Paul Arney, Columbia University
The Magazine Kalyan: Gita Press and the Imperative of dharm-pracar

No single religious publication has had so much influence on so many Hindus as the journal Kalyan. Founded by two pious Marwari businessmen, Hanumanprasad Poddar and Jayadayal Goyandka, the objective of Kalyan was always to confirm individual seekers in the basic suppositions shared by the members of all sects so as to promote Hindu solidarity (sangathan. When Kalyan first appeared in 1926 it rapidly gained an extraordinary authority among orthodox dharmacaryas, mahants, sadhus, pandits, and the general lay public who conceived it to be the true voice of (twentieth-century) Hinduism. Because it reflected “established” and “traditional” notions of authority -- and by its organizational layout helped condition those very notions -- Kalyan rapidly acquired the aura of a symbolic object whose mere possession conferred ownership of piety and learning. Written in easily-understandable Hindi, Kalyan had the highest readership of any secular or religious periodical for many decades and still has the highest circulation of any monthly magazine in India. Kalyan’s influence is not to be found just in its vast number of readers, however. It derives more from the unique hole which it has on them.

In this paper I will examine the history and significance of Kalyan as understood from the viewpoint of its readership and those affiliated with the “Gita Press Family” at Gorakhpur (U.P.) Who produce Kalyan -- along with the staggering quantities of subsidized, below-cost editions of the Ramacaritmanas, Bhagavad Gita, Bhagavad Purana, and other religious texts for which the press is famous. I will also analyze the largely ignored role of Gita Press and Kalyan in the construction and “self-fashioning” of a twentieth-century Hindu identity for a diverse population to whom religion remains a basic rudiment of socio-cultural, economic, and political cohesion.

Frederick M. Asher, University of Minnesota
Built by the King
This paper would examine the scant identification of architect in temple dedicatory inscriptions which address at length the accomplishments of the patron-king.

Sanjay Asthana, University of Minnesota
Liberalization, Media and the Indian Middle-Class

In major ways, the post 80s phase in India's independent history has (re)defined the terms of the debates in politics, economy and popular culture - all of these are connected to the globalization discourses that punctuate international politics as vocabularies of 'development'. The various post-colonial nations have responded to these changes in different ways. Communication and information technologies have altered the landscape of popular culture on television and exemplify the liberalization policies of these countries. One peculiar feature of these changes is the role and function of the State in the production of mass culture on the media despite the fact that media are State controlled.

My paper will explore the relationship between the State and the media (particularly television) in contemporary India from a political economy perspective. More specifically, I shall examine the themes of liberalization and free markets on some television serials on Doordarshan (the government controlled channel) and on Star TV (a private transnational channel) through textual analysis. These perspectives will allow me to (re)connect the issues of liberalization that manifest in various ways on TV to the formation of the middle class as an important constituency of television and popular culture.

The purpose of this paper is to study the numerous middle class representations on television that seek to (re)articulate value-laden ideas of capitalism and 'free enterprise'.

Brian Axel, University of Chicago
Place and Displacement: The Ambivalence of Productions in the Sikh Subject

Recent discussions of cartography have been organized around a negative critique of science and representation in terms of failure, lack, and oppression. Discussing the production of the transnational Sikh qaum ("nation/people"), I propose an inversion, a positive hypothesis: how has cartography succeeded? Specifically, what are the procedures, generated in the nexus of nation-state, university and diaspora elite practices, by which cartography has succeeded at producing a particular kind of subject (the desiring Sikh subject) and particular kinds of localities (Punjab, an originary place, and Khalistan, a future Sikh homeland)? Focusing on the production and consumption of maps of Punjab and Khalistan by British Sikhs, what is at issue in this paper are the forms of ambivalence generated in the conjuncture of cartographic knowledge and discourses of multiculturalism. I detail the history and logic of these forms of ambivalence which turn upon varying degrees of desire and anxiety inscribed upon, and constituting, a sexualized and specifically gendered (male) Sikh subject.
Paul Axelrod and Michelle Fuerch, Ripon College
The Village and the State in Portuguese Goa

Goan village records in Portuguese and Marathi reveal how Portuguese orientalist visions shaped the development and character of the village communities there between the sixteenth and nineteenth century. Known today by their Portuguese colonial label as “communidades,” these villages were based on communal maintenance of the agricultural infrastructure and the sharing of profits from the communally owned land. In 1526 Portuguese revenue officer Alfonso Mexia, with the help of local Brahmans, codified these village social and economic structures in a document designed to be the basis for the colonial administrative policies and revenue arrangements. Our paper will show both how this charter defined the structure of the villages themselves and Portuguese parliamentary debates about them. Because of his imprecise terminology and misunderstanding of the varied village structures in Goa, Mexia created confusion about the status of the village communities and their relations to the colonial state. Because Goan villages emerged under the aegis of a mercantile state, their structural and economic relationship with the colonial power offer an interesting comparison with villages in British India. These differences will be used to highlight some of the features of Portuguese orientalism.

Jean Bacon, Williams College
Global Vistas, Local Lives: The Predicament of Urban Middle-Class Youth

What are the social psychological consequences of economic liberalization among young adults in India’s urban middle class? Public discourse suggests that they are a generation without direction -- torn loose from cultural moorings and thrown into a dizzying sea of opportunities. In contrast, this paper draws on thirteen months of ethnographic fieldwork in North Indian cities to argue that the predicament of Indian youth does not stem from an inability to negotiate the new institutions that govern work lives and leisure time. In fact, young people do this rather well. Instead challenges lie at home. Both psychological and practical concerns keep young people living in their parents' households well into their twenties and thirties. I argue middle class youth have a particular sense of self (quite different from that of their parents) that is difficult to maintain under these conditions. In response, families have developed a series of coping strategies that ease these tensions. Ultimately these strategies do much to routinize the recent, dramatic institutional change in Indian society at large.

J. Mark Baker, University of North Carolina-Asheville
Consolidating Authority: Bureaucratization of Local Resource Management Institutions in Kangra, Himachal Pradesh

The imprint of the modern, bureaucratic nation state is visible in the structure of committees organized by farmers in Kangra, Himachal Pradesh to facilitate the management of the gravity flow irrigation systems (khuils) of the region. The bureaucratic organization of these kuhl committees, as well as their formal rules of operation, reflect the imperatives of conforming to an organizational mold recognized and legitimized by the civil administrative authorities with whom farmers must
interact to petition for monetary grants for kuhl repair and maintenance. However, the diverse functions for kuhl committees belie their organizational uniformity and instead reflect to social relations which undergird them. Furthermore, the skills and knowledge necessary for successfully negotiating government grants differ significantly from those required for effective water diversion, conveyance, measurement and distribution. While the kuhl’s watermaster (kholi) is adept within the latter realm, others, generally local elites, possess the requisite skills for action in the former realm and hence usually occupy the elected positions within the kuhl committee. The increased interaction with the postcolonial bureaucratic state has resulted in shifts of authority away from the generally mid-caste water specialists to more formally educated local elites.

Pallassna R. Balgopal, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Changing Face of HIV/AIDS Epidemic in India: Emergence of New Vulnerable Groups

In traditional societies such as India there is a strong sense of denial to accept the fact that HIV/AIDS has a strong linkage with sexuality, sexual practices, and risky behaviors. There is a pervasive sense of complacency among professionals, policy makers, and the public at large that India, being primarily a monogamous conservative society, would be able to withstand the AIDS epidemic. Unfortunately, HIV has established itself firmly among commercial sex workers, patients with sexually transmitted diseases, professional blood donors, and recipients of multiple transfusions of blood/blood products. The HIV/AIDS epidemic, in addition to these groups, is emerging rapidly among vulnerable groups such as long-distance truck drivers and wayside commercial sex workers, both men and women.

Based on field data, this presentation will examine: (1) how stigma, oppression, poverty, sexuality, sexual orientation, and the use and abuse of alcohol and other substances are contributing for this drastic change in the epidemic; and (2) how new, vulnerable groups such as middle-class heterosexual men and women are emerging at an alarming rate and changing the face of the epidemic. Narratives from social development work with two groups, long-distance truck drivers and the Hijras, would be blended to support the discussion.

Sarmistha Banerjee, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Transmitters and Receptors: HIV/AIDS and the Indian Woman

The popular understanding of HIV/AIDS in India follows a familiar discursive structure, founded upon the construction of "high-risk" categories. Women in India occupy particular positions within the HIV/AIDS discourse, based upon their caste, class and sexuality. This paper examines these constructions from a postcolonial-transnational perspective, arguing that they need to be understood within the history, concerns and relationships characterizing "India" and the "Indian woman." It also discusses possibilities of resistance through the formation of alternatives to dominant identity paradigms regarding women with HIV/AIDS in India.

Sikata Banerjee, University of Lethbridge
The Saffron Wave: Is Secular Democracy Under Attack in Maharashtra?

In 1992/93 the city of Bombay was torn apart by episodes of violent confrontation between Hindus and Muslims. The elite of Bombay watched in despair as the city they saw as the crowning city of Indian modernity was taken over by political actors who did not hesitate to maim or kill in order to protect the great Hindu tradition which in their perception was under attack in both Bombay and in Maharashtra. The political party Shiv Sena was allegedly the guiding force behind these episodes. The Shiv Sena espouses Hindu nationalism, i.e. that India is the homeland of the Hindus and minorities (read Muslims) can reside here only if they accept Hindu dominance.

On India's fiftieth anniversary it behooves us to ask whether Maharashtra will be guided by a definition of politics that accepts the dominance of one cultural group and does not emphasize the tolerance of minority rights. If Indian democracy is based upon ideas of peaceful negotiation and a tolerance of diversity, then we must ask whether this party will lead the state of Maharashtra and/or the city of Bombay towards communal violence and non-democratic rule? By using the Bombay riots and the campaign for the 11th general elections in Maharashtra to examine the Sena's ideology and mobilization tactics, I will argue that this party may have to tone down its communal rhetoric to participate in electoral politics. Simultaneously, if it does not do so, its ideology will create expectations that cannot be fulfilled. In both cases, the anti-democratic and violence aspect of its politics will only temporarily be a part of the political landscape.

Swapna Banerjee, Temple University

Domestic Manuals on Mistress-Servant Relationships: Constructing Bengali Middle-Class Identity Through "New" Codes of Conduct

In 1992/93 the city of Bombay was torn apart by episodes of violent confrontation between Hindus and Muslims. The elite of Bombay watched in despair as the city they saw as the crowning symbol of Indian modernity was taken over by political actors who did not hesitate to maim or kill in order to protect the great Hindu tradition which in their perception was under attack in both Bombay and Maharashtra. The political party Shiv Sena was allegedly the guiding force behind these episodes. The Shiv Sena espouses Hindu nationalism, i.e. that India is the homeland of the Hindus and minorities (read Muslims) can reside here only if they accept Hindu dominance.

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Dina Bangdel, The Ohio State University

Seeing the Unseen: The Kathmandu Valley as Cakrasamvara Mandala

Among the meditation cycles of the Heruka class Tantras, the Cakrasamvara Mandala figures prominently in the technical practices of Tantric Buddhism, and especially in the Newar Buddhist traditions of Nepal. Housed in the secret agam shrines of many Buddhist bahas in the Kathmandu Valley, Cakrasamvara is one of the most important esoteric deities of Newar Buddhism, whose worship and meditation are not open to the everyone, but only accessible to the select few who have undergone ritual training and initiation. Confining to these secret practices, Cakrasamvara mandala meditation is rarely seen by the general Buddhist community.

Textual references state that the Kathmandu Valley is conceptually understood to be in the form of the Cakrasamvara Mandala. To demonstrate the defining of the valley as this sacred diagram, the paper will explore the articulation of the mandala through the self-arisen sacred places within the Valley, specifically the pithas of the Eight Mother Goddesses. Furthermore, based on original translations of a Newar manuscript depicting the 64 forms of Cakrasamvara, the paper will also not only discuss the ontological source of the Cakrasamvara cycle in Newar Buddhism, but will also re-evaluate the role of the Astamatrikas in the context of Tantric Buddhist methodologies of Nepal.

Ian Barrow, University of Chicago

Towards New Histories of the Princely States

This paper is an attempt to explore new ways to write the history of 'Princely States' in India. Historians of Indian Princes have tended to adopt the disciplinary axiom that their subjects ought to constitute a natural, unitary category, amenable to conventional historical investigation. Much of the writing on Princely States has been descriptive of an institution, a system, or a form of rule, which presupposes the existence of a category of analysis. Such an approach fails to ask even such deceptively simple questions as whether there were 'Princely States', or if there were states how and why Indian rulers were considered 'Princes', while their territories were glossed as 'States', rather than as Principalities or Protectorates. Moreover, it is important to ask how one may write a history of the Princely States without writing a history of British policy towards those States. In order to approach the question of how to write a history of Princely States, this essay will examine the issues raised by the deposition of Malhar Rao Gaekwar as ruler of Baroda in 1875. Although the deposition will provide the structuring principle for the essay, the questions arising from it will have larger implications and applicability. It is hoped that the manner in which the history, status, government and person of the Prince are made problematic will provide a preliminary approach for writing the histories of Princely States.

Daniel M. Bass, University of Michigan

From City of Victory to Hippie Hampi: The Development of Tourism at Vijayanagara
The development of Vijayanagara as a tourist center has steadily increased since the mid-1980s, coinciding with the rise of archaeological interest in the site. The development of the tourist industry, which especially caters to hippies coming via Goa, has vastly affected the nearby villages of Hampi and Kamalapuram as well as the ways that Vijayanagara is presented and represented in India and abroad. The history of Vijayanagara and its attraction as a tourist site are conceived of in significantly different ways by the numerous people who visit or live near it, depending on factors of nationality, gender, class, and residence.

Through interviews with residents of Hampi and Kamalapuram and foreign and Indian visitors to Vijayanagara and analyses of travel literature and guidebooks, the development of the modern multifaceted tourist site of Vijayanagara can be traced. The tourist trade has fundamentally altered Vijayanagara so that it is no longer the historic city of victory, having become many different things to many different people, from a once grand and glorious Hindu capital reduced to ruins to a spiritual backdrop for a drug laden hippie haven.

Michael B. Bednar, University of Wisconsin-Madison
Megalith in Context: An Argument Against Chronology

Cists, pits, ossuaries, and fragmentary burials- scholars have studied the contents and construction of megalithic graves for over a century. During this period, the study of Indian megaliths have followed a general pattern. First, scholars classified the megaliths based on structure, creating a 'megalith typology' for reference and comparative studies. These typologies, when combined with stratigraphical dating methods and studies of grave items, have led to a series of proposed chronologies for megalithic burials. These chronologies have affected and been affected by a number of diverse theories about proto-historical India such as Indo-aryan and nomadic-pastoral movements, Aryan and Dravidian racial divisions, tribes and so-called "primitive" cultures, and ancient burial practices.

Recent research is raising new questions about previous interpretations of megalithic burials, their relation to other forms of burials, and the methods employed in their study. Using the recent work of Udayaravi Moorti, radiocarbon dating, and the archaeological records of Nagarjunakonda and other sites, this paper will elucidate some of the previous problems in the methods and interpretations of Indian megaliths. Instead of relegating megalithic burials to a "Megalithic Period" of South Indian history, the paper will propose that megalithic burials were one facet of South Indian culture. To further illustrate this point, the paper will conclude with a brief discussion of the relationship between megaliths, Buddhist burials, and Indian memorials.

William R. Belcher, University of Wisconsin-Madison and IMA Consulting, Inc.
Household Archaeology at Harappa, Pakistan

Domestic architecture is an important aspect of archaeological investigations and provides us with extensive information on the daily activities of the occupants and well as abandonment practices.
Thorough investigation of domestic archaeological deposits can provide us with a unique glimpse into the use of space and its changes through time, subsistence strategies and other domestic activities.

Archaeological investigations at the site of Harappa in the Punjab province of Pakistan has yield a large quantity of data concerning the development of this urban center during the third to second millennium B.C. Since 1993, excavations on the western side of Mound ET of harrappa have yielded a vast amount of information on the domestic architecture, primarily confines to Period 3B, the middle of the urban phase of the site, ca. 2,200 B.C. This archaeological assemblage provides us with the unique opportunity to examine household activities in a series of domestic compounds along a major street in the outside of the main city wall that encompassed the adjacent Mound E. Most of these archaeological deposits are confined to the middle portion of the urban phase of Harappa. Through a detailed and ongoing analysis of the small finds, ceramic assemblages and faunal remains provide a detailed understanding of the activities in this area of Harappa. Additionally, the large number of fire hearths that have been encountered have provided a unique opportunity to correlate the archaeological materials to a radiocarbon chronology.

Gerald D. Berreman, University of California-Berkeley
Indian Responses to Himalayan Ethnography: Center vs. Periphery

Field research in the Garhwal Himalayas and Dehra Dun spanning 40 years, supplemented by continuing professional contacts with north Indian universities and the Anthropological Survey of India, have led me to pursue a long-term interest in professional, political and popular responses in India to ethnographic accounts -- mine and others' -- of Himalayan peoples and cultures.

A six month Fulbright in Kathmandu's Tribhuvan University in 1994, and follow-up visits each of the last two years, provided an opportunity to conduct similar inquiries in Nepal. I report here a distinct and relatively consistent contrast between responses in the two nations among anthropologists, sociologists and other academics, administrators, politicians, newsmen, book sellers and a broader public.

The contrast is: in India, widespread embarrassment, skepticism, denial, rejection, even hostility, combined with a certain lurid fascination; in Nepal, curiosity, interest, acceptance, even enthusiasm and pride. Specific responses and events which led to and exemplify this contrast are presented, together with an analysis of its apparent sources.

The analysis hinges upon questions of contrasting familiarity with, and views of, the Himalayas as sacred geography, as contested socio-cultural ethnography, as political arena, and ultimately as center or periphery; as "us" or "them".

Kim Berry, University of California-Berkeley
Crafting Housewives: Discourses of Women and Development From the U.S. to India
The story of Indian women and development from the community development era until the 1970s is now quite familiar. Women who were farmers and craftspersons were targeted specifically as housewives, following the American home science model of development. This domestication of farming women in India, as in many "developing" nations, led to the disenfranchisement of women from the inputs and technologies for agricultural production. We can accurately gloss this encounter as another example of Western imperialism operating through the supposedly liberatory practices of development. But there are also more complicating pieces to this story. First, the practices of housewifery imposed upon Indian women had earlier been imposed on farming women in the U.S.. For while the U.S. department of agriculture had a massive home economics program, it did not reflect farming women's work realities. Rather, home economics extension work was an integral component of encouraging U.S. farming families to shift to capitalist modes of agricultural production. Second, Indian bureaucrats reinterpreted U.S.-based development programs for women in keeping with nationalist discourses of Indian Womanhood, both to fit Indian homemaking contexts and to deflect accusations of imperialism. And finally, these development programs for Indian women have been unevenly received by their recipients: some elite rural women embraced these programs, but many farming women rejected the government's attempts to transform them into housewives.

Ned Bertz, University of Iowa

Duellling Rhetorics and Dual Realities: Negotiating the Future of "Development" in the Narmada River Valley

India's Narmada River Valley is the site of an ongoing struggle between clashing development ideologies, a ferocious conflict which may profoundly influence development planning in South Asia. This paper utilizes evidence from a recent visit to the Narmada Valley to critically examine the debate over the Sardar Sarovar Project (SSP) by analyzing the dual levels of ideological contestation: that of rhetoric and that of reality. The proponents of the dam (and the modernization development paradigm it represents), including the Government of India and the World Bank, employ benign terminology to obfuscate the destruction the SSP will wreak. Meanwhile, the resistance movement, led by the Narmada Bachao Andolan, seizes a moral advantage by mobilizing the rhetorical power of tribals, tradition, social and environmental justice, and sustainable development. Underneath these duelling rhetorics lie dual realities. While the people's reality is more complex than the monolithic image of united, resisting, poor tribal villagers, it still starkly contrasts with the detached reality of development decision makers, dominated by elite, wealthy, urban, male Indians and foreigners. This conflict of realities will matter, especially as internal division within development planning and the resistance movement creates strategic shifts in rhetoric and reality. Yet it will be the discourse between the rhetorics marshalled by both sides which will negotiate the future of development. This paper reflects on the impact of the struggle in the Narmada Valley on this crucial dialogue.

Surinder Bhardwaj, Kent State University
Circulation and Circumambulation

Circulation and circumambulation are mutually interlocking concepts. Circulation describes the 'to and fro' fluidity of movement (blood, messages, pilgrims). Pilgrimage circulation assumes a center (or centers) with "spiritual magnetism" to which converge many pathways and which manifests at different levels of space. It develops a nested, if informal, spatial hierarchy. Circulation generates and fosters spatial geometries in which movement directed toward some center is essential. In the sociological sense, circulation both diffuses and changes tradition. Circumambulation is a movement around, not toward a center. It is also a movement encompassing an object (sacred spot, mountain, region, even a linear object such as a river). A circumambulating pilgrim recognizes the controlling power of the center, and tries to remain in its orbit. The local geometry of circumambulation is, therefore, circular with a solar or anti-solar directionality. This paper will explore the cosmological meaning of circulation as yatra and of circumambulation as parikrama in the Indian tradition.

Rini Bhattacharya, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
"English, Saab": A Discovery of India with Upamanyu Chatterjee

This analysis of Upamanyu Chatterjee's novel English, August: An Indian Story will focus on the conceptualizations of India within what the author claims to be 'An Indian Story.' The main character--Agastya Sen, who bears a strong resemblance to the author--comes to experience, during his tenure in the IAS, a cross-section of rural India and the bureaucratic construct of it for the first time in his life. The legion of his experience is a carefully cultivated non-encounter, carried by Agastya to the absurd extremes of literally shutting himself inside his own room, indulging only in smoking pot and masturbating. The abject narcissism of Agastya Sen cannot be taken by the reader at its face-value, for it is the point of departure for a critique/examination of the geopolitical space called India which sometimes invades Agastya's peaceful life as a 'cocoon.' Inside the shell of the cocoon, Agastya thinks of himself as an exile. In fact, he is not the only person to think of himself as an exile. His one friend who works for Citibank in India and another who is a graduate student in America suffer, as Agastya does, from a vague longing for a place which is 'somewhere else,' for a life that would be 'something else.' At the center of their dissatisfaction is their identity or lack of it vis-à-vis the geopolitical space they officially call 'home.' I shall examine the nature of the construction of this identity/non-identity and try to situate it within the broader context of the postcolonial, post-independence generation's experience of 'nationness' as a discourse.

Anne M. Blackburn, University of South Carolina
Choosing Their Languages With Care: Multilingual Buddhist Literature in 18th Century Sri Lanka

This paper examines changing patterns of linguistic interaction in eighteenth-century Sri Lankan Buddhist literature and the ways in which new linguistic choices formed an important part of formal educational processes created to define and defend an emerging Buddhist monastic community. In
the middle of the eighteenth century a new monastic community-the Siyam Nikaya-was formed in Sri Lanka's Kandyan Kingdom under the leadership of a novice monk named Vilavita Saranamkara. The monks associated with Saranamkara identified themselves with a 'revival' of Buddhist practice and, in particular, with a 'revival' of Buddhist learning in Pali, the canonical language of Theravada Buddhism. At the same time the members of the Siyam Nikaya developed new monastic educational institutions and a curriculum which placed an unprecedented emphasis on the composition and study of commentaries written in literary Sinhala for canonical Pali suttas, or discourses. The paper examines the place of Pali in monastic self-definition and the ways in which a particular type of Pali-literary Sinhala bilingualism (in a context in which Pali, Sanskrit, literary and colloquial Sinhala were all potential 'players' in the Buddhist literary 'game') became part of public displays of learning. It also explores the reasons for the increased use of literary Sinhala in Buddhist commentary during this period, and suggests some of the ways in which this linguistic choice helped to shape the nature of Buddhist education well after the emergence of the Siyam Nikaya.

In the mid-eighteenth century, a new monastic community-the Siyam Nikaya-was formed in Sri Lanka under the leadership of a novice monk named Valivita Saranamkara. The monks associated with Saranamkara identified themselves with a revival of the Buddhist sasana and, in particular, with the revival of Pali learning. At the same time, the members of the emerging Siyam Nikaya developed new monastic educational institutions and a curriculum which placed an unprecedented emphasis on the composition and study of commentaries written in literary Sinhala for suttas from the Pali canon.

This paper examines the place of Pali in monastic self-definition and the ways in which bilingualism became part of public displays of learning. It goes on to suggest reasons for the increased use of literary Sinhala as a medium for canonical commentary during this period, and explores some of the ways in which commentaries written in literary Sinhala were used within the broader-lay and monastic-Buddhist communities after the establishment of the Siyam Nikaya.

Cynthia A. Botteon, University of Texas-Austin

**Saving the Bengal Tiger: India's Struggle to Contextualize Standardized Models of Preservation**

In 1969, when the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) held its 10th General Assembly Meeting in Delhi, two key events occurred. First, an internationally standardized definition for "National Park" was agreed upon by members of IUCN. Second, the plight of the Bengal tiger in South Asia was revealed to an international audience. India, in 1971, entered into a partnership with the World Wildlife Fund and IUCN to save the tiger. The definition of a national park, set forth at the 1969 meeting, served as a foundation for 'Project Tiger.' However, when attempting to implement this policy, severe obstacles were encountered. First, national parks were to be 'inviolate,' requiring the removal of all communities in the newly created reserves. Second, national parks were to be 'national,' creating a long-lived struggle between the State and the Center over implementation and management of these areas. Third, the forest service's proclivity to view trees as 'crops' provided to be antithetical to the goal of saving habitat for wildlife. Fourth, national legislation specific to the cause of wildlife protection was largely absent, allowing for large-scale
abuse of State laws. In attempting to overcome these obstacles, India fashioned alternative models and definitions of protection suited to its context, which subsequently contributed to the evolution of the standard itself.

*Kristy Bright, University of California-Santa Cruz
Cool, Cool Beverage: A Bottle-Eyed Aperture on Desire, Masculinity, and Unani Sex Tonics*

This paper looks at productions of urban Indian aphrodisiacs and "sports tonics" in the context of diasporic struggles over identities of masculinity, virility and fitness. How does the Indian state attempt to regulate physical and symbolic productions of particular medicinal commodities as Indian and, more explicitly, Ayurvedic, even as Unani drug companies are distilling and exporting their own formulations of Indianness to countries like the U.A.E., Saudi Arabia, Singapore and Malaysia? Gendered constructions of desire, thirst and impotence in diasporic formations demonstrate that medicinal resources are not merely mined in a grand capitalist distortion of global labor relations and class consciousness. Rather, the bottle-eyed seduction of "cool" and "fit" in Unani drug marketing and imbibing relies on far more subtle and nuanced formations of gendered identity, religious pride, renegade nationalisms, and deshi/pardeshi debates about Indian "tradition."

*Sonja Brodt, University of Hawaii
Opportunities and Obstacles: Learning Environmental Knowledge in Rural Central India*

An assumption inherent in much development discourse is that, unlike formal scientific knowledge which must reach rural people through established communication systems, folk scientific knowledge just naturally resides in a population, particularly in those sectors which are most marginalized, disadvantaged, and distant from formal scientific information channels. Evidence from a study of tree-related knowledge in rural communities of central India, however, suggests that the presence of extensive folk scientific traditions cannot simply be assumed in all sectors of the population, especially the poorest. As with formal science, the dissemination of such traditions is highly dependent on the operation of myriad communication and learning mechanisms that are mediated within local communities. As a result, in some cases those individuals who have more access to outside information may also have more opportunities than their less-advantaged neighbors for expanding their knowledge of traditional practices and paradigms. This paper will explore some of the inter-related social, economic, and geographical factors that determine how much or how little disadvantaged people can learn of any type of knowledge.

*Robert Brubaker, University of Michigan
Defending the City: Vijayanagara's Infrastructure of Defense*

The rulers and occupants of the imperial capital of Vijayanagara were deeply concerned with bounding and defending both the capital's urban core and its 400-plus sq km hinterland, which was the focus of intensive productive activities and rural settlement. Recent archaeology survey has
focused on identifying the nature of Vijayanagara’s fortifications, and has identified a complex network of hilltop forts, watch-towers, fortification walls, and “horse stones” - strategically placed barriers to movement. This paper examines Vijayanagara’s infrastructure of defensive, considering the location and inter-relations of the diverse defensive sites, their sequence of development, and the information they provide on military, political strategies, and symbolic of imperial control at the capital.

**Edwin Bryant, Columbia University**  
**Indo-Aryan Origins: The Linguistic Evidence**

There has been increasing controversy, of late, about the origins of the Indo-Aryans, or pre-Vedic speaking people. The standard version of events concerning the members of this language group, is that they invaded, or immigrated into the Indian subcontinent some time around the middle of the second millennium BCE. There is a growing body of opinion, in India, that is opposed to this view, claiming that the Indo-Aryans have always been indigenous to the subcontinent. Although archaeology has failed to find any signs of an alien intrusive group during this period in the archaeological record, advocates of the Aryan invasion/migration theory point to the linguistic evidence as conclusive in this matter. This paper examines the principal linguistic arguments that are considered relevant in this regard, and will consider how compelling such arguments actually are in determining the origins of the Indo-Aryans.

**Allison Busch, University of Chicago**  
**Vernacularization, Cosmopolitanism and the Politics of Identity in the Shivarajabhashan**

The Shivarajabhashan of the seventeenth century Hindi poet Bhushan invites attention to issues of vernacularization, interregional literary communication, and the politics of poetry in the courtly sphere of medieval India. Bhushan was a ritikal poet who, like many of his contemporary literati, was concerned with transposing Sanskrit literary conventions (especially rhetorical theory) into the newly self-conscious elite literary idiom of Braj Bhasha.

The Shivarajabhashan is a Braj poetics manual which deals with the subject of traditional Sanskrit figures of speech. It was written at the court of the Maratha king Shivaji, probably for his coronation in 1674. The presence of a Braj poet at a Maratha court in the Deccan during this period complicates the notion of a fixed relationship between linguistic region and literary production in the context of South Asia. A text like the Shivarajabhashan shows us how a localizing tendency such as "vernacularization" also worked within a translocal literary sphere. The linguistic hybridity of the work (for instance, punning in Sanskrit and Persian) further reflects its cosmopolitan nature, and the complex interaction of literary cultures in medieval India.

Though reflecting elements of a new cosmopolitanism, the Sivarajabhashan nonetheless espouses a commitment to a particular group, namely Hindus. This poetics text doubles as a prashasti or encomium to Shivaji; it is suffused with scenes from contemporary politics. Often Bhushan's valorization of Shivaji's legendary exploits against Aurangzeb and other contemporary Muslim rulers
takes on a strong communal dimension, making this a provocative text for thinking about politics and community identity in courtly Braj literary culture.

**Bonnie Chakravorty, Medical University of South Carolina**  
**Coverage of HIV/AIDS Issues in Indian "Women's" Magazines: A Content Analytic Study**

At present approximately one third of HIV+ persons in South Asia are women. Throughout the region public health officials have recognized female sex workers as a "high risk" group and have targeted these women for risk reduction education. Lacking HIV information and the means to decrease personal risk, homemakers and other married women may one day replace sex workers as those females at highest risk for AIDS. Printed mass media magazines can be a potent force for informing women about HIV risk reduction and for positioning HIV/AIDS as a top priority on the public's action agenda. The purpose of this study was to describe the frequency and nature of current coverage about HIV/AIDS in Indian women's magazines. Results of a content analytic study of *Eves* and *Femina* from 1994 through 1997 are discussed. Trends in coverage and ways in which women's magazines can play an ever greater role in disseminating valuable information on the prevention of HIV and treatment of PWAs are presented.

**Chaya Chandrasekhar, The Ohio State University**  
**Manuscripts, Manuals, and Sketchbooks: A Redefining of Categories**

Hand written records of religious practices and drawings of images in South Asia are generally grouped under the broad category of ‘manuscripts’ by scholars. More specifically, ‘manuscripts’ containing painted images and written text are generally considered to be religious documents while those that contain drawings are regarded as ‘sketchbooks.’ While these categories serve to define the contents of the ‘manuscripts’ in a very general manner, the terminology does not distinguish the more specific nature and content of these documents.

A large body of Nepalese ‘manuscripts’ exist in the Valley and in various collections throughout the world. Scholars such as M.L.B. Blom and Pratapaditya Pal have made significant contributions to the study of Nepalese ‘sketchbooks’ and their importance to art historical research. They have grouped ‘sketchbooks’ under more specific categories, namely, ‘artists’ model books’, ‘preists’ manuals’, iconographic manuals’ and so on. However, even these categories do not serve to fully explain the varied purposes and contents of the documents.

In this paper I will examine ‘sketchbooks’ from the Los Angeles County Museum and attempt to re-evaluate the usage of the established terminologies. Using a nineteenth century ‘sketchbook’ from the Collection which, in particular, defies direct, simple classification, the paper will propose the need to refine the current classification system and create additional categories that allow a greater understanding of the documents.

**Sudipto Chatterjee, New York University**
Mother(s) of Invention: Prostitute-Actresses of the Late 19th Century Bengali Theatre

Calcutta, 1872. A special all male committee was formed by the Bengal Theatre that included some leading intellectuals and social reformers to decide on whether it was proper to introduce (prostitutes as) actresses on the Bengali stage. Among the committee members were the poet-playwright Michael Madhusudan Datta, the inventor of the Bengali blank verse and author of the first Western style original play, and Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar, the great social reformer who had helped prohibit child marriage and legalize widow remarriage. While Datta endorsed the idea of having women on stage, Vidyasagar resigned to protest the committees decision to allow prostitutes on stage. Although initially the Bengal Theatres decision attracted controversy and negative attention, very soon the idea became the norm. The womans body soon became the projection screen for ideas of nationhood he nation as woman, as Mother. The idea of the nation as the Mother had already been recognized in nationalist discourse, in literature and the general political rhetoric, as a mixed metaphor that combined European paradigms with notions of the mother goddess in Hindu mythology. But with the admission of prostitute-actresses into Bengali theatre, the idea of the woman-nation found a certain corporeality as a site of cultural (even political) performance, that it lacked in the realm of ideas. The outcaste prostitute-actress was now cast to play the Mother Nation.

This paper problematizes the idea of the Mother Nation with questions like how was the bodily presence/role/agency of the actress defined in this operation? How does the social reality of prostitutes elevated to be actresses contradict and, at the same time, inform the elevated theme of the mythic Mother Nation? Whose agenda did it serve? What did contemporary actresses have to say about it? How did this feed back into the colonial nationalist discourse of the time?

Griffith A. Chaussee, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Ab-e Hayat 1872: The Appropriation in Modernity on Urdu Literary Culture

In 1872, Muhammad Husain Azad began writing Ab-e Hayat, the first self-consciously theoretical discussion of Urdu literary history. Living in north India at the apex of British colonial rule, Azad was, for better or worse, greatly influenced by European modalities of literary taste and production, and sought to work his version of the latter into a project of reforming the "decadence" of the classical Perso-Urdu poetic tradition. Ab-e-Hayat, in calling for sweeping reforms, announces the advent of modernity in Urdu literature. Azad both tacitly and explicitly calls into question the classical categories that had operated in earlier times as an unquestioned matter of course. Ab-e Hayat can thus be seen as a gargantuan attempt to rethink these classical categories themselves in the light of what Azad has seen of European poetics. My paper will seek to demonstrate how Azad's project was more concerned with a difficult leap forward into a new kind of literary adequacy than with simply bemoaning an inadequate, decadent literary past and thereby "selling out" the classical Urdu literary tradition, as other scholars have recently accused him of doing. Episodes of half-baked argumentation and gratuitous aspersion aside, Azad's Ab-e Hayat is in basic orientation a work of great perspicacity in thinking through the literary imperatives of the new, "modern" epoch.
Geoff H. Childs, Indiana University

Filial Prestige: Notes on the Mnga'-bdag Lineage of Lamas in Upper Nubri, Nepal

Nubri, and ethnically Tibetan enclave in north-central Nepal, is home to a lineage (rgyud-pa) of married tantric practitioners (sngags-pa) who claim descent from the 8th century Tibetan emperor Khri-srong Lde-btsan. This paper will review the written and oral sources relating to the history of the Nubri branch of the royal family, and address the question of why they settled on the southern slope of the Himalaya during the 17th century. In addition, the paper will discuss the lamas' social standing in the village where they reside, and their social status in the broader Tibetan world.

Sharri R. Clark, Harvard University

Iconography and Context: A Study of Some Figurines and Inscribed Materials from Harappa

While some of the inscribed materials from the Indus Civilization have received much attention due to efforts to decipher the Indus script, a potentially rich source of information, the human and animal iconography of terra cotta figurines and inscribed materials such as seals and tablets has been neglected. Though iconographic artifacts are abundant at urban sites like Harappa, there has been no systematic anthropological study of a large corpus of the terra cotta figurines from any contemporary Indus site to determine the social context of these artifacts. In the absence of a deciphered writing system, the systematic analysis of these artifacts to detect patterns of temporal and spatial associations between iconographic attributes and artifacts offers the highest potential for insights into Indus religious and social ideology for which other evidence seems to be lacking. Considered in association with other archaeological evidence and ethnographic evidence, the iconographic artifacts may provide a reflection of Indus ideology and society over time which in turn may help clarify the Indus Civilization's relationship to the broader ancient Near East and its continuation in the cultic practices and traditions of South Asia, as well as provide a complement to the continuing studies of the undeciphered Indus script.

Signe Cohen, University of Pennsylvania

Romancing the Robot and Other Tales of Mechanical Creatures in Indian Sanskrit Literature

This paper discusses some famous and some lesser-known episodes from Sanskrit (including one Tocharian translation of a lost Sanskrit text) and Pali literature involving mechanical men (yantraputrika) and women (yantraputrika) as well as one mechanical elephant (yanatahrtha). I will discuss the functions of robots/mechanical beings in Hindu and Buddhist literature. In Hindu literature, the robot represents a masterpiece of human ingenuity, and robots are frequently described as being almost human. In the Buddhist tales, however, not only are the robots like humans, but the humans realize through their encounters with mechanical beings that they themselves are like robots. Although robots are mere mechanical creatures made out of wood, cloth and ropes, they give the illusion of being human, just like human beings appears to have a self (atman, atta), but in reality are simply a conglomerate of various psycho-physical features.
Frank F. Conlon, University of Washington

"What is the Meaning of Dharma?": Vishnubawa Brahmacari's Indigenous Representations of Indian Religion and Culture in Colonial Maharashtra

“What is the meaning of Dharma?” That question opens the Vedokta Dharma Prakash of Vishnubawa Brahmacari, a self-educated brahman lay religious publicist who flourished in mid-nineteenth century Bombay. Vishnu Bhikaji Gokhale (1825-1871), popularly known as Vishnubawa Brahmacari, gained widespread recognition as a religious polemicist, defending Hinduism against missionary critiques. However, when, in 1957, discouragement of open religious disputation curtailed public debate, Vishnubawa turned to writing. In 1859 he published the Vedokta Dharma Prakash, a lengthy Marathi representation of religion and culture grounded in Vedic tradition. Analysis of Vishnubawa’s writings will provide evidence of the diverse dynamics of what the panelists have called “vernacular construction of tradition.” Vishnubawa’s Marathi publications are of particular interest as they provide early instances of Hindu cultural nationalism, comment. In the course of defining “dharma,” Vishnubawa sought to equip his audience with a positive basis for defending that dharma and its self-defined culture. The text reflects a chapter in the re-statement and consolidation of “tradition” in early colonial western India.

Jacqueline Conrath, Independent Scholar

Beyond the Dark Room

THE DARK ROOM, a novel by R.K. Narayan about a wife helplessly suffering her husband’s infidelity, was published in 1938. In Hindu texts and custom the proper wife, pativrata, is so devoted to her husband that whatever he does is accepted humbly by her. For many Indian women this has not changed in all these years, but some few have found that they are not always helpless in their suffering. This paper tells the story of a few women who informally made a support group for freeing themselves and then many others from dependency in marriages of abuse and situations of humiliation. They show great courage and the kind of patience and self-sacrifice expected of Hindu women in the great exhortions they make in difficult studies and jobs in order to win for themselves and their children independence and respect. While they do not abandon the traditional standards of duty, they bring to them an innovative interpretation that enables women to survive by their own activity and to help others in similar misfortune.

Geoffrey Cook, International Institute of India Studies

La Politique: Sir William Jones in England and India

Sir William Jones, the great Orientalist and legal administrator under Warren Hastings, Lord Cornwallis and William Bentinck was a political Radical in the context of the second half of the Eighteenth century in Britain, but became a supporter of the East India Company’s colonial policy of “Enlightened” Oriental Despotism in the confines of his contemporary Calcutta.
This paper intends to demonstrate how this jump, which was to have a profound resonance on the history of British India, was made in Jones’ mind, and how he justified it.

This, the third section of a much longer study of Jones’ influence on India, which, in turn, is the third installment of a projected book length study of eight high ranking Anglo-Indian administrators who were also poets, proposes to look at Jones’ voluminous writings—especially his political and poetic work. The political writings will determine his intellectual positions on the debates of his day while the poetry will show how he was projecting those emotionally on a perceived world.

Sir William Jones, who ran for Parliament as a radical Whig while in England, also, supported the American revolution, was a firm believer in the right to bear arms, free trade and an expanded electorate. Besides his support for the revolt in North America, he was a champion of the economic theories of Smith and Ricardo. Further, he is now being re-evaluated as the first Romantic poet. Almost emigrating to America, the great scholar was offered a judgeship during Hastings’ Governor-Generalship of Bengal. Here he developed the British interpretation of Hindu customary law. He, also, supported the Permanent Settlement under Lord Cornwallis, and added his voice to a British position of “Enlightened” Despotism in the governance of her Indian subjects.

The ultimate goal of this paper is to understand how the contradictions within the Colonial project of the Eighteenth century were made consistent in Jones’ and, thereby, the British mind.

John E. Cort, Denison University

The Bell-Eared Great Hero: Protector Deities in Jainism

It is well-known among scholars of South Asia that there are two principal devotional foci in the Jain tradition: the liberated and dispassionate Jinas who symbolize the ultimate goal of liberation, and the unliberated and interactive mendicants who represent those who are further along the path toward liberation than the latter. Most standard accounts of the Jains also describe another set of deities, the yaksās (f) and yakṣas (m), known collectively as sāsana-devatās, who oversee the teachings of each of the Jinas. Most accounts of the Jains stop here when delimiting the Jain pantheon. But there are other deities who play important roles in Jain ritual life.

There are site-specific deities who protect temples and shrines, known as khetarpāls. There are caste-specific lineage goddesses who are shared with Hindus, such as Sacciyā Mātā of Osian in Rajasthan. One might easily suppose that all such deities are largely connected with lay devotion, but one also finds deities who are intimately connected with mendicant concerns. There are the adhīsthāyaks or presiding deities of each of the Śvetāmbar Mūrtipujak mendicant lineages (gacch): the tripartite Manibhadra for the Tapā Gacch, Ambikā or Bhairav for the Khartar Gacch, Kālikā or Cakreśvarī for the Añcal Gacch, and Bātuk Bhairav for the Pārśvacandra Gacch.

Finally, there are several other deities who in the twentieth century have played an increasingly central role in Jain piety. Foremost among these are two male heroes: Nākoḍā Bhairav, whose shrine is at Nākoḍā near Balotra in southern Rajasthan, and Ghantākarn Mahāvīr, whose shrine is at Mahuḍi near Vijāpur in northern Gujarat. The rise to prominence of each of these deities is
intimately connected with a particular mendicant, who restored, organized, and propagated the cult.

This paper will look in particular at Ghantākarn Mahāvīr, the "bell-eared great hero." While there are textual references to this Jain structural equivalent of Hanumān from medieval times, his current cult is due largely to the influence of the charismatic Ācārya Buddhisāgarsūri (1874-1925) of the Tañā Gacch. Local tradition credits Buddhisāgarsūri with receiving a direct vision of Ghantākarn in meditation in response to his concerns that local Jains were worshiping a local Muslim pir. Due to Ghantākarn's fame for responding to the worldly concerns of his devotees, in recent decades his shrine has grown to become one of the two or three wealthiest Jain shrines in all Gujarat, and over one-hundred-thousand pilgrims come to Mahudī every year on Kāḷī Caudās, the day before Divali. His icon, a mustachioed virile prince bearing a bow and arrow, might seem amiss to those whose only acquaintance with Jainism revolves around ahimsā. The central role of a fire sacrifice (havan) in his annual worship might seem amiss to those whose only acquaintance with Jain ritual revolves around the Jain critique of Brāhmanical practices. And the central role of mantras and yantras in his cult might seem amiss to those who assume that Jain practice is largely one of ascetic renunciation. The cult of Ghantākarn does not fit easily into the standard academic pre-understandings of Jainism; but in fact it is representative of contemporary Jainism in India, and thus gives important insight into Jainism as a lived religious tradition.

Jeffery Cox, University of Iowa
Master Narratives of Religion and Empire

Many historians will confess to a certain allergy to "theory", and prefer stories that give a "sense of place" through the use of colorful detail or ironic anecdotes. The revisionism that is the stock in trade of the profession is usually fairly simple. Either the historians who came before have got the story wrong, or they have neglected some aspect of it. I am convinced, however, from several years of work on the history of Protestant missions in Delhi and Punjab, that historians should pay more explicit attention, not to "theory" in general, but to formal consideration of history as the art of storytelling.

Historians' stories are often determined by the master narrative that lies behind the story, sometimes deployed overtly by the historian, but at other times allowed to remain partly hidden in the background, making the simple narrative intelligible. In the history of western missions in the non-western world, there are only three master narratives. The first is derived from the original narratives of imperialist history, which consigned missionaries to the margins of the imperial enterprise. The second is the celebratory history of the expansion of Christianity pioneered by Kenneth Scott Latourette. Finally, there is the anti-imperialist "unmasking" of missionaries as cultural imperialists.

This paper will outline an attempt to formulate an alternative master narrative of missionary work in Punjab. Taking my cue from some recent publications in the field of post-colonial studies, I concentrate on the contradictions within the missionary movement itself generated by the insoluble conflict between the imperial setting, and the decidedly a-imperialist and universalist aspirations of missionaries.
Cathleen A. Cummings, The Ohio State University
The "Asokan" Stupas of Patan: An Exploration of Their Sacred Meaning

Patan is a prominent Buddhist center in Nepal and is traditionally one of the oldest cities in the Kathmandu Valley. This paper will examine its four stupas, the so-called "Asokan" stupas at the four intermediary quadrants on the outer edges of the old city. The primary focus of this discussion will be the antiquity of the four stupas, the whereabouts of the elusive "fifth" stupa at the center of Patan and the possibility that these five stupas signify a mandala-like device protecting and containing Patan's sacred geography. By tracing the chronological development of the form of the stupa the paper will argue that the Patan stupas date to the early history of Buddhism in Nepal. The specific location of each stupa in relation to its immediate environment will also be discussed in order to confirm the early dating of each site as well as to demonstrate the greater function and meaning of each stupa within the context of Newar Buddhism. As part of this discussion the location and significance of the fifth stupa at the center of Patan will be treated. Finally, this paper will look at the relationship between the four outer stupas to each other and to the fifth stupa in an attempt to show how they may reveal a mandalic-like pattern defining Buddhism in Patan.

David Curley, Western Washington University
The Name of the Lord and the Noose of Desire: Didactic Purpose and Comic Action in Bharatcandra's Annadamangal

My paper will examine the VidyaSundar narrative of the Annadamangal, a novel mangal-kabya written by the court poet Bharatcandra, and first performed in 1751/52 at the court of his patron, Raja Kacandra of Nadiya. The paper will compare Bharatcandra's version of the story to earlier versions. It will argue that Bharatcandra has altered the plot of the narrative, framed judgments of his characters, and highlighted elements of spectacle in order to shape a comic action, win which the audience come to hope for an ultimately happy fate for characters with whom they have come to sympathize.

In 19th century Calcutta Bharatcandra's VidyaSundar came to be read and performed without its framing narratives. In the process its erotic passages were given a new emphasis and lack of context, or else bowdlerized and reshaped to satirize unconstrained erotic desires.

Shamita Das Dasgupta and Shashi Jain, Rutgers University and New Jersey State Office for the Developmentally Disabled
"Ahimsa" and the Contextual Realities of Women-Abuse in the Jain Community: A Cross Cultural Study

Domestic violence or more specifically, women abuse is prevalent in all societies. The focus of this paper is one particular community, the Jains, that is founded on the principle of active non-violence or "ahimsa." To what extent do Jains in India and the U.S. adhere to this fundamental belief was
assessed by studying their attitude towards physical chastisement of wives. Both religiosity and attitude towards women were scrutinized to understand their relationship to attitudinal and behavioral acceptance of domestic violence.

Kishore C. Dash, Thunderbird: The American Graduate School of International Management
The Dynamics of Interaction Between Domestic and International Politics and India's Nuclear Policy

One of the central issues in India's nuclear policy debate concerns the question of why India refused to sign the recently negotiated Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) which it championed for more than forty years? Why does India insist on linkage between CTBT and nuclear disarmament now, when it never did so before? Why has nuclear ambiguity remained the preferred policy option for Indian policy-makers than a nuclear regime or overt deterrence? The answer to these questions require an in-depth analysis of the interaction between international and domestic politics and how this interaction has shaped India's nuclear policy over the past four decades.

Although the dominant theories of regime formation, that is, neoliberalism and neo-liberal institutionalism, provide some useful insights, their neglect of domestic politics and exclusive focus on international system-level analysis have limited the scope of these theories to examine adequately the question of nuclear ambiguity of nuclear threshold states like India. In this paper, I argue that an understanding of the interaction between domestic and international politics provides a more useful analytical framework than a simple, one-level, state-centric unitary model to explain India's nuclear ambiguity. First, drawing on Robert Putnam's two-level-games approach, I explore the linkages between domestic and international politics to explain why nuclear ambiguity has prevailed in India. Second, I provide an historical analysis of the domestic politics of India to analyze the nature of domestic support for its nuclear policy formulations. Finally, I discuss the international and domestic dynamics to explain India's future nuclear trajectory and the possibility of a policy shift from nuclear ambiguity to nuclear cooperation.

Diane Daugherty, Herkimer County Community College
Will the Woman Wearing the Real Nangiar Vesham Please Stand Up

What is authentic? Is it the oldest known practice? Is it the practice recorded in manuals deemed authoritative? Or is it the practice that best satisfies the contemporary aesthetic?

These questions frame an investigation of the face painting and costume used during this century by nangiars, actresses in kutiyattam, a temple-based Sanskrit theatre form that survived in Kerala.

Richard H. Davis, Bard College
Early Sightings of Vishnu
In the epics and early Vaisnava puranas, several gifted humans experience visions of Visnu. The texts narrate these visions as something new and not available to all. Most often they come as the culmination of teaching or rigorous ascetic practice. Closely related to this, in the Visnupurana King Kesidhvaja describes a new model of yogic practice in which visualization of Visnu, rather than meditative absorption, figures as the highest level of attainment.

What is the historical relationship between this new emphasis on seeing God in bodily form among the early Vaisnavas and their use of icons as embodiments for Visnu to inhabit? My paper examines the early narratives of vision and visualization as one significant basis for the development of the Vaisnava cult of images.

Questions I will consider in examining these texts include: Who can and who cannot envision Visnu? In what settings do visions occur? Do these texts present an implicit psychology of visionary perception? Are there different types of visions? How closely do these visionary images of Visnu correspond to physical images of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods? What do the visionaries learn or gain from their experiences?

Rose M. DeNeve, Syracuse University
(Mis) Adventures in Paradise: Tourism Discourse in Himachal Pradesh

Himachal Pradesh has been tagged for increased tourism development by both state and central governments. However, due to its unique geographical features, tribal populations, and underdeveloped tourism policy, Himachal also faces serious challenges in growing its tourism industry.

While much of the tourism literature promoting travel to India represents that country as a land of exoticism and mystery, Himachal Pradesh does not offer tourists the sort of stereotypical sights/sites found in Indian tourism's Golden Triangle (Delhi-Agra-Jaipur). Instead, tourism promotions produced for Himachal by both Government of India and the state tourism departments hope to appeal to a different kind of tourist—one less interested in collecting exotic destinations than in taking a holiday or having an adventure. Relatively few of Himachal's tourists are the big-spending foreigners found in the Golden Triangle: In 1994, only 51,100 foreigners visited Himachal, as compared with 1.8 million domestic tourists, many of them summer visitors escaping the heat of the Indian plains.

Promotions aimed at these tourists generally tout Himachal's mountainous landscape, natural resources, simple lifestyles, and the restorative powers these are presumed to hold. For the more intrepid, the promotions also offer a number of adventure activities, including trekking, river rafting, and hang gliding. Finally, they hold out the lure of experiencing unspoiled, "primitive" cultures quite unlike those of the tourists, who are assumed to be urban, affluent, and Western or Westernized.

But if a visit to Himachal is, as one brochure claims, an "ascent through paradise," tourism discourse
in Himachal often shows little concern for the indigenous peoples along the way. Whether expressed as a marketing strategy or as destination development, it can create unrealistic expectations upon the part of both tourists and the hill peoples they come in contact with. Finally, tourists and tourism development can interrupt the organic growth of local economies, tax local resources, and catalyze undesirable social change.

The highly touristic area around Dharmshala offers a case in point. The village of Naddi, which lies in full view of the snow mountains about 1000 meters above Dharmshala town, has seen in recent years a tidal wave of unregulated tourism development. The village's inhabitants, who are Gaddi tribespeople, have found their narrow road clogged, their fields trampled, and their water supply threatened because of this onslaught. But more disturbing for some are the changes in cultural values that have been precipitated by the lure of tourism, which some local people see as both a modernizing force and an easy road to affluence.

*Steve Derne, SUNY Geneseo*

**Hindi Films and the Construction of the Private as a Protected Arena of (Male) Choice and Freedom**

The upper-middle-class, upper-caste Indian men I've interviewed emphasize their comfort in the private realm as a fundamental part of the good life. Husbands speak of coming home after a hard day of work and enjoying tea willingly prepared by their wives. Some husbands emphasize that in private wives should fulfill their husbands' every desire. One husband said, for instance, that if a husband wants his wife to wear jeans and a t-shirt, the wife should dress that way. Indian feminists have focused on how media construct a form of sexuality that encourages male violence against women, but there has been less attention to how mass media construct images of the private as a realm of choice and freedom that, therefore, should be free of struggle and government intervention. This paper shows that one of the biggest hits of Hindi cinema - Maine Pyar Kiya [I Fell in Love] - constructs the private as a realm of freedom and choice that should be protected. In a scene that critics and fans recognize as crucial, the hero asks the heroine to wear a series of dresses that he gave her on her birthday. She agrees to wear a skimpy dress for the hero's pleasure. The hero's gaze provokes a look of pain on the exposed heroine, showing how freedom and choice in the private sphere is more men's than women's.

*Indrani de Silva, Smith College*

**Himalayan Goddesses: The Deuki System in Far Western Nepal and Its Impact on High Caste Hindu Women**

My research centered on the deuki, a class of high caste Hindu women living in remote provinces of Nepal whose significant role in the spiritual life of Hindu society once gave them special standing. The study observes their forced transition to prostitution and struggle for acceptance and survival in contemporary society.
The deuki system was outlawed in Nepal in 1950, but still flourishes today in the most remote regions of far western Nepal. Deuki in Sanskrit means "handmaiden to the Gods." It entails the dedication of young virgin girls to the temples of eight Hindu goddesses. Here they were required to perform rituals and maintain the cleanliness of the temple. The deuki are not permitted to marry. This prohibition effectively prevented the deuki from acquiring economic support through a husband. Many resorted to prostitution as a means of supporting themselves.

The stigma of prostitution has left an indelible mark on the deuki and has largely contributed to their demise. Efforts by the Nepali government and international organizations has been only marginally successful because of the failure to address deep cultural roots of the problem.

_Aparna Devare and Ashwini Tambe, American University_

**The Art of Marketing Independence: Washington DC Events**

How have the cultural institutions of the US and the Indian envoy to the US chosen to mark the 50th anniversary of Indian independence? Our paper will explore events organized by the Smithsonian and the Indian embassy to see in what respects these coalesce in exoticizing the subcontinent. Do both concentrate on ancient India and on certain forms of art? What kind of modernity does this heritage industry champion for Indian Americans? What is the role of religion in their construction?

_Paul Donnelly, University of Wisconsin-Madison_

**The Ontological Status of the Ultimate Truth in Tsong-Kha-pa's Ocean of Reasoning**

The M’lamadhyamaka Kārikā of Nāgārjuna is held to be authoritative by all the traditions of Tibetan Buddhism as well as by numerous other Buddhist traditions. In his commentary on Nāgārjuna's magnum opus, Tsong-Kha-pa, the Tibetan polymath and founder of the dGe-lugs order of Tibetan Buddhism, forcefully argues for a very specific and perhaps atypical understanding of emptiness, the madhyamikan ultimate truth. This view could be seen as bringing what most held to be a transcendent soteriological truth within the domain of the conventional and placing it within the reach of reason. Such a view had some precedent in earlier Indian and Tibetan Buddhist traditions but the specific way that Tsong-Kha-pa synthesized Buddhist epistemological and ontological trends earned him renown as well as denunciation among his contemporaries and his successors. My paper will examine how and why Tsong-Kha-pa presented this unique understanding of emptiness as well as the broader religious implications of what some would call his rather rationalistic interpretation of madhyamika philosophy.

_Saurabh Dube, El Colegio de Mexico/University of Iowa_

**Contending Histories, Contentious Pasts: Tales of Identity from Central India**

This paper discusses the contested pasts and the contentious histories of a subordinate, untouchable community. Satnampanth, a heretical sect of central India, has an elaborate repertoire of myths, a
part of the community's oral traditions. These myths questioned and challenged the tenor of ritual power and colonial authority in the region, but they also remapped cultural conceptions of gender and order. All this involved powerful articulations of the past, a specific historical consciousness, which simultaneously underscored group identity and solidarity and drew the symbolic boundaries of the community. In the twentieth century, different efforts to transform the group turned its past into contentious territory, a disputed domain. Evangelical missionaries and Brahman reformers seized upon the oral myths to construct alternative written histories, contending authoritative accounts. These assiduously staged moves and manoeuvres, based upon a recognition of the importance of their past to the members of Satnampanth, involved an interface and interpenetration between speech and scripture, orality and writing, Satnami myths and Hindu histories, converts tales and missionary stories, and local legends and Brahmanical lore. Within these texts pasts stood reordered, and identities were redefined. But did these histories realise their end(s) in the past?

*Ishita Banerjee Dube, El Colegio de Mexico*

**One Past or Many? On the Construction of Histories and Itihasas**

This paper will explore the ways in which history is used as a negotiable and reworkable resource by focussing on the construction of an itihasa within a sectarian formation, Mahima Dharma, of nineteenth century Orissa. It will discuss how this past straddles modern conventions of history and traditional Indian notions of itihasa to combine an attention to chronology and temporality with a belief in the divinity of the founder of the sect, to place the founder within tradition and outside history. These moves legitimize this itihasa as the only authentic history of the sect. Yet, the attempts to stage a single history by gathering multiple parts unto a singular rendering, by ruling out divergent voices, by recording fluid occurrences as established facts, also open the itihasa to further readings and renderings, and engender the creation of rival accounts of the past which once again foreground the founder.

*Joan Erdman, Columbia College and University of Chicago*

**Towards Authenticity: Uday Shankar and the "Oriental Dance"**

In the 1920s Uday Shankar created Indian dances which were promoted and received by western audiences as authentic. Based on India's rich repertory of painting, sculpture and literary works, Shankar choreographed Indian dances for Anna Pavlova and later for himself and other partners. Uday Shankar and His Hindu Musicians and Dancers opened at the Theatre des Champs Elysees in Paris in March 1931 to thrilled audiences and exuberant reviews. As an Indian, a Bengali Brahmin and an artist, with a magnificent dancer's body and a keen appreciation of European expectations of 'oriental dance', Shankar and his works suited and appealed to the western gaze.

My paper, based on nearly two decades of research, is part of a forthcoming book about Shankar and the oriental dance, to be published on his hundredth birth anniversary in 2000 AD. Shankar's contribution to India's dance renaissance, his prominence as the first Indian to dance abroad, and his third generation of disciples now dancing add complexity to issues concerning his authenticity. This presentation considers his publicity and perceptions of his dance as 'authentic', and the continuing
questions of what makes an art form genuine, real, legitimate, and original and whether it matters.

Mark Felton, University of Wisconsin-Madison
The Role of Chert Tools in Craft Technology at the Site of Harappa, Pakistan

During the urban phase of occupation at Harappa, Pakistan, craft production dominated localized areas of the site. Two recently excavated areas provide a wide array of raw materials being worked and tasks performed, representing many important status and economic goods. Analysis of chert tools provides a method of investigating what activities were carried out in these workshops, as chert provided tools vital to craft processes. Edge wear patterns, tool classes, and manufacturing debris all suggest varied practices between the workshops seen archaeologically. Variation between these workshops and between different workshop neighborhoods will be discussed in reference to the associated craft manufacturing debris. The role of chert tools in perforation, as tool blanks, and in specialized uses will be integrated with the archaeological context, providing insights into craft production across the site of Harappa.

Tanya Fernando, University of Chicago
A Scene of Sorrow: The Ambiguities of Desire in Rushdie's Shame

This paper involves an analysis of a single passage in Salman Rushdie's novel Shame. The passage marks the anguish of a diasporic reality and is the formative moment in the novel. It speaks of the real story of a South Asian girl in modern day London - tormented by white hoodlums because of her race, murdered by her father because she has made love to a white boy: no matter where she turns, she finds only shame, shame into violence. I will read this passage through the modernist technique of shock; where the mechanisms of shock play out in a flirtation between neurosis and hysteria, desire and madness, bondage and freedom. The body in shock - the gendered body in shock - bears the indelible scars of a modernity that superimposes the shadow of colonialism upon an ever present patriarchy. In this reading I will attempt to problematize the place of this girl of diaspora in a configuration of modernity, the public space and modern subjecthood.

Michael H. Fisher, Oberlin College
An 18th Century Armenian Lascar: Joseph Emin in Calcutta and London

A range of Asian people circulated from India to Britain from the late 18th century onward, against the dominant flow of imperialism. Less attention has been hitherto paid to the substantial stream of Asians who entered British society at all levels. One of the most numerous immigrant groups consisted of lascars (Asian sailors). Despite British efforts to constrain lascars' contact with British society and to ship them out of England as quickly as possible, a substantial number remained for considerable periods. The proposed paper focuses on one Armenian lascar: Joseph Emin (1726-1809). Arriving as a lascar in Britain, he rose to the level of a gentleman officer before returning to Asia. In his final home, Calcutta, he encountered racial barriers to a career in the East
India Company's Bengal Army. Emin wrote and published his autoethnography, THE LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF JOSEPH EMIN (London, 1792). By analyzing his work, in the context of the experiences of other lascars, I argue for the complexity of the imperial process and the ongoing negotiations between Asians and Britons.

_Geraldine Forbes, SUNY Oswego_  
Saving Women's Honor: The Death of Elokesi

In May of 1973 Nobin Chunder Bannerjee murdered his 16-year old wife of one year in the town of Tarakeswar, Bengal Presidency. Nobin turned himself into the police and confessed his crime. The jury found him not guilty of murder on the grounds of insanity but the case was referred to the high court which sentenced him to transportation for life. "Bengal is in sympathy for Nobin," The Bengalee wrote. The real villain in the public eye was the Mahant of Tarakeswar, the man who seduced Nobin's wife Elokesi and caused the murder. The Mahant was charged with the committing adultery with Elokesi, found guilty, and sentenced to three years rigorous imprisonment. The Friend of India, commenting on the trial, described the victim as the seducee "killed by her unfortunate husband."

The Elokesi murder case inspired newspaper reporters, playwrights, artists, essayists, patuas, and photographers. This was an important case for defining what was alternately perceived as Nobin's authority and moral obligation to control his wife. The murder of Elokesi sparked discussion of the changing roles of women but this discourse was constrained by public sentiment which condoned the most extreme form of violence to maintain patriarchal values.

_Sandra B. Freitag, American Historical Association_  
Two "Ways of Seeing": The "Local" and the "Global" in India's Visual Vocabulary of the Nation

In the late 19th century, three new sources of visual materials became available, especially for purchase, to ever-larger numbers of people in colonial India--poster/calendar art, photographs, and the cinema (silent film). Focusing especially on poster and their production, this presentation looks at the visual vocabulary developed as these new materials became, through mass production, available for mass consumption. It examines how the visual vocabulary utilized became a way both for expressing and contesting forms of identity related to the nation.

Illustrating as well the place of India in a larger imperial context, two "ways of seeing" intersected in the new emergence of this visual vocabulary. First, a long tradition of South Asian narrative-construction (what, for convenience, we will call "the local"), inculcated through live performance, storytellers and their scrolls, state-sponsored sculpture and miniature painting, and worship activities, was brought to bear on mass-produced and mass-consumed items. Significations that helped to explain how the world worked, and where individuals fit into that working, began to be used and adapted through new media. Second, new technologies and increasing commodification of items for purchase by individual consumers entered Indian lives through the global connections effected
under the British imperial system and the broader intrusions of capitalist industrialization. The practices and meanings associated with the global 'gaze'—particularly the ability for small outlays of money, and the related creation and possibility of satisfying desire through acquisition—became thoroughly embedded in patterns of consumption.

Examination of the nexus of local and global 'ways of seeing' the nation takes us to the heart of the new processes and practices that emerged with the new media to help Indians make sense of the new world in which they found themselves. Working together in this nexus were the values to be protected (often expressed through the themes and figures used in earlier poster illustrations), the understandings of place (captured and re-produced in photography), and the ability to consume these according to individual desires and visions that immediately connected up to collective delineations of community identity.

Michelle Fuerch, Ripon College
See Paul Axelrod

Jayati Ghosh, University of Wisconsin-Whitewater
Structural Adjustment Policies and Foreign Direct Investments in India

India is the largest market in South Asia. Traditionally the development policies have focused on import substitution policies. These policies were expected to reduce poverty, promote a mixed economy, and produce goods primarily for the domestic market. Since the mid-1980s India has been moving towards export promotion strategies. In 1991 Indian policy makers adopted structural adjustment policies which led to rising foreign direct investments. The paper will examine foreign direct investments in India and the challenges faced by the country in this context. Also it will discuss the sectoral allocation of foreign direct investments.

Gautam Ghosh, University of Chicago
Survival(s) and Souvenirs in the 1947 Partition of Bengal

The paper examines the proliferation of "East Bengal" associations in Calcutta over the past twenty years. These associations are largely constituted by upper class, upper-caste Bengali Hindus who migrated from east Bengal/East Pakistan in the wake of the partition. Through an analysis of the activities and publications of these groups -- especially the Mymensingh, Dhaka and Sherpur Associations -- the paper demonstrates the complex interrelationship between various genres of representation and various forms of establishing a collective interpretation of historical experience. The role such a collective interpretation in the formulation of an alternative -- yet still nationalist -- collective identity is examined, in the context of competing representations of the partition experience.

David Gitomer, DePaul University
Wrestling with Raudra in Sanskrit Poetics
In the Natyasatra, his treatise on the performing arts, Bharatamuni describes the rasa called raudra as a kind of violent fury stemming from anger. Raudra can become manifest in men and women, gods and goddesses, yet it is fundamentally proper to the demonic orders, the raksasas and danavas. Both in popular understanding and in the Sanskritic tradition of interpreting the Natyasatra that is embodied in Bhoja, the term "rasa" denotes intensified emotion in an aesthetic context rather than transcendent aestheticized emotion. The work of Sanskrit poets, playwrights and aestheticians may be understood, therefore, as attempting to explore a kind of "humaness" when they depict or explain this sentiment. The taxonomies and exemplifications in sastras and literary works of raudra in terms of related rasas (vira, the heroic, and bibhatsa, the disgusting) reveal a set of cultural codes not only about the depiction of emotion, but also the very psychological arrangements that underlie these emotions. Especially as they wrestle with the issue of violent fury in women, they disclose a primal narrative ubiquitous in Indian culture but usually effaced in Sanskrit literature.

Janice M. Glowski, The Ohio State University

Manifestation and Invocation: Self-Arisen Deities and Their Relationship to Images in Nepal

For centuries, the Newars of the Kathmandu Valley in Nepal have served as artists for both local and international communities. This renown has resulted in the commissioning and creation of an abundance of, among other things, artists sketchbooks, ritual texts, sculptures, and paintings. Images of dieties fashioned by Newar artists figure prominently in the daily lives and worship practices of the Valley, serving as vessels into which dieties are invoked for purpose of devotion and ritual. However, the abundance and appeal of the crafted images has led to an overshadowing of the less visually engaging, but significant self-arisen dieties that manifest in the form of rock-outcroppings. As a result, the pithas, or sacred places of the self-arisen dieties in Nepal, often received only cursory attention by art historians.

The focus of this paper is to examine the important, though frequently misunderstood, relationships between self-arisen dieties—who are naturally manifest—from this who are understood to be invited to reside within images created by human hands. Further, by establishing this relationship, this paper demonstrates the fundamental and integral rome ithat self-arisen manifestations play in the Kathmandu Valley.

Gayatri Gopinath, Columbia University

Nostalgia, Desire, Diaspora: South Asian Sexualities in Motion

This paper considers the strategies by which those who occupy a “queer South Asian diasporic” subjectivity reimagine their particular, fraught relation to multiple national sites, and as such demand a reconsideration of the very notions of home, memory and national community. In tracing the cross-pollinations between two recent works of South Asian diasporic literature -- Shyam Selvdurai’s Funny Boy and Shani Mootoo’s Cereus Blooms at Night -- I argue that both texts rework conventional notions of exile and sexual subjectivity through a particular deployment of
nostalgia and memory. Nostalgia works in both texts to evoke “home” not as a remembered place of safety and comfort, but rather as a site of extreme physical and psychic violence, rent by colliding discourses around class, sexuality and ethnic identity. More importantly, the novels simultaneously lay claim to the spaces of “home” and nation by making both the location of non-heteronormative desire and pleasure in a nostalgic diasporic imaginary. The texts thus encapsulate what I would like to call a generative or enabling nostalgia that territorializes both “home” and nation by locating non-heteronormative desire firmly within the confines of “the domestic,” rather than as that which safely occurs “elsewhere.”

Sarah Houston Green, University of Texas

Mahavirprasad Dwivedi Resists the Romantic

Mahavirprasad Dwivedi (1864-1938), essayist and publisher of the influential Hindi journal Sarasvati championed Khari boli as the medium for Hindi poetry over Braj bhasa. He promoted with ready success a poetic that used standardized grammar and Sanskritic forms and intended that it be a vector of nationalistic, and social reform ideals. What may seem ironic is that this new poetry also delivered a brand of romantic realism. Even so, when the Chatavat movement sprang up and began to propagate the individualistic, “neo-bhakti” aesthetic of poets such as Mahadevi Verma, Nirala and Pant, Dwivedi strenuously resisted their style of romanticism, complaining of its pointlessness and opacity. My paper will explore Dwivedi’s attempts to demystify and debunk Chatavat poetry at a crucial moment of Hindi literary history and the significance of those attempts in relation to shifting Indian national and artistic identities in the early part of this century.

Gregory Price Grieve, University of Chicago

The Difference Saayaa Makes: How People in the Nepalese City of Bhaktapur Use the Cow Festival to Produce, Circulate and Utilize Sanctity

Secular scripture tells us that we are creators of the world, Homo Faber. While our other scriptures tell us that we are actors in a drama of divine creation and redemption, Homo Religious. This dichotomy obscures what actually occurs in such festivals as Bhaktapurs Gai Jatra (Cow Festival). In this paper, I maintain that the sacred is both real and made by people. And, in fact, that reality is very human constructedness is what guarantees the experience of sanctity. To demonstrate my point, I concentrate on the difference a fake (nakkaali) goat sacrifice made for the residents of the Bhaktapur Neighborhood of Suryavanyak. In order to articulate how the people of Bhaktapur generate and manipulate sanctity I employ three methodological tools: hallowed fields, religious technologies and sacred strategies. Hallowed fields are ritualistic social arenas defined by the experience of a difference which is perceived as extra-ordinary. Religious technologies create these fields; they are those tangible practices, buildings, and discourses which agents use to generate experiences which are different than the quotidian. And sacred strategies are the ways people use this difference in order to, in Pierre Bourdieu's words, "impose the definition of the social world most in conformity with their interests."
Most works on Forestry in South Asia have focused on state policy and the impact of forest restrictions on local communities. They treat timber as a self-evident category that needs no explanation. In this paper I suggest that timber management did not end in forests. Once timber left its bounded forest space, it acquired a mobility that was largely dictated by the seasonal flow of river, the availability of labor, and most importantly timber traders, who continuously staked their claim over various sites of timber production, passage, and distribution.

Timber trade was largely shaped by traders and contractors who emerged as economic and social beneficiaries through their direct and indirect association with timber. Contracts for felling and transporting timber, supplying labor and food grain, were some avenues through which traders earned their wealth. This indigenous urban and commercial community not only assessed the commercial risks and insecurities that were very much part of the timber enterprise, but it was also able to nurture and preserve itself successfully despite a colonial overlay. Along with the state, timber traders were able to incorporate pre-existing networks of exchange, create new itineraries of trade, and initiate an outward flow of forest products that were unprecedented in nature. Timber traders were not just facilitators to forest management, but were fundamental to the colonial working of forests. Thus, integral to the creation of a timber market in North India was not only the physical mobility of timber, but also the various relationships that emerged between timber and those who translated it into a product.

The globally significant, hotly debated and ubiquitously accepted catchword-Sustainable Development, defined by Brundtland Commission in Our Common Future.' as development that means the needs of the present without compromising the ability, of future generation to meet their own needs,' lays increasing emphasis on possible efficient management of available natural resources under strategy and planning that ensures optimal utilization, keeping in view conservation.

As a sample in-depth and integrated study with a view to finally test the dependability and overall common knowledge reliability, based on participant observational experiences, the planning strategy and technique followed so far for the development during the last four to five decades, Nadoti Block of Sawai Madhopur District of Rajasthan, India has been selected to generate, if possible, site-specific action plans at village level integrating natural resources information generated from the satellite data. Aspects such as hydrogeomorphology and hydrogeology, soils, surface and underground water resources, land use and land cover systems, climactic variations, economic and demographic resource patterns and social infrastructural resources will be evaluated and analysed through their spatial distribution setup. According to 1991 census report, the block consists of 94 villages and 101680 persons. The entire block area, despite favorable soil and forest base, suffers
from developmental disharmony, viz., lack of rainfall factor as well as water resources in particular.

Sujata Gupta, Central Government Health Scheme, India
Guineaworm Disease in Rajasthan: A Spatio-Temporal Geographic Analysis

Guineaworm as an endemic disease, dreaded and prevalent among the tribal, backward and less resourceful communities in many continents and their typical physio-socio-economic environmental settings, has faced, if not total, partial eradication (leading to can apparent and encouraging fall in its number of cases reported from about 14.85 million in 1980 to hardly one million or so by 1992-93) through efforts at international level (under the ergis of International Water Supply and Sanitation Decade, UNESCO, UNDP, WHO, UNICEF, etc.) On one hand and national, regional and local level organization on the other. Against the general humanitarian call of global eradication of guineaworm disease by 1995 by UN, the National Guineaworm Eradication Programme in India launched during 1983-84 aimed at its total eradication at the earliest under 15 point programme (even to ensure 1995 as an year of zero incidence).

This paper will attempt a spatio-temporal indepth analysis of the available epidemiological data of guineaworm disease incidence in Rajasthan at district block and village levels and as a case study of Jodhpur districts, considering various related aspects of drinking water supply (8 parameters), environmental sanitation (2 parameters), communication and training (5 parameters), containment strategy and field level activities, safer water supply, biocontrol measure against cyclops, intensified health education and task force group activities, etc. These data information-mix will be analysed, cartographically represented and appropriately illustrated involving variety of methods and techniques.

Shubhra Gurwani, York University
Regimes on Control, Strategies of Use: Foresters and Forest Users in Uttarakhand Himalayas, India

The everyday practices of forest use, control, and access in Uttarakhand Himalayas present a complex picture of the interaction between the local users and the local level state officials. Despite the strict classification of forests since 1878 into different categories of use, access, and management in India, the local foresters - the forest guard and forest department officials - play a central role in controlling access to resources and carefully mediate the complex state-society relationship. The forest guards are invariably formally educated, upper- caste men and use their caste status and their positions within the state bureaucracy to intervene strategically between the forest users and state rules and regulations. They selectively determine the extent of use for different forest users, the level of fines for violation of forest department rules and regulations, and the punishment for offenders. The decisions to control and manage forest resources are based on their caste and class allegiances and are legitimated by their status as state employees. The forest users are fully cognizant of various alliances and exploit the ambiguities embedded in the state apparatus and strategically continue to use and access the state owned reserved forests.
Kim Gutschow, Harvard University
Ritual and Social Complexity at the Sani Pilgrimage of Zangskar, NW India

The pilgrimage of Sani gnas mjal (lit. "a visit to the place") involves a 2-day festival on the full moon of the 6th Tibetan lunar month. The focus of the event is to receive blessings from a shrine dedicated to Naropa, a 10th century Tibetan saint who is believed to have meditated in the vicinity, as well as to watch the accompanying monastic dances ('chams). I will consider how this pilgrimage historically maintains social integration or solidarity and to what extent it resembles a self-organizing system. By focussing on social characteristics of attending pilgrims, I will explore how gender, village origin, and individual motivations are factors in the pilgrimage process. I will also examine how the catagory of women requires a revision of theories of liminality and communitas within the pilgrimage process.

Anne Hardgrove, University of Michigan
Community Values of Domesticity and the Worship of Sati: "Rani Sati" in Calcutta and Rajasthan

After the death of Roop Kanwar in 1987, and the attempts of Rajasthani villagers to worship her as a sati (immolated widow), the Indian government strengthened the colonial legislation on sati in order to ban sati worship and glorification. This decision has threatened the existence of sati temples all over India. The constitutionality of this legal ruling has been challenged in the Supreme Court by devotees of a medieval lineage goddess, Rani Sati. These devotees, all belonging to the Marwari migrant business community of Calcutta, claim that their worship of Rani Sati has nothing to do with perpetuating actual widow sacrifice. The Marwaris claim that Rani Sati is their lineage goddess, who protects them from calamities and whose pious life exemplifies a model for Marwari women. In this essay I examine how a practice such as sati, long declared illegal by the colonial and national governments, and denounced by feminists and social reformers, becomes a contentious issue in the cultural politics of defining gender and modernity in the Marwari community. I explore how the issue of sati worship crosses the boundaries of public and private by suggesting roles for Marwari women in creating domesticity and at the same time creating a public communal identity.

Lindsey Harlan, Connecticut College
Tale of a Headless Warrior: Kallaji Rathor

This paper explores the legend of Kallaji Rathor, a warrior who died during Akbar's siege of Chittor. Having briefly reflecting on various lacunae in the scholarly literature on folk heroes, it turns to an examination of a published poetic narrative and an argti (devotional song) that is a condensed version of the narrative. Both were composed by one Shil Sharma, a retired Brahman teacher whom I interviewed in 1991.

Sharma's composition is particularly interesting in that it evinces shifting perspectives on this hero,
who is typically worshipped by members of independent groups led by bhopas, shamans. Because Brahmins and shamans generally mix as well as oil and water in this part of India, I was intrigued to discover Sharma's compositions and also to find them in use during the Navratri rituals performed at the shrine for Kalaji at the gates of Chitto -- a shrine serviced by a Brahman bhopa.

Sharma's representation of Kalaji as a jhumjhari, a decapitated warrior who kills many adversaries before finding peace, varies significantly from other variants I have collected in that it is overwhelmingly preoccupied with rendering this bisected warrior a whole sacrificial offering for the goddess Jagadamba. It represents the love affair that occurs within the story as a means to a ritually-acceptable end: Kalaji's virgin bride Krishna is able to rejoin his severed head and body before cutting her own body into twenty-four pieces and offering them on his cremation fire. The tension between this Brahmanical rendition and narratives rendered by other devotees and shamans illuminates the pervasive tension between Brahmanical priests who maintain hero shrines (such as those servicing the royal hero shrines in Udaipur) and their more numerous and popular shamanic counterparts.

Douglas E. Haynes, Dartmouth College
The Reformulation of Social Identities Among Handloom Weavers in the Small Towns of Western India During the Late Colonial

This paper explores the formation of social identities among three weaving "communities" in western India: the Khatris of Surat, the Momins of Bhiwandi and the Padmasalis of Solapur. Rather than simply accept that these weavers perpetuated traditional identities as they moved from other parts of India to the Bombay Presidency and became more associated with urban centers, this paper focuses on how ideas about community and authority changed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I will look particularly at the social institutions that the three communities created in their urban settings as well as at the role of local community leaders, drawn from the ranks of the most successful weavers, in fostering new community values. The paper is predicated on the notion that certain commonalities exist in the process of community formation among handloom weavers in different small towns in the region.

Bradley Hertel and Meeta Mehrotra, Virginia Tech
Caste Myths and Festivals in Bhojpur

Many castes in Bhojpur, a stronghold of Hindu culture in northern India between Banaras and Patna, have myths of origin or other events or figures that they celebrate in annual festivals. We examine these myths and festivals celebrating the gods, godlings, saints, and military heroes important to specific castes tangifying widely in ritual status including Brahmins, Rajputs, Kayasthas (Secretary caste), Sonars (Goldsmith), Kandus (Small Businessman), Barhais (Carpenter), Lohars (Blacksmith), Mallas (Boatman), Dhobis (Washerman), Chamars (Leatherworker), and Dusadhs (Pigherder). The significance of caste myths and festivals will be considered in terms of:
--physical setting(s) for the puja (temple, shrine, at home, in an open field);
--locus of authority over the puja (Brahmin priest vs. own-caste priest vs. other-caste priest vs. self-administered);
--degree to which devotees ate inclusive of castes vs. exclude individuals not of the central caste staging the celebration;
--degree to which the celebration is ostentatious, particularly whether there is a procession through the village or town;
--nature of prasad offered to the honored deity (animal sacrifice vs. vegetarian offerings only).

Mary Beth Heston, College of Charleston
Dangerous Doorways: Raudra Door Guardians as Protectors of the Place of Transition

Doorways, the point of entry to and exit from religious monuments in South Asia, are dangerous places, their vulnerability to malevolent forces made evident by the protective beings that appear on door jambs. The apotropaic function of female nature spirits and river goddesses on early Buddhist monuments is expressed in the auspicious qualities of the bounties of nature they embody. Door guardians of the ugra or potentially violent type, recognized by their conventional fanged grimaces, wildly enlarged eyes and active poses, make their debut in the 7th century in Hindu temples of the Early Western Chalukyas in the Deccan; this type has a continuous development in the South and is particularly conspicuous in the arts of the Kerala region. This paper explores the imagery and meaning of figures that mark the point of entry to sacred space, focusing in particular on door guardians in the Kerala regions as signs of the place (and the state) of transition. I suggest that in Kerala these images, as well as those of certain deities and warriors depicted in sculpture, painting, and ritual drawings in colored powder, embody the sentiment of raudra (fury); an analysis of the shared imagery and function of these several types in Kerala may help to explain the danger of the doorway as a place requiring a powerful protector.

Alf Hiltebeitel, George Washington University
Raja Desing and Afghan Heroism at Gingee, Tamilnadu

This paper will discuss the Tēcinkurājan kai or "Ballad of Rāja Desing" as a probably early eighteenth-century text about a young Bundela Rajput king who dies defending the Gingee Fort in northern Tamilnadu, accompanied by his childhood friend, the even more youthful Mohabat Khan or Mōvuttukkāran. The discussion will compare the printed ballad with an oral version of the story gathered in January, 1997, which combines Tamil localizations with seeming traces of Rajput-Afghan culture. The paper will work toward conceptualizing the style of Rajput and Afghan heroes as they are conceived in the Tamil milieu, particularly as their deaths are narrated and commemorated in the stories and at local shrines.

Wolfgang Hoeschele, Pennsylvania State University
The State and the Shifting Cultivator: A Kerala Case Story
This paper traces continuities between the British colonial state and the independent state of India in a case study of governmental response to land degradation in Attappadi (Palghat District, Kerala).

The British colonial state functioned to systematize the effort to extract resources (e.g., land revenue) from India for the advancement of Great Britain. "Unproductive" land uses such as shifiting cultivation and dryland peasant agriculture were restricted wherever possible. Expropriations of land were justified by the paternalistic claim that the British were helping the backward cultivators to develop more advanced cropping practices, as part of the "civilizing mission".

After 1947, the Indian state systematized the development effort in the intereste of Indian elites. Evaluations of land uses largely followed British precedents. An increasingly environmentalist interpretation of the term "wasteland" intensified the view of shifting cultivators as destructive, and their claims to land unjustified. However, since the nationalist identity must include all Indians, the government tries to assimilate tribal shifting cultivators through paternalistic education reminiscent of the "benevolent" aspects of British colonialism. Thus, legitimatory elements of colonial rule were adapted to the attempted assimilation of potentially oppositional tribes on the margins of national development.

*John Clifford Holt, Bowdoin College*

**The Ballad of Pitiye: The Sinhala Assimilation of a Tamil Hero**

Through a study of eighteenth century Kandyan Sinhala poetic songs sung on ritual occasions, I outline the qualities, dynamics and orientations of two heroic figures. In the first instance; heroic idealization is the product of perceived this-worldly (laukika) efficacy; the hero in question, because of his mighty this-worldly powers, is worshipped as a potent boon-conferring deity, a bandara. class god. In the second instance, heroism is of a very different nature: the hero is actually defeated in a personal confrontation (a battle with the first hero mentioned above), but accorded an even more highly valorized status as a bodhisattva because, following his retreat, he withdraws from the world for the sake of altruistic soteriological (lokottara) pursuits. The first of these two heroes is Pitiye Deviyo, now a regional Kandyan Sinhala god purportedly of Tamil origins. His recognition as heroic and his assimilation into the up-country pantheon of "Buddhist deities" also reflects the growing spector of Tamil Nayakkar political power at the Kandyan Sinhala court. My paper concentrates on the nature of his heroism and the reasons why a deity identified with one ethnic group (Tamil) would be venerated by another (Sinhala). The second hero, the "defeated" one of the other-worldly type, is Natha Deviyo, a devolved form of the Mahayana Buddhist bodhisattva Avalokitesvara. My paper will show how the relations between these heroes not only reflect complementary conceptions of the heroic at work in popular Sinhala religion, but also the types of ethnic and caste tensions apparent in 18th century Kandy.

*Steven P. Hopkins, Swarthmore College*

**A God from Toe to Crown: Verbal Icons in Srivaisnava Devotion**

One of the most widespread tropes in Indian literatures is the sequential description of a god or
godess, a hero or heroine, from foot-to-head or head-to-foot. From the 8th-14th centuries in South India this trope—called anubhava or "enjoyment"—is used in distinctive ways first by the Alvars in Tamil, and later by Srivaisnava Acaryas composing in Tamil and Sanskrit, to describe the bodies of temple images. In spite of their elaborate lyricism and use of emotion, such texts are decidedly rooted in a "cultic" context of image worship (puja). I argue, after a close reading of anubhavas in Tamil, Sanskrit, and Maharastri Prakrit by Tiruppanalvar and Vedantadesika, that these poems not only offer us a vivid example of the dynamic relationship between text and icon in Indian devotional literature, but, in literally bodying forth the god, become themselves "verbal icons" of icons.

Mir Ali Hussain, University of Massachusetts-Amherst
Prescriptions for Faith: Urdu Poetry and the Radicalization of the Cultural Space

In an age dominated by global capitalism and its attendant inequities, the left finds itself facing the challenge of continuing its project of radicalizing the public sphere against mounting odds. In these circumstances, it is important to keep the legacy of the past fresh in our memories and draw upon the works of those who have gone before us, not for pithy quotations to offer momentary solace but as reminders of the struggles of the past and as powerful slogans of inspiration.

The lineage of radicalism in Urdu poetry from the iconoclasm of Ghalib to the communism of Faiz is well-regarded, as is the role of Urdu poets in the Progressive Writers' movement. In this presentation, I shall examine the part played by Urdu poetry in the radicalization of our cultural space and attempt to use the mirror of Urdu to understand some of our radical traditions and radical organizations. I will use the poetry of Faiz Ahmad Faiz, Kaifi Azmi, Sahir Ludhianavi, Majrooh Sultanpuri and Maqdoom Mohiuddin as well as that of some of the current standard bearers of the movement to both examine the past and put forward a model for rejuvenating the radical cultural space of South Asian America.

Deborah Hutton, University of Minnesota
Raja Deen Dayal and the Nizam of Hyderabad: Their Appropriation of Photography
Discourses of Social Identity

Art historians frequently speak of "influence" when they discuss cultural interaction in the visual realm. Recently, some scholars have suggested the term "appropriation," rather than "influence," better serves to illuminate the significance of the art in question. " Appropriation" conveys both the agency and ideological shift involved in the act.

The term "appropriation" can be applied germanely in the study of Raja Deen Dayal's photographs chronicling the reign of the sixth Nizam of Hyderabad, Mir Mahboob Ali Khan (r. 1869-1911). Early photography in India has been conceived of as a Western technology and an imperialist conveyor of knowledge. At the same time, the sixth Nizam often is remembered as the ruler who introduced Western styles and commodities to the court of Hyderabad. This paper will investigate Raja Deen Dayal's photographs of the Nizam's rule, not as a visual "reflection" of British "influence" on Indian culture, but rather as an artistic mode appropriated by Deen Dayal and the
Nizam for use within a specific Indi-Islamic context. The Nizam appointed Deen Dayal, one of the most celebrated photographers of his day, as his official court photographer, and thus his regn was visually recorded in a manner reminiscent of the great Mughal illustrated histories. This paper will explore how the photographs were created to promote the Nizam as an ideal Indo-Islamic ruler.

Ronald Inden, University of Chicago
Changing Icons of a Changing Nation in Indian Films

While it is possible to look for icons of the nation -- maps, buildings, flags, monuments, portraits of leaders, and the like -- as represented in the Hindi film, I look instead at the "family", at the drama of moving relations, as iconic of an ever-emergent Indian nation. I ask to what extent this is a plausible approach. I look at three examples, one from the 50s, the height of Nehru's India, one from the 70s around the time of the Emergency, and one from the last few years, the period after economic liberalization.

Qadri Ismail, University of Minnesota
"Homosexuality" in a Time of Nationalist Conflict: Funny Boy and Separatist Sri Lankan Tamil Nationalism

If nationalism as an ideology of sameness seeks the containment, if not the erasure, of difference, can it accommodate "the homosexual" -- a figure whose very existence threatens the heteronormativity upon which nationalism depends? If the answer to this question is found in the negative, how might "the homosexual" in turn respond and relate to nationalism? These are some of the issues generated by Shyam Selvadurai's novel Funny Boy, a rich text that locates these concerns within overlapping and at times contradictory discourses: Sinhala-Tamil nationalisms and nationalist conflict in postcolonial Sri Lanka; genocide; globalization; North American identity politics; migration and diaspora. While this paper can only gesture towards a few of these contexts, its focus will be on the continuities and discontinuities between nationalism and homosexuality in both Sri Lanka and North America. Reading literature not as evidence but as interventionary, this paper will argue a case for the essential incompatibility of nationalism and homosexuality. In its critique of the autobiography of separatist Tamil nationalism in Sri Lanka, queer subjectivity in Funny Boy interrogates the inadequacy and oppressiveness of nation as community.

Nalini Iyer, Seattle University
Reinventing Domestic Space: Gender and Identity in the Writing of Contemporary South Asian Women in North America

The experiences of migration and relocation are dominant ideas in the writing of contemporary South Asian women in North America. Many of these women writers belong to the professional class, and their writing explores the politics of domestic space. The writings of Bharati Mukherjee, Chitra Bannerjee Divakaruni, Anita Rau Badami (to name a few writers) reinvent domestic space as the site in which their women characters' quest for identity is
located. This paper will examine the different ways in which South Asian women writers reconfigure domestic space in order to discuss the experience of migration.

Priya Jaikumar, Northwestern University
"Untilled Fields": Colonies and the Making of a British Film Industry

This paper offers an analysis of the ways in which India, as an imperial colony, contributed to the formation of a "national" British film industry in the 1930s and 1940s. By the 1930s, film had become a national question in Britain, and an organized effort was made to articulate a "national film industry" which would be distinctively British in terms of economics and aesthetics. The contours of this film industry and the filmic constitution of its national image were defined in part in relation to the colonies that were fast slipping out of British control.

The anxiety generated by the loss of colonial markets, the attitude towards these disappearing markets, and the reformulation of colonies as symbols of a British national tradition are all factors that point towards the need for a serious reconsideration of where colonies like India fit into the history of an Empire that found itself shrinking into a Nation. Examining documents such as reports to the British Board of Trade, reports of Enquiry Committees, Parliamentary proposals, and pamphlets from the 1930s and 1940s, I recreate the context within which colonies functioned as a desired audience and as an anticipated market within the Imperial Imaginary.

The attempt, albeit a frustrated one, to acquire colonial markets for British films was defining part of its industry's preoccupations in the 1930s. As a report titled "Film in National Life" (1932) stated: "The British industry needs a larger market within which to extend its scope. The British Empire is an obvious field, but it is untitled. Distribution is largely controlled by American capital" (48). An analysis of the promise of the colonial markets, the British attempt to acquire them, and the frustration of that promise during this period is critical if we are to understand the position occupied by the Empire within the British Nation, in its transition to an era of decolonization.

Shashi Jain, New Jersey State Office for the Developmentally Disabled
See Shamita Das Dasgupta

Pradeep Krishnakumar Jeganathan, University of Chicago
"Violence" as a Problem: Sri Lankanist Anthropology in the Wake of Riot

In this paper shall use Valentine Daniel's important recent intervention, Charred Lullabies (Princeton, 1996) to enter into a larger question: how ‘violence’ emerges as a problem for Sri Lankan anthropology. I shall examine, therefore, the historical, conceptual and political conditions relating to the emergence of this category.
Laura D. Jenkins, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Another "People of India" Project: Anthropology, Identity and the State

From J. Forbes Watson and J. W. Kaye's photographic collections to J. D. Anderson and Herbert Risley's ethnographies, colonial portrayals of "The People of India" have helped to shape the societies they purport to describe. Scholars such as Thomas Metcalf, Gyanendra Pandey, and Bernard Cohn have critiqued the colonial state's "ordering of difference" and social classifications on the basis of caste, region and religion. Now the Indian government's Anthropological Survey of India is engaged in an ongoing project, also called the "People of India" (POI). According the initial circular about it, "This will be a project on the People of India by the people of India." The goal of this "National Project" is to generate a profile of each community in India.

What are the political ramifications of this project? Can it avoid the pitfalls of its colonial precedents? Purportedly apolitical anthropology, this endeavor is nevertheless sponsored by the state and uses the administrative categories of "scheduled castes" and "scheduled tribes," and "backward classes." Due to India's affirmative action (reservation) policies for these groups, controversy rages over their actual numbers and social conditions. Can the "People of India" findings quell these tensions or will they be exacerbated by the process of collecting and publishing data on each "community." Notably, one volume of the People of India project was released at the same time as the V. P. Singh government adopted parts of the Mandal Commission report to extend reservations to "other backward classes." The media used that volume to critique the findings in the Mandal report. The ongoing POI project, like the increasing demands to again count all castes on the census, signals a shift away from the decision at Independence to avoid official recognition of castes except for SCs and STs.

I became interested in this project in 1996 while I was a Fulbright-Hayes scholar in India doing research on reservation policies. Drawing on my interviews with K. S. Singh, who is the head of this latest avatar of "The People of India," as well as my discussions with critics such as Andre Betelie, contemporary media coverage of the project, and excerpts from the volumes that have been released so far, I will discuss the ramifications of such state sponsored projects. This current attempt to define "communities" and the "nation" raises an important question: What is the proper role of the state in collecting and categorizing data about society?

Paul Christy Jenkins, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Standardization of Harappan Pottery: A Reflection of Integration and the Formation of a Common Ideology Period

The results of a detailed examination of ceramics from two Indus Valley sites, Harappa and Mohenjo Daro are presented. The analysis focused on measuring standardization within the pottery assemblages. An intrasite and intersite examination of selected pottery types was undertaken to define variation in the ceramic assemblages. This is important because no large scale quantitative analysis of Harappan pottery has been published, leading Hoffman and Shaffer (1976:102) to question the perception of what constitutes a typical Harappan site. The sites of Harappa and
Mohenjo Daro are two of the largest ancient sites in the settlement hierarchy and represent core area sites. These sites were the focus of social, economic, and political power during the Integration Era in the Indus Valley. A better understanding of the similarities and differences between these two sites will provide information about the level and scale of economic and social interaction between large administrative centers and lead to a better understanding of how they exercised control over the Indus Valley region. The close interaction between these sites should be reflected in the pottery assemblage if it served an integrating role and helped maintain a common ideology.

_May Joseph, New York University_

**Asians Out of East Africa**

I will explore the links between the political representation of Asians in East Africa, their ambiguity as a constituent minority, and the framing narrative of passivity which accompanied their expulsion from Uganda. One underlying objective will be to draw on pan-Africanist interests in Gandhi as a civil rights advocate, while unpacking the stereotypes associated with non-violence as passivity that has implicitly embroiled the Asian communities in East Africa in contradiction with their lived involvement in political struggles. The mass exodus of Asians from Uganda overnight in 1972 encapsulates their vulnerability as well as their import to the political economy of the region. By revisiting this historically decisive moment of forced migration for Asians in East Africa, I shall elaborate on some of the psychic economies at play in the production of East African Asian cultural citizenship, in relation to the Gandhian strategies deployed by Kenyatta and Nyerere with powerful consequences. The uneasy dependence between East Africa and its Asians will be the focus through these perusals of non-violence and citizenship.

_Jyotsna Kapur, Northwestern University_

**It's a Small World After All: Globalization, Television and the Transformation of Childhood in India**

One of the profound changes accompanying capitalist expansion in the US at the turn of the 20th century has been the construction of children as consumers. Marketing to children over their parents heads through television and new media technologies such as the internet threaten the privacy and sanctity of the bourgeois home and parental authority within it. Increasingly, the bourgeois family finds it impossible to stand as a buffer between its children and the market. This is a major transformation from 19th century romantic notions of childhood as a state of innocence protected from the market within the institution of the school and the family. There is consequently in the West a popular, deeply felt discourse about the disappearance of childhood.

In this paper I discuss the changes in the experience of and ideas about childhood in India as a consequence of globalization. Since 1991, when the Indian government publicly announced the economic policy of privatization and liberalization a large number of multinationals that produce children's goods along with children's commercial television has arrived in India. I argue that in spite of a surface homogenization of children's culture the transformation of childhood is
experienced very differently in India as compared with the US because India as a Third World country is not organized as an economy of consumption. This paper is part of the larger body of work that has pointed out that childhood is a social contraction. In this instance I specify this in terms of class and nation within the historical context of late capitalism.

*Charles H. Kennedy, Wake Forest University*

**Multi-Tasking NGOs and the State on Bangladesh**

The "crucial role" NGOs play in the development process is rarely challenged in Bangladesh. This is particularly problematic as the largest such NGOs (Grameen Bank and the Bangladesh Rural Action Committee [BRAC]) control vast resources and arguably possess greater capabilities than the state in certain policy arenas. Indeed, it is not uncommon for officials of such NGOs and Bangladesh government official alike to speak of NGO programs as displacing or supplanting existing governmental programs. First, what is the relationship between such NGOs and the institutions of the state -- Bangladesh's oft-maligned bureaucracy? Second, how do these NGOs advance the development process?; how is the process framed?; how is success measured? Third, how are NGOs portrayed to domestic audiences; to the external donor community?

*Jonathan Mark Kenoyer, University of Wisconsin-Madison*

**Culture Change During the Late Harappan Period at Harappa: New Insights on Vedic Aryan Issues**

Recent excavations at the site of Harappa have uncovered important patterns of continuity and change in technology and material culture during the Late Harappan occupation, 1900 to 1700 B.C. Preliminary analysis of these patterns supports a strong continuity in technology and crafts in conjunction with significant changes in extra-regional trade contacts. This paper will discuss the implications of the patterns with regard to past and current models for the rise of Vedic Aryan communities in the northeastern subcontinent.

*Fauzia Afzal Khan, Mountclair University*

**Theme of Partition and Three Generations of Pakistani Women Writing in English: An Analysis of the Works of Mumtaz**

Fifty years after the division of land into Pakistan and India might be a useful time to ponder anew the division of hearts that has served as a major trope in the fictional writings of so many subcontinental writers to date. I will examine this trope as it structures the novels of three Muslim women writers writing in English, two of whom became Pakistani citizens while the third moved to England after Partition. Mumtaz Shahnawaz' autobiographical novel The Heart Divided, was first published after her early death in 1948. Attia Hosain's Sunlight on a Broken Novel was published in 1961; and Meher Nigar Masroor's novel, Shadows of Time, was also published posthumously in 1987.
In all of these works, there is a failed love affair between a Hindu woman and a Muslim man that underscores the separation between the two communities. The questions I want to explore in my reading of these novels are: why do these attempts fail? Who/what is blamed for these failures? How does such failure work within the narrative? Does it hinder or impel the narrative forward? What can be learned about nationalist constructions of gender through these portrayals of Hindu women and Muslim men of a particular class--through the lens of these upper-class Muslim women writers. How are Hindu women being compared to their Muslim counterparts? How are the men? What can we understand about nationalist ideology and the Partition itself as gendered constructs through such a narrative trope?

R. S. Khare, University of Virginia

Hindi Guides on Women's Appropriate Behavior: Men Writers, Dharma, Modernity, and Cautious Change

The paper compares two accounts of "appropriate" language and life-style for married Hindu women (suhagan), based on two Hindi-Sanskrit guides, written by men during this century from the Delhi-Lucknow cultural region. One guide (1905) is a subodhini (intelligible guide) for women, while the other (1952) is a two-volume general exposition of "whys and wherefores" from textual and "lived" Hindu cultural viewpoints. Although predictably convergent on main contents, each reflects and justifies his different (often implicit) discourse assumptions and approach to Hindu women (and womankind), modern times, and recent critics of "proper" Hindu ways. Paradoxically, however, the earlier account aims to have knowledgeable, self-aware women while the later one evokes strict scriptural and orthodox social standards. Yet both want to guide their readers away not only from ignorance but also "untenable," "misdirected," and "harmful" knowledge. While expliciting such differences, the paper, in conclusion, accounts for a third piece written in late eighties in Hindi by a modern woman writer who, on balance, argues for only "cautious change" in Indian women's social ways.

Michael J. Khoo, University of Colorado

Principles of Spatial Organization in the Newly Emerging Pilgrimage at Phokar Dzong, Ladakh

The Tibetan Buddhist pilgrimage to Phokar Dzong takes place on the feast day of Guru Rinpoche (Padmasambhava), the 10th day of the 5th Tibetan lunar month. The site at Phokar, accessible only through a narrow ravine or a steep mountain pass, is a large natural bowl containing a number of sacred sites such as caves, springs, trees, and distinctive rock formations. This pilgrimage, which has become popular within the last ten years, takes place over several days, and consists of a number of levels of spatial organization, all involving circumambulation, including: the trek to the site and back down the mountain; the walk around the site itself; circumambulations around various features; and sometimes inner circumambulations within these. Mathematical concepts of isomorphism and self-similarity will be used to demonstrate that these patterns are manifestations of cosmological principles at different spatial scales, which are used to generate meaning for the pilgrims.
Rebecca Klenk, University of Washington  
**Globalizing Processes, Localized Lives: Discourses of Development and Gender in Personal Narrative**

Recent scholarship has exposed "development" as a construct modeling a historically specific (i.e., Western) project, arguing persuasively that development discourse reproduces a power asymmetry in which local worlds may be razed then recontained in a network of concepts that issue from and reinforce a specific view of modernity. However, transnational processes such as modernity and development are always produced in everyday activities and ordinary conversations. This paper explores the negotiation of global development processes within local practices and discursive spaces that generate their own modernities by examining what it means to be "developed" and the role of "education" in realizing this condition. It analyzes how "education" becomes a trope for a complex set of yearnings in the personal narratives of graduates, teachers, and students at a Gandhian school for women and girls in rural Uttar Pradesh. Focusing upon their variable and varied appropriations of ideas, this paper argues that lived experience is never entirely colonized within the spaces of such shifting hegemonic formations as "development." Moreover, it suggests that the appropriation of development discourse by those whom development has constituted as its object can become a potent site where the legitimacy of the state may be contested.

Daniel Klingensmith, University of Chicago  
**Building India's "Modern Temples": Indians and Americans in the Damodar Valley Corporation, 1945-1960**

This paper discusses the Indian attempt to emulate, and the American attempt to export, a development model based on the precedent of the New Deal's Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). In particular, it examines the experiences of, and ideological representations made by, the Indian administrators involved in setting up the Damodar Valley Corporation (DVC), once often hailed as "India's TVA," and at the same time, the experiences of and representations made by some of the TVA employees who advised the DVC in its early years. Jawaharlal Nehru once claimed that India's temples in the new, modern age would be its dams, hydroelectric plants, and factories. The DVC's dams and plants were central objects in this post-independence imagination of progress and modernity; development in the style it adopted was also central, in another way, to American self-fashionings in the postwar era. More skeptical later views have seen this kind of development as mere copying of the West, evidence of a continued colonization of political consciousness.

I argue that there was something else going on other than simple, technically straightforward American "teaching," and Indian "learning," in the construction of the Damodar Valley in the image of the TVA. Both Americans and Indians were very selective about what parts of TVA, and America more generally, they considered relevant to India. A close reading of various popular and journalistic accounts of TVA and DVC suggests a complex process in which American conditions were projected onto India and vice versa, and in which Indians and Americans claim to 'be doing the same thing but were in fact working for significantly different ends. The political failure of Sudhir Sen, DVC's first chief executive, who took TVA more seriously as a model than did his colleagues,
suggests the limits of any simple explanation of Indian development as merely "copying" the West. Instead, I want to emphasize, while development CAN usefully be related to colonialism, we need to think of the politics of both in terms that privilege agency and collaboration. Development, not unlike the colonialism that preceded it, has in some senses been a hierarchicized collaboration between different elites, pursuing different goals through a common means, making different (and perhaps equally discomfitting) claims by means of a shared vocabulary. Like colonialism, development too has had a complex politics, in which there are a variety of different actors with different motivations and agendas, though all may claim the same allegiances. In short, I hope here to suggest a more subtle and nuanced account of the relationship between development and colonialism.

David M. Knipe, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Balancing Raudra and Santi: Rage and Repose in States of Possession

This paper derives from field work in the Godavari Delta of costal Andhra with a focus on possession phenomena concerning the spirits of deceased children on one hand (virakanyaka-s for female children, viranna-s for male children, virabhadra-s being an appellation for either males or females), and a variety of neighborhood goddesses on the other hand (Mutyalamma, Gangamma, Satyamma, Somalamma, Nokalamma, etc.). Among the concerns addressed by this paper will be the distinctions expressed by possessed individuals between the rage, fury, anger (Telugu raudram) of normal human emotions, the rage of divinized deceased children who have suffered untimely deaths and cosmic marginalization, and the rage of neighborhood goddesses with specific agendas in sacred space and time. Also explored will be the distinctions between male and female possession states when either a male or female spirit or deity has come on to them.

Stanley A. Kochanek, Pennslyvania State University

Business and the New Economic Policy in South Asia

The 1990s has seen the global wave of economic liberalization sweep across the Indian subcontinent. Although the scope and pace of liberalization policies have varied from county to county in South Asia, the policy shift has had a profound effect on private sector development, collective action and business-government relations. Liberalization has threatened established business elites, altered the organization and behavior of industry association and increased the lobbying power of the business community in the region. Because of this varied impact, the reaction of South Asian business to the new economic policies have been mixed. While most South Asian businessmen have welcomed the move toward deregulation, decontrol and privatization of public sector enterprises, they have stoutly resisted efforts to reduce protective tariffs for domestic industry, the opening up of trade and investment to foreign multinationals and the move toward globalization of the economy. In short the impact of the new economic policy has altered fundamentally the role of business in South Asia.

Pauline Kolenda, University of Houston
Maternal Birth Experiences in a U. P. Village: 1950's, 1980's, 1990's

In the Rajput-dominated village of Khalapur in western Uttar Pradesh, during the 1950s through the 1980s, most wives of all castes gave birth in rooms in the women’s quarters of their susral (in-law’s residence), tended by a Harijan midwife. In the 1980s only a handful of women birthed in a hospital. Few received labor-inducing injections from local medical practitioners, even though many women reported excessively lengthy labor. Despite the lack of trained medical personnel in attendance at birth, infant mortality began decreasing markedly during the 1950s and continued to decline sharply during the 1960s and and 1970s among high caste and Muslim mothers. Causes of death at birth and shortly thereafter included breach birth, premature birth, tetanus, fever, and the child’s inability to suckle. Research during the summer of 1997 will assess contemporary conditions of birthing and analyze what they reflect about broader social and economic changes.

Satish Kolluri, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

Economic Liberalization and Cultural Nationalism: Two Sides of the Same Coin

The discourses of economic liberalization and cultural nationalism in India have two things in common: they are both based on the practice of exclusion steeped in bourgeois ideology that is derivative in nature. While one operates in the economic realm by supposedly producing ‘pure subjectlessness,’ the other (of liberalization) is deeply anchored in identitarian contestations. In this paper, we contend that in order to comprehend the homogenizing and heterogenizing impulses of liberalization and nationalism in the context of what we fashionably call ‘globalization,’ one should seek out the changing articulations between economy and culture in various social contexts. With this in mind, our approach attempts to unravel some of the contradictions inherent in hindu nationalist ideology which embraces the economic principles espoused by Western structures of dominance. While this is done by way of endorsing private initiatives at the expense of distributive justice, this move simultaneously rejects the concomitant cultural baggage that accompanies the above ideology by reinforcing India’s cultural autonomy in the face of cultural invasion from the west.

Amitava Kumar, University of Florida-Gainesville

Against Solitude

Whether it is because of poetry’s affectation, an affection that is traceable to the strains of Western romantic tradition, or wether it is because poetry everywhere must mourn the absence of the reader, especially if the reader is thought of in terms of a collective, whatever be the reason, it is true that the post-colonial poet speaks from -- and even, someties, only about -- the condition of solitude. Maheshwar, a journalist and poet of the Indian People’s Front, written from his hospital bed just before his death:

“My friends do not want to stick by my side/beyond the ritual exchanges about our well-being./ Itis right at this point/ that my loneliness descends/ and like the dusk spreading in the sky/ fills the
corners and the insides of my brain. This loneliness alone is my strength/ in its womb/ takes birth my desire to live... You will be finished--/ you will be killed/ because--/ when did you learn in life/ the politics of sharing with someone/ someone’s loneliness.”

This is no ordinary loneliness, after all it insists on a shared condition. Yes; and yet, as a repeated gesture, it marks the poet, however self-critically, as nevertheless solitary. This writing finds its echo in the diaspora in the admirable, oppositional poetry of the Indian poet Ved Prakash Vatuk. Is the poignant lament of Vatuk, an immigrant in the U.S., the most effective one available to us? “To each community/ I have become/ nothing more/ than a lost part/ of some other “they.”/ My home is a prison of time/ the world my exile.”

In conjunction with a brief reading of my own poetry, from my collection No Tears for the N.R.L., I’d like to put forward the argument that our South Asian writing diaspora must simultaneously invent and embrace its public. This has to be a writing against solitude. For this to happen, poetry will have to step into the world. It will need to inaugurate another politics of affiliation.

Shanti Kumar, Indiana University
Imagined Communities, Real Differences: The Politics of Television in India

The world we live in, as Homi Bhabha suggests, is a site of vulgar hybridity where boundaries of difference become the transgressive centers of identity and conventional centers of identity become the new boundaries of difference. We are only now beginning to understand the implications of ‘polycentric’ corporations like Coca Cola and PepsiCo which can claim to be at once multi-national and multi-local in a ‘borderless’ world of global capitalism. We are witnessing the rise of global networks that can at once broadcast globally and narrowcast for local needs. The meteoric rise of STAR TV in Asia and the mushrooming of vernacular television in India is a case in point. Although there is the supposed threat to the imagined community of nationalism because of global media networks, in many postcolonial nations we are today witnessing a strong and vibrant growth in national television. The case of Indian national television, Doordarshan, is an illustrative example of how national TV can consolidate economic, social, and cultural power even in the face of global networks such as STAR TV. In the context of the discourse of global, national, and local television in India, the question I seek to address is: How can we explain the simultaneous rise and fall of national TV without being seduced by theories of a "borderless world" or by fashionable postmodern celebrations of radical localization in the rise of the vernacular?

Elspeth Kydd, University of Toledo and Radha Subramanyam, New York University
Nations Fall Apart: Changing Imaginings of the Nation in Colonial Television Narratives from the Jewel in the Crown to Rhodes

This article focuses on British colonial television narratives from the eighties and nineties. It analyzes The Jewel in the Crown (Granada, 1984) and Rhodes (BBC, 1996) in the context of post-colonial debates of the nation and developing theories of sexuality.
Both The Jewel in the Crown and Rhodes are historically specific in how they narrate the nation — historically specific, that is, to the moments of their production rather than those of their narrative engagement. The two narrative moments involve nations in crises (the Indian Independence and the Scramble for Africa), yet, like all (re)writings of history, speak in significant ways of the moments of their birth (80's and 90's Britain). The narrations of nations by these texts ultimately delink imperial history from "third world" traumas. Such historical specificity in narrating the nation is as true of rearticulations in the field of theory, from which these texts cannot be removed.

The differences between the two series are further evident in how the texts engage with questions of sexuality — movements in queer theory are reflected in the changing deployment of gay characters. At the same time the absence of the native woman is marked in The Jewel in the Crown and Rhodes, while both queer theory and post-colonial theory have surmounted this delinquency. This fundamental structuring absence reflects a historical positioning of women within discourses of imperialism that is also being engaged by current work.

Despite their differences both texts are united in their offering of absolution to white liberal spectators. Neither The Jewel in the Crown nor Rhodes perceives the perseverance of colonialism to the present, working within a mode of imperialist nostalgia that underlies an ambivalent relationship to contemporary post-colonial thought.

_David Lelyveld, Cornell University_  
**Words as Deeds: Gandhi on Language**

Among Gandhi's many experiment, his search for appropriate means of communication were of central concern to his concepts of society and truth and his responses to political exigencies. The paper will try to reconstruct Gandhi's abiding concern with language and languages, with special attention to his notions of religious pluralism, his idea of Hindustani, his efforts to promote literacy in a variety of South Asian scripts and his critique -- and use -- of English. It will also consider Gandhi's use of extra-linguistic symbols to reach beyond the boundaries of language and script. The overall question will be to what extent Gandhi's ideas about language are relevant to a project of democratic empowerment.

_Barry Lewis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign_  
**Forts of the Poligar Chiefdoms, Chitradurga District, Karnataka, India**

After the fall od Vijayanagara in the late 1500s, central Karnataka endured a period of social, political, and economic turmoil that lasted until the early 1800s. Among the most visible archaeological manifestations of this tumultuous period are the forts, many of which were either constructed or expanded greatly during this time. Drawing on the results of archaeological site reconnaissance in Chitradurga District during 1996-97, this paper describes the major poligar fort types and examines the role that forts played as symbols of kingship for the little kings and chiefdoms of the district.
Mark Liechty, University of California-Santa Barbara
"This Kind of 'Love' I Don't Like Too Much": Women, Pornography, and Consumer Sexuality in Kathmandu

Hard-core screen pornography has been available in Kathmandu for decades, but with increasing buying power among middle class families and the arrival of VCR technology, viewing video pornography (local, Indian, Western, and East Asian) is becoming a more and more common experience for men and women, young and old. This paper examines three Kathmandu middle class married women's experiences and reactions as consumers of commercial pronography.

While most men have a nonchalant attitude toward pornography, women are both more guarded and more critical. But even though women are more likely to critique the misogyny of most commercial pornography, they often take a relativistic stance that assumes the sexual activities depicted are natural and suitable for foreigners, if not for Nepalis. Pornographic sexuality becomes another dimension of an expereience of modernity-as-foreign commodity that Nepali women must struggle to reconcile with their efforts to build modern Nepali lives.

The paper concludes with a discussion of the parallel rise of restaurants, lodges, pornography, and prostitution in Kathmandu. I suggest that these are interdependent forms of public consumption all related to the development of a larger middle-class consumer culture in the city.

Sangeeta Luthra, Duke University
Making Entrepreneurs, Organizing for Social Justice: NGO Development Strategies in New Delhi Basti Communities

The growing influence of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) throughout the world and in particular in the poorer nations of the Third World has been hailed as the harbinger of a new era in development. To most observers of development, NGOs represent an important, even radical, shift in the way development is conceptualized and practiced. This paper looks at two popular strategies in the community development and adult education programs of New Delhi NGOs in order to illustrate the complex and contradictory nature of NGO-based development work and the relation of that work to national and international institutions and ideas. The first strategy is the creation of income generation programs to promote entrepreneurial ethics and behavior in poor working women. Although income generation programs have long been associated with development efforts at many levels - international, national, and local - the goal of these contemporary income generation programs goes beyond increasing the incomes of the participating women to re-educating them in the principles of entrepreneurial thinking and practice. The second strategy is the 'empowerment' of women through the creation of community-based women's groups or mahila mandals. The practice of organizing community groups is grounded in the belief that communities of the poor, and in particular women, need to be better organized to actively confront the institutions and groups that exploit them. The focus on women in particular is the result of the growing influence of feminists, at many levels, on development. Found together these two strategies
generate contradictory expectations and reactions from both NGO staff and the participants in the programs: The promotion of an entrepreneurial ethic emphasizes individual action and individual responsibility for changing conditions of poverty and social and political disenfranchisement. The creation of community-based women's groups emphasizes empowerment through collective action geared at challenging the structural bases of poverty and disenfranchisement in the country. The attempt of NGOs to pursue such contradictory approaches to development highlights an important predicament for NGO-based development in the 1990s.

Caitrin Lynch, University of Chicago

How to Be a Good Woman? Lessons from a Sinhala Teledrama

In this paper I will examine a recent Sinhala teledrama (weekly television serial) about an urban textile factory woman who, having been forced into a sexual relationship with her boss in exchange for money and goods, bears a child, and in the end attempts to murder the boss for ruining her life. This hugely popular teledrama portrayed the intense struggles of this village woman to have a successful life earning money in Colombo for her family back in the village. But an analysis of audience reactions to the teledrama shows that rather than understanding that this woman struggled to be a respectable woman, and that she did not freely enter into the sexual relationship, most people blame the woman for not having enough self-respect, strength, and moral character to avoid this relationship. Audiences generally blame the woman, such that the violence perpetrated against her is ignored in favor of a concern with the woman's inability to properly behave when given the freedom to live away from her parents. While discussing the social context of this blame-the-victim reaction, I will expose the strong role of the media in producing and reinforcing ideals of public morality for women in Sri Lanka.

Alexandra Mack, Arizona State University

The City as Village: Temple Pura at Vijayanagara

While the village is often thought of as a rural phenomenon, it is in fact quite common for urban districts to resemble independent villages. Many cities have this character because they have been united into a single urban community from many formerly independent villages. Although Vijayanagara developed more as a planned city, it can nonetheless divided into discrete districts which may be analyzed as "urban villages." The primary example of these are the temple pura—districts which surround the large temple complexes and contain residences, markets, and shrines. Historical records indicate that the pura may have operated semi-autonomously within the city. This paper will investigate the relationship between the temple pura and the city of Vijayanagara, and compare these urban villages to their rural counterparts.

Tayyab Mahmud, Harvard University

Beyond the "Nation-State," or Beyond the "State-Nation?"
Is there life after the "nation-state" in South Asia? Is there a "civil society" autonomous of the "state" available for "private" initiatives? This paper proposes to explore these questions at the intersection of modernity, the colonial encounter and post-coloniality. Modern constructs of the juridically defined "state," the "nation," "sovereignty," and "territoriality," fashioned in the midst of the colonial encounter between the "West & the Rest," became part of the nationalist project in South Asia. The proximity of the nationalist elites to colonial state apparatuses shaped their project: that eligibility to "self-determination" requires articulation of the "nationhood" that was to inherit the colonial "state" and thereby exercise its "sovereignty." "Nations" were posited deploying identity categories produced by orientalist knowledges and colonial governance strategies. Following formal independence, these elites proceeded to conjure "state-nations," an identity imposed with the help of post-colonial state apparatuses. This process precluded the creation and maintenance of "private" "civil" spaces autonomous of the state. Faced with "failed" and "failing" states, South Asia needs to undo the "state-nations" as a prerequisite for moving beyond the "nation-state."

Qasid Hussain Mallah, University of Wisconsin-Madison
Handbuilt and Wheel-Thrown Pottery: An Experimental Comparison of the Kot Dijian Period

This paper will deal with the technological analysis of pottery vessels from a famous site of the Early Harappan period of the Indus Valley civilization, Kot Diji. It has not been determined whether the Kot Dijian period vessels were wheelmade or handmadepottery. The central question of the present paper is how to differentiate wheelmade and handmade pottery. In order to understand the pottery technology, I duplicated a selected kind of vessel: a jar with a fish-scale design. Emphasis is placed on two topics.

First, I examine archaeological Kot Dijian-type potsherds, to understand the composition of the material used (i.e., clay properties). Second, I discuss the technology involved in handbuilt and wheel-thrown types of the vessel. In other words, I duplicated the vessel using both types of technology (using red art clay, due to the unavailability of the original clay) and compared the structure of the experimental vessels with original archaeological potsherds.

The objectives of this project are (1) to interpret the comprehensive process of Early Harappan pottery making, (2) to find out the structural characteristics of wheel-thrown and handbuilt pottery, and (3) to refine the technological study of the Kot Dijian period pottery.

J. McKim Malville, University of Colorado and Rana P. B. Singh, Banaras Hindu University
Cosmology and Complexity of Pilgrimage

We combine textual interpretation and GPS field data to demonstrate how natural topography has interacted with text and tradition to generate cosmic geometries in two contrasting types of pilgrimage centers: rural Chitrakut and imperial Vijayanagara. The tirtha of Chitrakut consists of a large network of sacred sites covering some 30 km, which are interconnected by pilgrimage routes, epic mythology, and local tradition. The design of the tirtha was not planned under any imperial
imperative, but displays the complexity that can emerge from self-organizing systems. Besides a circumambulation route, a remarkable feature of Chitrakut is the set of interlocking isomorphic triangles built out of the hills, caves, springs and glades of the natural landscape. These triangles, which may be icons of Rama, are oriented to the sun at solstices. The cosmos of Vijayanagara utilizes a similarly dramatic landscape which is imbued with meaning and which was apparently utilized as an imperial strategy. Urban design combined with traditions of Pampa, Matanga, Sugriva, and Hanuman to generate a complex geometry based upon the natural landscape. Both sites combine major events of the Ramayana with large-scale cosmic geometries.

Jeanne Marecek, Swarthmore College
Charred Lullabies: On Gender, Ethnicity, and Violence

Popular discourses of ethnic identity in Sri Lanka have centered on religious, “racial,” and language differences. These categories have, in turn, been the prime focus of scholarship on ethnicity and violence. Although there is a strong line of research on women, women’s experiences of ethnic violence -- as perpetrators or victims -- have been largely ignored. Moreover, scholars are just beginning to pry open questions about gender, the ideational and normative relationships in and between the sexes. In my presentation, I will ask where gender might enter into Charred Lullabies. Does a gendered reading open the way to new questions about ethnicity and violence? How does gender operate in organizing the mental and discursive maps of the social worlds that Daniel’s informants construct? What can we learn about how the symbolic codes of gender might bear on the construction of ethnic identities and the relations between ethnic groups?

Natalie R. Marsh, The Ohio State University
Mandalas, Monuments, and Manuscripts: The Four Yoginis of the Nepal Valley

Sakti worship has been an underlying religious basis of all of South Asia, and certainly of Nepal religions, whether Hindu or Buddhist. In recorded history and the creation story of Nepal, the Svayambhu Purana, this female component is clearly important. In Buddhist practice in Nepal the caturyoginis, four dynamic female deities, have served as personifications of sakti qualities. Four sacred sites were established at Sankhu, Pharping, Guhesvari, and temples built on the sites, to honor these female deities. Furthermore, their presence relates directly to the Cakrasamvara Tantra, the primary esoteric Tantra of Newar Buddhist practice. Through iconographic, textual and inscriptional analysis of the four yogini temple sites, as well as Nepalese artists’ manuscripts from the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, the importance of the yoginis can be placed within the larger mandalic construct of the Nepal Valley.

Nancy M. Martin, Chapman University
Rajputizing Mirabai: The Politics of Identity and Rajput Historiography
Strictly historical documentation of the life of the sixteenth-century Rajput devotional poet-saint Mirabai before the nineteenth century is decidedly lacking, though hagiographic accounts are available. She becomes the subject of historical inquiry only after Rajputs are championed as exemplars of Indian manhood and Mira as emblematic of the highest expression of Indian womanhood in nationalist writings, and after Rajputs begin to take up the task of writing their own history. She cannot be ignored, but she must be transformed in order to be reclaimed by Rajputs as one of their own. A new story of Mira emerges in Mewar with Shyamaldas's Vir Vinod (1886), taking full form in Munshi Deviprasad's work (1898) with details added across the decades by other scholars. This story differs markedly from earlier tellings and can be traced to a very small group of men, who were related to the Mewar court (into which Mira married) and to her natal family and who were in conversation with one another. In this paper I will trace the development of this new and now very influential view of Mira in the context of the development of Rajput historiography, exploring both the sources of the tale and Mira's place in the construction of a twentieth-century Rajput identity.

Biju Mathew, Rider University
The Discourse of Heritage and Civilization or What Happens When Orientalism, Global Capital, and Hindutva Meet for Dinner in NYC

Does "Krishna the Butter Thief" provide a new model for entrepreneurship? Does Vedic individualism define Indianess? Does Dharma as in the Gita work as therapy for the new global elite? These are counter-questions posed to evaluate a relation between a newly worked out Orientalism, soft Hindutva and global capital. The innocence of civilizational discourses and the modern project of a Hindu nation, are two moments in a dialectic lubricated by segments of global capital. To understand this relation, it is not enough to look at an isolated institution or program but about the links and relations between real institutions on a global scale. Through a single case study of three institutions, one each in India, UK and USA, my analysis attempts to suggest the nature of the resolution that Hindutva seeks in its internal conflict over neo-liberalism.

Rinita Mazumdar, University of New Mexico
Panchayet, The Women Question, and Domestic Violence in Rural Bengal

The primary aim of this paper is to analyze the 73rd amendment and its implications for women in the Panchayet system in the state of West Bengal. Although women are being represented more than ever before in Panchayets, in reality, issues specific to women have not received any significant attention. Panchayets still trivialize issues that cannot be directly or indirectly linked to class struggle, thereby trivializing vital issues of exploitation and abuse that women face every day in their homes. I will argue that a Marxian solution or constitutional amendment is necessary but not sufficient to redress issues that traditionally concern women. In addition, cultural change is needed to bring safety in women's lives.
My primary aim in this paper is to analyse the 73rd amendment and its implications for women (and specifically violence against women) in the PANCHAYAT (local village government) system in rural West Bengal in India. According to this amendment one-third representatives of the Panchayats has to be women; the democratically elected Marxist government of Bengal was the first, among all other states in India, to actually implement this amendment. Although women are being represented more than ever before in the Panchayat, in reality, however, issues specific to women have not undergone a drastic change. The interesting thing is that there are discrepancies between what women representing the Communist Party hegemony (women who partake of the patriarchal power structure) say about women's lives and what subaltern women say about their own lives. The female members of the Party talk of equality where issues of PUBLIC interests are concerned; nonetheless, with regard to PRIVATE issues, specifically in cases of domestic violence, they are often mere spokespersons of their male counterparts: abuse by a Party member within his home goes unreported as a sign of Party loyalty. Moreover, these representatives are often wives, mothers, and sisters of the Party members and are not willing to see gender as a separate issue other than what the Party ideology allows. Panchayats tend to trivialize issues that cannot be directly or indirectly linked to class-struggle thereby trivializing vital issues of exploitation and abuse that is a social reality in the lives of rural women within the broader context of patriarchy.

Dennis McGilvray, University of Colorado-Boulder

Sufi Circuits in/to Sri Lanka

This paper traces three geographical extensions of popular Islamic mysticism both inside and outside the island nation of Sri Lanka. The first example is the popular Muslim pilgrimage shrine at Daftar Jailani near Balangoda, dating it is said to the 12th century, where contemporary Buddhist monks are attempting to reclaim the site as part of the Sinhala archeological patrimony. This conflict can be framed as a contest over the all-island hegemony of the Buddha vs. the globalizing claims of an aggressively peripatetic Islam with many linkages to the Middle East over the past millenium. The second example is related to the 19th century form of globalization known as British colonialism. Here the proliferation of Sufi tomb-shrines led to a "branch office" concept. While the 16th century saint Shahul Hamid of Nagoor is buried on the Tamilnadu coast, a farflung network of colonial Muslim traders erected "virtual tombs" or branch offices in Sri Lanka and in Singapore where the spirit of the saint is simultaneously venerated in annual kanturi festivals. The final example involves the contemporary circuits of itinerant Sufi sheikhs to and from locations outside of Sri Lanka, a practice facilitated by the globalizing spread of air transport and modern telecommunications. Nowadays a number of Sufi teachers, particularly Tangals and Maulanas from the Malabar Coast and the Laccadive Islands, come on regular circuit to Colombo and to outlying Muslim communities in Sri Lanka. At the same time, a Sri Lankan Sufi master has acquired disciples in Dubai, and another Sri Lankan sheikh is buried in a tomb-shrine located in the western suburbs of Philadelphia.

Michael McIntyre, DePaul University

The IAS and India's Post-Colonial State: Still the Same Old Steel Frame?
From Jamza Alavi to Partha Chatterjee and beyond, it has been argued that the postcolonial states of South Asia have been indelibly marked and misshapen by their colonial background. One obvious locus of continuity between the colonial and postcolonial Indian states is at the very apex of the state bureaucracy, in the Indian Civil Service and its successor, the Indian Administrative Service. Retained by Nehru and Patel despite the former’s pledge to do away with it, the IAS was composed at birth of the India-born ICS cadre who increasingly composed its ranks since 1919.

In an important study, David Potter argued that the structure, ideology, and function of the IAS had remained basically intact until the early 1980s. In this paper, I will take up the issues raised by Potter, placing the ICS and IAS as key actors in the maintenance of Gramscian “historic blocs”—class and quasi-class alliances that form the durable basis of a state. The discussion will consider the transition from a colonial to a post-colonial pact of domination, Indira Ghandi’s “bonapartist” attempt to create a “committed” IAS, and panchayati raj’s challenge to local IAS authority.

*Divya C. McMillin, Indiana University*

**Speak Into the Microphone: Female Empowerment on Television in India**

According to Hindu tradition, marriage between a woman of higher caste and a man of lower caste is taboo because the caste of the father determines that of the offspring. Such a union is called pratiloma. Using narrative theory and discourse analysis, this paper critically examines the strategic narratives embedded in Adarsha Dampathigalu, an Indian version of the Newlywed Game on Bangalores Udaya TV, and draws a parallel between pratiloma and the marriage of global with local on Indian television to explain how the Hindu government of India positions the nation as chaste female subject to pollution by cultural imperialism. The paper critically examines how the show becomes an ideological battleground for the collision between the global and the local, between patriarchy and female assertion, and between the domestic private sphere and the televised public sphere. By providing a stage for the unraveling of the male-authored mysteries of marriage, this show provides a space for female empowerment and thus challenges the restrictive myths of marriage and of female identity. This challenge strikes at the patriarchal heart of Hindu India and contests the very construction of national identity. Thus the show becomes a prototype for the larger conflict between globalization and national identity in India.

*Meeta Mehrotra, Virginia Tech*

See Bradley Hertel

*Rekha Menon, Ohio University*

**Rasa: The Thread from Then to Now**

The discussion proposes to answer a question: to what extent the concept of Rasa functions as a basic link through Indian art, from plastic through visual, to music and dance? An attempt to answer this question will include art from traditional India and from contemporary artistic styles. If there are continuities between traditional and contemporary art, then Rasa may be the unifying concept. Thus,
despite the impact of the West on various contemporary Indian art, the concept of Rasa may constitute the basis for the unique styles of Indian art in general.

John Metz, Northern Kentucky University
Local Management of the Upper Slope Forest of Central and Western Nepal

Products taken from trees on private, common property, and open access lands are essential components of farming systems throughout Nepal. In the hills and mountains, the largest remaining forests lie between 2500 and 3700 m, because monsoon mists and clouds cover that zone and hinder agricultural production. Over 90% of the people, however, live below 2500 m and most rely on private trees and the remnant forest patches common below 2500 m for their needs. As a result the vast majority of research on the use of forests has been at these lower, largely deforested elevations. That research has described interactions between people and forests ranging from open access to access restricted to known members of a "user group," to passive restrictions on "traditional" uses of forests (no grazing, no cutting of green wood, etc.) to active management of forests for biological and production objectives (cutting multiple stems to one, thinning, lopping at a specified schedule, harvesting "mature" trees. Establishing the institutions to govern active management is the most difficult and most important task user groups face. Few scholars have examined the management practices of people controlling the upper slope forests, even though these are the largest areas of more or less intact forests remaining in the uplands. This paper will outline some of the research that has been done on these upper forests and suggest the future research that might increase our knowledge and help improve management.

Algis Mickunas, Ohio University
The Cosmic Dance

The focus of the discussion is on the metaphor of dance in Indian art, and specifically in the arts portraying the myths of creation, destruction and transformation of the universe. The reason for this choice is the uniqueness of the conception of "cosmos" so well depicted in the dance of Shiva. In contrast to Western "object art" Indian art involves the entire universe, and the latter is not a sum of objects. Demonstrably it is all pervasive and encompassing, appearing in major notions of Lila, Kama, Kali, Shakti - notions that cannot be reduced to characteristics of objects. The Dance of Shiva will be taken as central "image to explicate other artistic types at the level at which they are involved, participate in, and are pervaded by cosmic awareness.

The discussion will follow three levels: first, the myth of Shiva will set the stage for the metaphor of cosmic dance; second, the notions such as Lila, etc. will be articulated as aspects of cosmic understanding; third, various types of art will be shown as traces of the cosmic.

Barbara D. Miller, George Washington University
Andaman Update: Colonized Again for the Sake of the State

This paper first provides an overview of the current "development" strategies of the government of India in the Andaman Islands and the impact of unregulated migration to the island by settlers from the mainland. Some consequences of these relatively recent trends are then examined, with special attention to the situation of the indigenous Andaman Islands people. The last section considers similarities and contrasts between the strategies and effects of British colonialism and those of the post-independence Indian government.

Heather M. -L. Miller, University of Wisconsin-Madison
Landscapes of Order? Urban Physical & Social Order in the Indus Civilization and the Case of Craft Production

One of the unique characteristics of the Indus Valley civilization is the orderly organization of their cities, as represented by massive systems of mud-brick platforms and/or boundary walls, a grid pattern of streets, and elaborate water/waste disposal systems. These elements indicate the presence of organized civic planning and maintenance, under the direction of urban authorities and managers. However, very different interpretations of the social structure behind such civic organization have been suggested. These range from a rigid, regimented elite imposing such planning, to the shared, pervasive social ideals of the community being expressed as a created, ordered urban landscape.

How can we distinguish between these interpretations? The organization of craft production areas within the urban centers offers one new line of evidence. The fact that the noxious, dangerous firing stages of high-temperature crafts took place in the densely populated city center is counter-intuitive, given the focus of the Indus peoples on civic maintenance, as well as later traditions about how cities “should” be structured both from European ideals of craft “quarters” and Vedic/Hindu ideals of purity. Are these objects produced within the bounded cities of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro because their production was controlled by a powerful elite, able to use city space as they wished? Or do their production sites indicate that civic authority was not an absolute power, but that city growth and structure involved compromises between the needs of many different city inhabitants?

Diane P. Mines, Washington University
Time, Nation, and Culture in Tamilnadu: A Comparative Commentary

Diane argues, in part, that collective violence may arise from the “discordance” between mythic and historic realities, between ontic and epistemic discourses, between peoples’ multiplex versus simplex orientations to the past (and, by implication, to the future). In constructing this argument, he posits that Sinhalese, Jaffna Tamils, and Estate Tamils have different “dispositions” toward the past (ranging from history to heritage). These dispositions relate, too, to the kind of future—including the kind of nation, post-nation, or counter-nation—the different groups would (semiosically) make. When these dispositions clash, “moments” of discordant violence may erupt.
This commentary reflects upon two aspects of Daniel’s argument. First, I wish to consider the extent to which some of these concepts—particularly the distinctions between heritage and history, ontic and epistemic, multiplex and simplex—may relate to the nation making discourses of these south Indian Tamils whose “rural values” relate genealogically to those of the Estate Tamils. Second, I will discuss more generally some implications for ethnography of Daniel’s “anthroposemiosis” concept of culture where “discordance” counts, and integration or concordance loses its hegemony.

**Mattison Mines, University of California-Santa Barbara**

**Dialogues and Arguments of Identity: Courts, Councils, Polities, Innovations, and the Streets of 18th Century Madras**

Dynamic, innovative, sometimes mingled, and often competitive identities are an important, even central feature of 18th century Madras sociality. This paper traces a history of the attributes of individual and collective identities and the settings where these were expressed in the contexts of Madras Town during the period, 1730 to 1830. Sustained in social relations and far from being fixed, identities in the earlier half of this period were dialogic processes argued in a variety of social contexts and engagements of limited jurisdiction, using a variety of criteria of estimation that commingled elements of British and Indian understandings. The courts, caste councils, the presence of nearby competing mini-polities, cultural invention of new hybrid symbols of honor, and competition over control of the streets were each contexts for the dialogics of identity. These constituted the social, judicial, and institutional settings of different forms of identity and defined the multiple social processes within which competing identities and understandings were expressed and fought out. Following the Carnatic Wars, in the early 19th century, the East India Company administration became more uniform, reflecting its monopoly of force, and identities became more codified and less dynamic.

**Anne Monius, University of Virginia**

**U. Ve. Caminataiyar and the Construction of Tamil Literary "Tradition"**

This paper will explore the several ways in which the writings of U. Ve. Caminataiyar (1855-1942) construct a vision of classical Tamil literary culture as monolingual, regionally coherent, and largely free of specific sectarian or social affiliation, a vision that has guided the academic study of Tamil literature and religious history for nearly a century. Hailed by Tamil scholars and nationalists alike during his lifetime for his work in "recovering" and publishing the then little-known poetic anthologies of the so-called "Cankam" period and the early medieval epic narratives, Caminataiyar imagined such texts to be the voices of a bucolic Tamil past unmarred by the caste conflict, sectarian disputes, or crass materialism of "modernity." Generally portrayed as a dedicated scholar uninvolved in, and even unaware of, the political and social turbulence of his day, Caminataiyar in fact carefully shapes a view of Tamil literary history and culture not only in his autobiography, En Carittiram, but in the introductions to each of his edited "classics." Particularly in his autobiographical narrative, Caminataiyar slowly constructs a vision of South Indian cultural "tradition" that privileges literary or artistic merit over sectarian affiliation, historical harmony over disjunction, and Tamil over other
literary languages such as Sanskrit. The paper will close with a discussion of the enduring effects of Caminatayi's particular construction of Tamil literary tradition for our understanding of South Indian history and literature, particularly for the study of those texts first edited and published by him.

Frank Morales, University of Wisconsin-Madison
The Heart Transplant that Failed: The History of gaudiya Vaisnavism in America

This paper will examine the fascinating and dramatic history of Gaudiya Vaisnavism in its many attempts to transplant itself on American soil. Though there have been several concerted efforts to purely transmit this rather orthodox tradition of Hinduism to American shores - the most successful, and controversial, of these efforts being the Hare Krishna movement - it is the position of this paper that all of these attempts have been devoid of success.

The exploration of this topic will begin with a survey of the philosophical and theological outlook of the Gaudiya Vaisnava tradition. The most pertinent highlights of the 500 year history of the sect will be recounted. Finally, the last 100 years of the group's many missionary attempts in America, including some of the most up-to-date and little known information about this tradition's current activities in America, will be examined.

Several theories explaining why this tradition of Hinduism has failed to export itself to America will be presented in this paper. These include: 1) the difficulty in adopting an essentially 15th century Bengali temperament by late 20th century Americans; and 2) the Gaudiya's consistent failure to appeal to those American social groups most capable of sustaining the movement.

Debjani Mukherjee, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
The Other in My Space: South Asian/American Women Negotiating Hyphenated Identities

Cross-cultural and cultural psychologists have examined South Asians and Americans in categorical terms of "identity" and "adaptive functioning" but there has been relatively little attention to the experiences of bicultural South Asian-Americans. Furthermore, the complexities of negotiating hyphenated (South Asian-American-Woman) identities are often lost when adopting psychological frameworks that assume and reify a dichotomous way of being. This paper challenges the assumptions that underlie psychological discourse about identity and "normal" functioning. The paper will focus specifically on the bicultural woman drawing upon examples from the author's own experience as well as her work with SouthAsian-American undergraduates.

B. V. Muralidhar, Sri Venkateswara University
Nuclear Confrontation in South Asia-India, Pakistan and the United States

Nuclear proliferation has become one of the principal concerns of the world. Ever since the end of the cold-war, the global arms race which hitherto had been confined to the superpowers had not
become a permanent feature in many parts of the globe. South Asia in particular has seen nuclear proliferation on an unprecedented scale. The alarming trend of nuclear proliferation has grave implication on the politico-deteriorated particularly after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. One of the main causes of nuclear proliferation in South Asia has been the perceived insecurity of states in the region. India, Pakistan, China are the three major countries with proven nuclear capability. Mutual suspicions and hostility between these countries is one of the major reasons for nuclear proliferation in the region. What concerns many experts is that several factors make the presence of nuclear weapon capabilities on the subcontinent more dangerous than the superpower nuclear rivalry that preceded it. The present paper is an attempt to look into the causes for the competition between India and Pakistan in the field of nuclearization, the ways to reduce the tensions in the region through a variety of global measures and regional initiatives and the role of U.S. to make the South Asia region free from nuclear confrontation.

Nalini Natarajan, University of Puerto Rico

Gandhi and Diaspora

Ghandi’s overwhelming stature as Nationalist leader overshadows the role of diasporic experience in shaping his thought. Reading closely Ghandi’s Autobiography as well as his writings on South Africa, this paper makes a case for Ghandi as a diasporic thinker who used the challenges of his experience outside India to forge new perspectives. Although many of these perspectives are viewed as “traditional” and “anti-modern,” in fact they reflect the ferment of ideas in regions as far apart as England, South Africa and Massachusetts. One of the points I expand upon is Ghandi’s “experimental” attitude to social change which his diasporic life afforded. While in South Africa, he was free of the social stratifications which characterize life in India. This position brought with it a certain freedom, but also a certain rigidity. The second is his attempt to construct an “inner reality” (a version of Thoreau’s Transcendentalism) which was independent of the State. I argue that this “inner” world is quintessentially diasporic.

Jason Neelis, University of Washington

Epigraphical Records of Traders and Monks: Kharosthi and Brahmi Graffiti from Northern Pakistan

The Northern Areas of Pakistan offer an immense variety of over 25,000 petroglyphs and 5,000 inscriptions which provide evidence for reconstructing the early linguistic, religious and economic history of this mountainous frontier region. These rock drawings and epigraphs belonging to sites in and around Chilas, Gilgit, Hunza, and Baltistan mark important junctions for trade in special commodities between India and China where merchants, pilgrims, officials, and other travelers halted at semi-permanent caravan camps before resuming their difficult journeys. While much of the graffiti recording proper names, titles and dates written in the Brahmi and Kharosthi scripts prevalent in this area from approximately the first to seventh centuries CE is in poor condition due to the passage of almost 2,000 years, additional interpretation of the fragmentary epigraphical and archaeological remains illustrates the nexus between trade routes and the transmission of
Buddhism from South Asia to Central Asia and China.

*Patricia M. Nelson, El Colegio De Mexico*

**Disentangling Indigenous Critiques of the Caste System**

This paper will explore continuities and shifts within indigenous critiques of the caste system. My focus will be on the Vajrasuci, a Buddhist text attributed to Asvaghosa, and the Vajrasuci(ka) Upanisad, a Vedantic version of the Vajrasuci. These two texts set out certain significant criticisms levelled against Brahmins and the Brahminical caste system, arguments that have a family resemblance with critiques of Brahmanical ideology and practice mounted by different heretical sects and dissident groups over several centuries. At the same time, the paper will argue there are also important variations in the manner in which these arguments have been drawn upon and reworked by Buddhists, Kabir Panthis, nineteenth century social reformers, British Orientalists, and Indologists. These resemblances and reworkings reveal the intricacies and nuances -- but also the many complicities and critical implications -- of the interplay between internal logic(s) of texts and their historical readings, between inherent ambiguities of caste ideology and ever changing cultural circumstances, all of which underlie the shifting constructions of ideologies of caste.

*Robert S. Newman, Independent Scholar*

**A Goddess and a Village: Shanta Durga and the Village of Cuncolim, Goa**

The Hindu Goddess Shanta Durga, associated with the village of Cuncolim in South Goa, has protected the villagers, given them children, and stood as a symbol of their very identity. Cuncolim, a village dominated by Kshatriya (called Charddo in Goa), was a leader in the anti-Portuguese struggles of the late 16th century. After their defeat against the Portuguese many Charddo families converted to Catholicism while others fled. Their gaunkari (comunidade in Portuguese, ‘village commune’ in English) was disbanded, their land confiscated, but the warriors of Shanta Durga fiercely maintained their allegiance to their goddess, whose image was smuggled out of Portuguese territory into the hills to the south. The vicissitudes of this relationship echo strongly even today, Shanta Durga still serves to unite the Charddos of Cuncolim, both Catholic and Hindu, against perceived enemies, as well as unify all locals against those considered intruders. Cohesion and caste conflicts are expressed in celebration of Shanta Durga’s temple festival, a rich tradition of myth and symbol. The deep emotion surrounding this Goddess, perhaps a female embodiment of Goa itself, have emerged repeatedly through history.

The political subtext of the paper is to point out that Goa, like India as a whole, has a rich tradition of syncretism and cultural inter-weaving. Communalists prefer to ignore this tradition in their desire to divide and rule. Conflict is inevitable in every society. Creative examples of how to pull people together with common symbols and myths of unity are needed. The Goan case is one such positive example.

*Robert Nichols, University of Pennsylvania*
Interpreting the "Fanatic": Colonial Justice and the 1897 Tribal Revolt in the Northwest Frontier

The 1897 tribal revolts along the British-Indian Northwest "Frontier" have been viewed by authoritative colonial and post-colonial perspectives as being derived from a religious emotionalism (characterized as fanaticism or millenarianism) rooted in Islamic and tribal essences. This paper, using post-revolt police interviews, judicial reports, and administrative correspondence, argues that earlier analysis has reflected the displacement of fundamental issues of accelerating colonial expansion and increased tribe-state competition onto imagery of spontaneous, short-lived revolts led by charismatic figures opposed to modernity and western standards of civilization. It is argued that the colonial trope of "tribal" fanaticism and post-colonial, academic evaluations of millenarian upheaval and subaltern resistance to colonialism do not adequately explain the nature of 1897 events nor the fragmented socio-political responses given as Pakhtun (Pashtun, Pathan) villagers of the northern Peshawar district evaded colonial institutions (police, judicial, and revenue) mobilized to assemble evidence, judge, and punish settled district complicity with the border area uprising. Pakhtun elite strategies of implicating village dependents and artisans and larger colonial interests in reestablishing regional stability diffused actual punishments revealed a complexity of imperial and "tribal" interests and the inadequacy of analyses framed on binary oppositions.

Andrea Nightingale, University of Minnesota

Power and Nature: Contestations Over Land Use in Nepal

This paper presents a theoretical argument for understanding the linkages between social and ecological systems. I begin by examining how human-environment interactions are informed by discourses of nature and social relations of power. Ecological conditions are understood to influence social power hierarchies when groups who control land use ecological conditions as a means of reinforcing social control. In addition, when ecological conditions degrade marginalized groups often bear a disproportionate share of the resulting burdens and dangers. Using discourses of nature and social power relations as a central analytical tool is one way to link social and ecological systems. The range of land management options that a person will consider is limited by their understandings of ecology and their role within nature, both components of a discourse about nature. These land management decisions in turn affect (or don't) ecological conditions which can then transform or reproduce people's understandings of nature and the institutions that govern land use and social power relations, thus perpetuating the discourse. Some preliminary ethnographic results from fieldwork done in Nepal is used to support my argument and suggest areas for further research.

William A. Noble, University of Missourri

Spirit Stones of Southern India

In their classic monograph (The native tribes of Central Australia), Spencer and Gillen report on how the Arunta utilize sacred caves and rock shelters to hold a churinga for each female and male member of the tribe. Churingas relate to the transmigration of spirits, for each is believed to possess
the related human spirit after death. The spirit eventually wanders out and enters the uterus of a female, thus again starting life as a human. Although there is no precise counterpart of this belief system among tribals in southern India, some place a spirit stone for each deceased person in the open, in a dolmen, in an above-surface cist, or in a simply constructed temple. Spirit stones are almost invariably water-smoothened stones from stream beds, but among some tribals there is now a tendency to emplace a sculptured memorial stone as well. The common belief is that the spirit of a deceased male or female will be bound to the spirit stone for a while, but will then go to a supernatural abode and not return to earth for another existence.

The Nilgiri Hills of Tamil Nadu and adjacent areas have the strongest surviving elements of the cult. Both the Irulas and Kurumbas of the Nilgiris have spirit stones, and so do the Bettu Kurumbas and Kasabas who inhabit the Mysore Ditch just to the north. Most Irulas spirit stones lie within temples, whereas most Kurumba spirit stones lie within dolmens. Bettu Kurumbas leave a spirit stone on the ground and near a tree during each funeral. Uralis inhabiting the Dimbhum region to the northeast of the Nilgiris still practice the cult, and their ancestors in a now extinct patriclan once brought either the dug up bones of their deceased, or their deceased, for burial at Nirgundi in the Nilgiris. Near the burial site are the piled spirit stones left long ago. The Sholagas of the Billigirirangan Hills to the north of the Nilgiris still deposit spirit stones within dolmens. A similar practice has long since been abandoned by the Malayalis of the Shevroys to the east. However, in the nearby Kollimalais to the south, there are Malayalis who still believe that departed spirits dwell in stones deposited in dolmens. While the Kattu Poosaalis of the Melagiri Hills to the northwest of the Shevroys no longer leave spirit stones for their dead, dolmens with ancestral spirit stones remain. The Mala Arayans in Kerala were once unique in constructing a small above-surface stone cist for each spirit stone.

Tom O'Neill, McMaster University

Social Resource and Symbolic Legitimation in the Tibeto-Nepalese Carpet Industry

An explosion in the export of Tibetan carpets to European markets in the last decade has attracted hundreds of new carpet entrepreneurs from Nepal's rural regions to Kathmandu's bustling peri-urban communities where these carpets are woven. In this case study, an 'economy of practices' links one small scale entrepreneur to the social capital of a village that provides much of the labor on which his enterprise depends. In this paper, I will discuss how he legitimates his new role as city-bound entrepreneur in part by displaying his wealth and power in his native village through religious patronage. Economic utility is thus obtained by ensuring a trusted pool of carpet weavers, reducing the risks that other entrepreneurs face in an uncertain labor market. A purely economic accounting of these practices, I argue, overstates the extent to which this entrepreneur recognizes the utility of his behavior, but does usefully demonstrate how social resources are often mobilized in incipient industry.

Janet O'Shea, University of California-Riverside

"Traditional" Indian Dance and the Making of Interpretive Communities
Within the South Indian dance form *Bharata Natyam*, there are several major styles, each with different choreographic conventions, preferences in repertoire, and techniques of presentation. While these styles differ radically, practitioners of each describe their style as "traditional," "authentic," and, usually, "ancient." With the shift of the dance form from temples, courts, and homes of wealthy patrons to the concert stage in the 1920s to 1930s and the change in demographics of participation from devadasi to brahman, there has been a self-conscious attempt on the part of the new practitioners to both legitimize the performance of the dance form and to reform it. At the same time, some devadasi practitioners sought to defend their "proprietary rights" to the dance.

Through a study of the careers of the legendary dancers Balasaraswati and Rukmini Devi, this essay explores the use of such concepts as "authenticity" and "tradition" in a modern dance form. Each of these dancers justified their own and their communities' treatment of the dance form through a reference to "authenticity." This concept of authenticity is tied to a construction of authority which, in turn, is rooted in a reference to a historical moment and a creation of an appropriate history for the dance form. This essay concludes, that while these two dancers, and their stylistic successors, have debated what the "authentic" dance form is, they have defined authenticity, and the history of the dance form, in two different ways: Rukmini Devi, a brahman Theosophist, referenced a time period associated with classical Sanskrit, an upper class predecessor, and a past that prefigured nationalism. In contrast, Balasaraswati, a devadasi, cited a historical precedent of devadasi practice, Tamil origins, and a locale associated with the Tanjore Court.

*Jennifer Olsen, University of Utah
A More Familiar Faith: Conversion to Mormonism in India and Nepal*

Mormonism is one of the fastest growing denominations of Christianity in the world. It has transcended its U.S. origins to gain converts worldwide, most notable in the developing countries of Latin America, Africa, and Asia. How has the Mormon Church achieved such phenomenal growth, especially in competition with other Christian sects? This paper attempts to answer this question by focusing on the Church's recent missionary activities in India and Nepal, where ethnographic research was conducted during 1995-96. Analysis of interviews with missionaries and recent converts suggests that Mormonism has benefited in the transnational context form a distinctive "double tension" at its heart. The first tension is between what we call a shamanic orientation and a clerical orientation (Samuel 1993). As defined here, shamanism employs altered states of consciousness to gain contact with a more fundamental form of reality than that of everyday experience. As a result, shamanic religions remain open to change though divine revelation. Clerical religions, by contrast, are scholarly, disciplined, and hierarchically organized, with a tendency toward stable orthodoxy. Mormonism combines shamanic and clerical elements by stressing the possibility of divine revelation, even among lay persons, while filtering and regulating the content of such revelation through the auspices of an elaborate clerical hierarchy. Within the south Asian context, shamanic practices are familiar to Hindus and appear to lend Mormonism an advantage in competition with more rigidly clerical forms of Christianity. Mormonism's second tension is between patriarchal family structure and economic individualism. On the one hand, women and children are enjoined by Mormon social values to obey the head of the household, who in turn answers to God. On the other hand, Mormonism stresses individual free will and divine
rewards of hard work and the striving for economic prosperity. An emphasis on patriarchal family structure is again familiar to Hindus, yet Mormonism ironically combines this structure with an economic individualism that is usually regarded as a threat to the traditional extended family of India and Nepal. Mormonism strikes a balance, then, between the traditional values of patriarchal society and a capitalist mentality already at work in the south Asian context.

Lazina Ontia-Bhatta, Cornell University
"Children-out-of-Place": Marginality, Criminality, and Paranoia

The street children in Nepal are popularly perceived as "children-out-of-place", i.e. not in "appropriate places for childhood". This paper focuses on the street children's placelessness in Kathmandu, and discusses: i) the processes of marginalization and criminalization of the street children; ii) how these processes interrelate with the meanings of the domestic and public spaces, the normative conceptions of children, and the public anxiety over safety, wholesomeness, and nation's image; and iii) the street children's experiences of violence.

Since the placelessness of the street children is linked with their subjection to violence from the state and the society, this paper focuses on the cultural construction of placelessness and how it signifies danger and disorder to the adults. Illustrating the relationship between adults' perception of the threat from the street children and their use of violence to control and transform them, the paper illuminates how violence emanates as a mechanism of the adults to maintain their specific imaginations of identity, status, and power when they perceive disorder in the processes of social reproduction. By fleshing out how violence is rendered different meanings by the state, the society, the NGOs, and the children themselves, violence is illustrated as a decentered, contested, and intricately layered phenomenon.

Radhika Parameswaran, University of Iowa
Female Sexuality and Women's Struggles in the Private Sphere: An Ethnographic Portrait of Mills & Boon Romance Readers in a South Indian City

Control over women's sexuality has always been one way in which patriarchies have maintained power over women's movements by enforcing male domination in the private sphere. In India, particularly for urban, upper-caste and middle-class Hindu women, constraints over their sexuality continues to be a strategy for controlling women and for maintaining caste boundaries. In this paper, I examine thirty young Hindu middle-class women's interpretations of the content of Western romance fiction, Mills & Boon romance novels, to show women's ambiguous and contradictory responses towards female sexuality. Even as these women express resistance towards the construction of "asexuality" as a characteristic of good Hindu wives by arguing that their romance reading is a "right" that they deserve for following the rules of society, they nevertheless capitulate to the nationalist construction of Western women as amoral and sexually promiscuous. Articulating their desire for intimacy with husbands through the metaphor of the "Mills & Boon romance," women express confusion about their roles because they are expected to be independent career women but at the same time cannot express independence in their private lives.
Kunal M. Parker, Cleveland State University
Anglo-Indian Law and Dancing Girls, 1800-1914: An Inquiry Into the Legal Construction of Crime

When Anglo-Indian legal commentators in the late nineteenth century praised the Indian Penal Code for its targeting of “crimes peculiar to India,” they painted over the protracted struggles between self-representations and antagonistic conceptions of group identity that revealed deep ambiguities at the heart of the project of consulting “crime.” Through an examination of legal discourses surrounding the “crime” of “dedicating girls to a life of temple harlotry,” the perpetrators of which were identified as communities of “dancing girls” in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, this paper identifies the strategic deployment within legal discourses of representations of religion, group, family and sexuality that permitted Anglo-Indian judiciary to accomplish the construction of the “crime” of “dedicating girls to a life of temple-harlotry.” In identifying the triumph of liberal/reformist ideology in the construction of this “crime,” the paper highlights the heavy reliance of liberal/reformist ideology upon reconfigured (and sanitized) notions of religion, group, family, and sexuality in the emerging modern consciousness of late nineteenth century India.

Sonal Patel, The Ohio State University
Sacred Texts of Newar Buddhism: Their Use in Ritual and Their Manifestation as Image

Buddhist religious rituals and various ceremonies throughout Nepal are conducted by members of the priestly castes who perform the multiple rites with great technical precision and yogic concentration. Their teachings are not only based upon and grounded in the methodologies of their personal ritual specialists, but also in many doctrinal texts of Newar Buddhism that are considered to be sacred, and hence worshiped. Further, priests’ manuals, although they do not hold the same sacrality as doctrinal texts, are nonetheless teaching devices and aids for priests as well.

The main focus of this paper involves defining what these doctrinal texts and priests’ manuals are, how they are used in ritual setting by Newar Buddhist priests, and the ways in which some of these documents manifest themselves into images. Although the importance of these different types of texts is manifold, they nonetheless share common threads as well: first, priests may use any or all of these sacred books during a religious ceremony; second, the texts may manifest into various artistic images that are present at the bahal or Buddhist monastery where the ritual is taking place. In essence, what is of significance here is the entire notion of texts used in rituals and the prominence of this practice throughout Nepal.

Archana Pathak, University of Oklahoma
Restricted Multiplicity
It has been argued that the communities of Indian immigrants in the United States are among the major impetus and support for various conservative Hinduisms in India. The concerns addressed in the proposed discussion will focus on the ways these communities evaluate and interpret Indian traditional and contemporary art. The discussion will present political and ethical valuations used by these communities. While there is no total homogeneity of criteria among such communities, available research suggests predominant trends that shape these criteria.

Given such trends, the discussion will address specifically the judgements concerning the representation of feminine images, inclusive of feminine sexuality and socio-political position. The increasing feminine voices in India warrant this discussion as one of the central topics in art.

Indira Viswanathan Peterson, Mount Holyoke College
**Intersecting Ethnographies: Tanjore "Company" Paintings of Castes and Occupations and 18th Century South Indian**

"Company" Paintings, made for Europeans by Indian artists in the 18th-19th centuries, have been viewed as reflections of and responses to the interests of European patrons. Since they appear to derive from the classifying and exoticizing European discourses on "caste", the "Castes and Occupations" sets of paintings (the bulk of the "Company" genre) are particularly vulnerable to such an interpretation. I have argued that such paintings from 18th century Tanjore are in fact firmly situated in indigenous discourses on jati ("caste") and social relations, especially as refracted in the innovative literary-dramatic genres patronized by the local elites (the Marathas and Palaiyakkarar "kings") of the period. The new genres portray a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual world, and were performed before a large public. They focus on complex depictions of 18th century communities, ranging from brahmins to the nomadic Kuravar, the very same 'characters' who appear in the Company paintings. The newly-established elites' desire for imaginative representations of heterogeneous selves and "others" that emerges in these dramas both intersects with and diverges from the contemporaneous European ethnographic gaze, opening Company paintings up to multivalent readings, and illuminating Indian agency in a transaction that has been viewed as having been driven solely by an European program.

Carla Petievich, Montclair State University
**Urdu Poets as Suffering Mistresses: Radha-Krishna Imagery in Dakani Verse**

Among the more intriguing aspects of early Dakani Urdu ghazal poetry are its explicit employment of Radha-Krishna imagery to invoke the pathos of the lover's separation from the beloved; and employment of a feminine narrator/ 'ashiq in verses of viraha. The author argues that the employment of (a) "idolatus" images in early Indo-Muslim poetry; and (b) "Sanskritic" terminology associated with the bhakti tradition -- which were both eventually excised from the "classical" Urdu ghazal of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries -- indicate a process of negotiation that took place in Urdu literature over several centuries as to how "Indian" Indo-Muslim culture was to be.
Shantanu Phukan, University of Chicago
Muslims as Hindus: Hindi as a Language of "Conversion" in Mughal Lyric Poetry

This paper focuses on the possible motivations of Mughal Persianate authors in choosing to write mixed Hindi-Persian verse. Hindi verse by Mughal Sufi and courtly authors has repeatedly been viewed as a literature of mediation between Hindi speaking Hindus and Persianized Muslims. Another conventional explanation invests this poetry with a Muslim intent to convert rural Hindus by writing in Hindi—the language most familiar to them. Both views are in keeping with the modern Hindu nationalist anxiety about the expansion of Islam and its allegedly hostile historical presence in India. This paper focuses on a mixed Hindi-Persian lyric poem, Bikat kahani, by the mid-seventeenth century Mughal poet Afzal. Although Afzal himself offers no commentary on his motivations in composing the poem in two languages, internal textual evidence suggests that he used Hindi to emphasize a feminine narrative voice, thereby heightening the emotional charge of a poem in which the female lover (virahini) laments the absence of her male beloved. Later Mughal commentators such as Valeh Daghestani offered explanations of this language hybridity by casting the poet Afzal as a convert to Hinduism in keeping with the lyric convention of the Muslim lover having to embrace kufr (disbelief) as proof of his single-minded pursuit of the beloved. Thus, far from being a form of mediation between Persian-speaking Muslims and Hindi-speaking Hindus, Bikat kahani was understood by medieval readers like Valeh as a paradigmatic text in which a Muslim proves his sincerity as a lover by displaying his conversion to Hinduism through his use of Hindi.

Aravinda Pillalamarri, University of Wisconsin-Madison
Reading Dalit Literature

How does Dalit literature attempt to reveal the social and political oppression, in the form of silence and invisibility, with which established ways of understanding language and literature are complicit? How does Dalit literature disrupt this complicity by shifting the site of representation and attempting to recreate the contexts of its production? To what extent has removal from context constituted the prevailing standard of the literary and how does this replicate the ideology of caste? To the extent that this pushes literature away from subject formation and mimetic reading, what relationship between author and reader does Dalit literature make possible? In what way has the idea of language as a deliverable commodity influenced our conceptions of the human and the literary? Reading certain poems from the anthology of translated Dalit poems _Poisoned Bread_ I will demonstrate the ways in which Dalit literature questions these conceptions and demands new ways of reading. I will also discuss the implications of translation and international reception on the meaning of this literary movement.

W. Dennis Pontius, University of Michigan
Strategic Religion: The Politics of Orthodoxy Among the Tamang of Nepal

Changes in the value placed on religious activities can drastically alter the social order and local level political economies. The resurgence of Tibetan Buddhist ideology among the Tamang of Nepal
has resulted in the transformation of their religious practices. This is particularly true for those living in villages who were, until recently, under the direct control of the state. In these villages other, non-Buddhist, religious forms and institutions were encouraged until quite recently. Now, central to the rise of ethnic consciousness among Tamang throughout Nepal have come demands for the return to Buddhist religious practice. In the Tamang villages of the Kathmandu valley this has led to a profound change in the religious activities of villagers. This is not only seen in the types of rituals participated in by lay people but in the make up of the religious order within these villages. In this paper I will trace the life of one man who has managed to remain a religious leader throughout this period of change.

Through an analysis of this man's life history I will show how the value placed upon various kinds of religious practice have changed over time. I will pay particular attention to how these external political considerations have influenced the religious activities of villagers and what this has meant in the lives of both villagers in general and those involved in supplying them with the rituals necessary in their lives.

Leela Prasad, University of Pennsylvania
Talk About Eating Together: Upacara (Propriety) and the Negotiation of Caste in Sringeri

I analyse two oral narratives about public meal events in Sringeri, southwestern Karnata. Known for its Sankara matha, Sringeri shares the region's fame for upacara (translated from Kannada as "appropriate conduct," "hospitality", or "sweet talk"), but it is a fame that has come to be criticized today as ironic by visitors. This contested disrepute, in fact, makes residents more sensitive to, and critically evaluative of, the performance of cordiality, and to the politics--and the aesthetics--of managing cultural difference. One narrative describes meal arrangements made by the matha when it hosted local residents and patrons from outside during a 21-day ceremony. The other centers around the sharing of duties in hostel meals by participants from various communities. The central issue in both narratives is the problem of how to delicately negotiate the question of caste while organizing public meal events. Analysing various narrative frames, I explore how local insider/outsider configurations, the matha's influence as "traditional" dharmic authority, and the cultural emphasis on subtly managing social detail come together in the narratives. Notwithstanding intricate prāstric stipulations, these narratives underscore how individuals negotiate the tensions between prescribed and practiced modes of social conduct, and through these negotiations, illustrate diverse possibilities for interpreting propriety.

Vijay Prashad, Trinity College
Sly Baba: Deepak Chopra in the American Imagination

Deepak Chopra is the Guru of the 1990s fortysomethings who provides the mystical feeling of the 1960s gurus (Maharishi) as well as the self-indulgent corporatism of the 1980s gurus (Rajneesh). I will offer a detailed critique of his ideas on health and on the human personality as well as offer a critique of his use of Ayurveda from a reading of Agnivesa's Caraka-Samhita. The paper will locate Chopra's ideas in relation to the crisis in health care in the US since the 1970s.
Postcolonial states such as Pakistan provide sites to examine relationships between ethnicity, civil society and state. Their recent political history is usually marked by efforts at state-building within the context of ideological debates and ethnonational challenges. Social science writing has assessed Pakistan's political development by concentrating on state ideology and policy, i.e. state-building, and slighting civil society. Because state and civil society are mutually constitutive, political processes within an expanding civil society provide another means to analyze identity-based social movements.

The paper accounts for the emergence of a mass identity-based movement in Pakistan. Identity politics in turn can expand and strengthen civil society. I examine the ways in which state sovereignty and legitimacy is reworked by subnational movements. State structure, I argue, depends on discursive and institutional practices that mark a boundary between civil society and state. An ill-defined and porous boundary between civil society and the state can affect the extent of state sovereignty. Processes that legitimate state sovereignty go on within the complex public discourses of civil society. I view ethnic nationalism as the deployment of contesting institutional and discursive practices within civil society to interrogate and reformulate state legitimacy and sovereignty.

I explore the nature of civil society in Pakistan by producing a political history of the formation of a "migrant" (Mohajir) identity among the urban population of Sindh province in southern Pakistan. Mohajirs are an urban, largely literate minority group which dominates some of Pakistan's largest cities. They are descended from Muslims who migrated from Muslim-minority provinces in India to Pakistan after independence from colonial rule in 1947. "Indian" Muslims who led the movement for Muslim separatisnt in colonial India took a leading role in state-building in Pakistan. In the last two decades "Mohajirs" have moved from staunch supporters of Muslim autonomy in India, to advocating official Pakistani nationalism, to pursuing a political identity based on ethnicity. As other ethnic groups in Pakistan become upwardly mobile, Mohajir nationalism has been driven by relative economic and political deprivation. More interesting is the Mohajir transition from mistrusting the prospect of a centralized state in India to supporting then challenging the Pakistani state they helped build. This shift in political objectives led Mohajirs to conceptualize a series of particularly subtle views on the relationship between state, society and ethnicity. Meanwhile, their political practice has oscillated between active cooperation and support of the state to selective opposition. My research indicates that Mohajirs have attempted to devise a political doctrine that links its post-independence contestation of state authority with a reformulation of the bases of state legitimacy and sovereignty.

Chitra Raghavan, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Identity, Self, Personhood: What Does It All (Not) Mean?
Almost no other construct has excited as much attention as that of "the self" in fields as varied as philosophy, anthropology, feminist ideologies, marxism, religious ideologies, and psychology. Each field has tended to approach the study of the self from a particular, though often related, theoretical standpoint, drawing upon different epistemologies to make its point. Consequently, there is a profusion of meanings attached to labels such as the self, identity, and person. The confusion and controversy regarding the construct of the self has heightened considerably in recent years, with the criticism that the definitions of the self are often irrelevant and inapplicable to many cultures. This paper will explore the different meanings attached to the constructs of the self, identity, and personhood; how these meanings are derived; and why it is a worthwhile endeavor to continue the pursuit of untangling the self.

Lynn Rainville, University of Michigan
A South Indian Microcosm: Reuse, Recycling, and Trash in an Indian Village

Archaeologists usually analyze architectural remains, pottery, and craft items in order to understand domestic organization and activities. Small finds (defined as objects under 3 cm in length), are often ignored. I argue that an analysis of microdebris can provide information on commonplace daily activities, while, in contrast, the larger remains often indicate rarer events, such as the disposal of a shoe or a broken pot. Because of the rural Indian practice to reuse and recycle many items, a study of microdebris, such as seeds, small pieces of paper, or other non-reusable items, is particularly useful. To test the utility of this approach, I studied the daily disposal activities of three rural South Indian families and analyzed soil samples from their trash pits. Analysis focused on both large and small finds, screening the latter with .5 cm to 2 cm mesh screens. My results suggest that a thorough analysis of both macro and microdebris is necessary in order to understand daily activities and the impact of reuse in archaeological contexts.

Swarna Rajagopal, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Tamil is My Mother; India is a Feeling in My Heart

The fiftieth anniversary of India's independence is an opportune moment to re-examine all the bases of Indian identity and statehood. Foremost among these is 'India' itself. What is India? Is it a mystical bond between the citizens of the Indian state, a shared political contract that is constantly renewed, a passport or an accident of history and fate? Or is it something else altogether?

This paper draws on the ideas about and definitions of 'India' culled by the panelists from their work in three prominent Indian regions — Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. Together, they suggest the beginnings of a counter-point to the Indian state's own self-definition. In light, too, of a central government dominated by regional parties, such an effort is timely and topical.

Sumathi Ramaswamy, University of Pennsylvania
Mapping the Body Politic, Envisioning the Nation
J. B. Harley, the well-known historian of cartography, notes that "maps as an impersonal type of knowledge tend to 'desocialize' the territory they represent—they foster the notion of a socially empty space." Drawing upon material from twentieth-century Tamilnadu, this paper considers an alternate tradition of mapping the body politic in which the nation is cartographically presented to its subject citizens not as 'empty social space,' but as a known mother-figure as embodied in the images of Bharata Mata (Mother India) and Tamilittay (Mother Tamil). Through an analysis of the "carto-images" of Bharata Mata and Tamilittay as these appear in school textbooks, postcards, posters, and newspaper cartoons, I ask what is at stake in cartographically deploying the female body to map the nation. And I consider how such carto-images, even as they systematize a particular visual image of "India," also consolidate the notion of the nation as "motherland."

Barbara N. Ramusack, University of Cincinnati
Issues of Equity: Maternal Medical Facilities in Rural Mysore, 1880-1930

The princely state of Mysore established maternity hospitals in the 1880s in Bangalore and Mysore city, its administrative and princely capitals, to reduce maternal and infant mortality. In subsequent decades smaller municipalities and rural districts began to demand maternal medical care arguing that most of the state population lived, worked, and paid taxes in these areas. In this paper I will trace the extension of maternal medical care first through the establishment of female dispensaries and the provision of "scientifically" trained midwives and then in the 1920s and 1930s with the development of maternal hospitals and health visitors. I will analyze the complex interaction among the Mysore durbar, municipalities, and district boards over the issue of financing and managing these medical facilities, the difficulties encountered in the recruitment and retention of medical personnel, the dilemmas involved in attracting women to utilize these services, and the relationship between public and private, mainly missionary, institutions. My tentative hypothesis is that the Mysore state durbar was most interested in providing maternal health facilities in areas of particular economic significance, especially the Kolar Gold Fields and the Malnad with its coffee and areca nut plantations.

Asha Rani, University of Chicago
Politics of Enumeration: Ethnicizing Identity in Colonial North India

This paper will discuss how, through the enumerative strategies of censuses, gazetteers and linguistic survey reports, the category of language was redefined and rearticulated in late 19th century colonial north India. This genre of "enumerative writings", otherwise, commonly known as "official discourse", not simply facilitated the process of state rationalization in terms of counting and numbering of numerous languages, dialects, and mother tongues of people but also advocated, in the process, the rationale for standardization and homogenization of linguistic diversity. The paper engages with a set of such enumerative practices which aimed at objectifying and ethnicizing the linguistic landscape of north India from 1900 to 1950. It argues that to treat these writings as simply 'techniques' of control, authority and legitimacy on behalf of the British colonial state does not allow an agency of 'resistance' and protest to the people who constantly argued and debated over these categories. It is therefore, necessary to look at its other side, that is, how a 'strategic reversibility' of the enumeration process was intimately a part of the larger nationalization or nativization project on the part of both the colonial state and nationalists. The
paper will engage with a set of enumerative writings prepared by several colonial officials, linguists, ethnologists, census commissioners, gazetteers writers and survey reporters and will show how a dialect of universalization vs particularization, individualization vs collectivization, homogenization vs heterogenization was central to the problematic of Hindi and Urdu linguistic identity conflict during this period. At the same time, this larger process of quantification could not work without its immediate consequences for the community identity politics based on re-alignment of caste, religion, race, and language identities.

Brinda Rao, University of California-Berkeley
Post-Colonialism, Gender, and "Indigenous" Cosmetics: Mythologies of Beauty and Womanhood in India and Abroad

Focusing on the recent attention paid to the globalisation of capitalism and the production of desire for consumption of multiple and fractured authenticities, the purpose of this paper is to explore the relevance of indigenous forms of cosmetic knowledge to the operation of international economies, and its links to the reconfiguration of specific notions of nation, gender-identity and class in postcolonial India. This paper will examine the process of "disembodiment" of indigenous scientific knowledge, especially as it relates to the alternative cosmetic industry. I am seeking to understand the conditions under which this knowledge has "migrated" to diasporic contexts in the West to produce specific notions of "eastern" beauty and authenticity, on the one hand, and equally specific, static, and colonial distortions of subaltern gendered subjectivities in India. Using examples from media advertisements in India and the United States, I discuss the double-sided process through which, on the one hand, images of India in the diasporic imagination are filtered and consumed through essentialised versions of beauty and ethnicity, and on the other hand serve to provide a reconstitution and rationalization of new urban, middle class gendered and "hybrid" subjectivities.

Chandra Mouliswara Rao, Sri Venkateswara University
Federalizing Indian Polities - The Role of the Telugu Desam Party — A Study

The Federal spirit enshrined in the Constitution was never allowed to come to fore during the Congress Rule at the Centre in India. With the declining influence of the Congress since 1967 and the emergence of the Non-Congress national and region-- parties on the Indian political scene, the Federal mechanism started asserting itself in the functioning of the Indian Polity and the centre-State Relations.

The emergence of the Telugu Desam Party in Andhra Pradesh in 1982, its electoral landslide victory in 1983, its role in the formation of the Southern Chief Ministers Council in 1983, holding of the series of conclaves of the Non-Congress leaders, the Appointment of the Sarkaria Commission on Centre-State Relations in 1983, formation of National Front in 1989, its call for restructuring of Centre-State ties in favour of devotion of powers to the States, formation of the Federal Front of Regional parties in 1996, its President and Chief Minister Chandra Babu Naidu, AP, playing the role of the architect of the United Front consisting of 13 National and Regional parties at the Centre, its role in the replacement of the BJP Government at the Centre by the United Front, the fire-fighting role played by the Supremo of the Federal
Front in reinstalling the United Front Government under a new leader, Mr. Inder Kumar Gujral in 1997, are highlighted in this paper, providing an analysis of the role of regional parties in national politics thus federalising the Indian politics on the foundations of the hitherto existing structure of the one party dominance of the Congress Party, relegating it to the place of a supporting dispensation without allowing it a share in the Governmental power at the Centre.

_Nalini Rao, Amarillo Museum of Art_

**The Art and Role of Hindu Monasteries in South India**

The paper is an original investigation into the art and social role of South Indian Hindu monasteries known as _Mathas_ or _Matams_ in the context of South Indian religion and history. It is an enquiry into the origin and growth of these widespread institutions in relation to the Hindu temple, Buddhist and Jain monastary (vihara) and the ancient Indian educational institution (gurukula and agrahara) through & visual analysts of its art and architectural form. Issues that will be discussed include the role of the individual, ideology, caste and philosophical schools in the growth of sectarian _mathas_; royal patronage and features of medieval kingship in the development of monasteries: and incorporation of feeding, as well as iconic and aniconic worship in its form and function. My central argument is that the _matha_ may be seen, in visual form as an institutionalization of the guru.

_Vijayanthi V. Rao, University of Chicago_

**Displacement and the Normative Orders of Place: Notes on Subjecthood, Citizenship and Archaeological Transformations of the Past**

The construction of the Srisailam Dam over the River Krishna in Andhra Pradesh, India entailed the displacement of more than 100,000 persons from an area covering around one hundred villages due to the submergence of these villages. Prior to the submergence, the State Department of Archaeology and Museums undertook a remarkable project to ‘rescue’ more than a hundred monumental Hindu temples located in these villages, by physically dismantling them and reconstructing them at specified sites in the areas resettled by displaced villagers. Of the 20,000 families displaced by the construction of the dam, nearly half availed of legal remedies against the state over compensation, some claiming ownership rights over lands occupied under various ‘traditional’ tenures such as Inam (Gift) which were deemed as being vested in the state subsequent to the passage of laws abolishing such ‘traditional’ tenures. This paper locates an emergent space for such ‘traditional’ rights and tenures and the social relations they embodied between the complex (and historically ‘past’) political practices of gift (Inam) channeled through the functioning of one “rescued” temple (of the Sri Vaishnava sect) as a social, economic, religious and ritual space prior to submergence and the administrative practices of modern states (colonial and national) in disposing with the legally non-modern forms of right and interest. The transformation of these social relations, it will be argued, signals a shift in local understandings of subjectivity and the emergence of a notion of a national citizen-subject not only through a transformation of the ritual contexts in which local subjects are produced but also through the archaeological intervention into a local space of memory and the integration of this space into the bureaucratic-national space-time.
Mohammed Rashiduzzaman, Glassboro State College
The Islamic Critique of Economic and Media Globalization in Bangladesh

I wish to concentrate on Bangladesh with reference to the Islamic parties and the orthodox Muslim groups' reactions to economic internationalization, media globalization and cultural "domination" (through the NGOs). I have recently completed a paper on the Islamic groups' response to women's development and the NGO's in Bangladesh which will be part of Sic resources for my presentation.

Chandan Reddy, Columbia University
Local/Global: The Queer Aesthetics of Shyam Selvadurai's Funny Boy and Shani Mootoo's Cereus Blooms At Night

Together with recent inquiry into the internationalization of capital and the formation of transnational economies within national territories has been a consideration of diaspora cultures in the North and "new social movements" in the South. Within this double focus we might say that while capital extends its universality globally, the forms of articulation against capital remain situationally specific. This paper will build upon the notion of "new social movements" by extending that concept's meaning to encompass the "movements" or shifts in aesthetic forms for figuring and representing new social subjects. More specifically, the paper focuses on two South Asian diasporic novels -- Funny Boy and Cereus Blooms At Night -- which take place in Sri Lanka and Trinidad respectively, to ask how a "queer aesthetic" might contribute to the representation of the experience of globalization in two different postcolonial contexts.

Russell M. Reid, University of Louisville
Nutritional Assessments from Available Indian Anthropometric Data

While there are many kinds of data that have proven useful in the assessment of nutritional status of individuals and of populations, anthropometry (measurement of the human body) has proven to be especially useful for field assessment. Often, the appropriate data are already available, having been collected for other purposes. This paper uses published data on adult males from the 1971 "All India Anthropometric Survey" to show how the "Body Mass Index" can be calculated from individual heights and weights to provide useful insights into variation in nutritional status both within and between castes. For example, an examination of the data from rural Haryana indicates that predominantly landed communities such as Jat Sikhs and Rajputs were, on average, significantly better nourished than either Brahmins or Harijans. Analysis of such published data also provide useful historical data when assessing secular trends in growth and development.

Beatrice Reusch, University of California-Berkeley
The Rg Veda and the Aryan Migrations
The Rg Veda is not the oldest archaeological piece in an Indo-European language. Hittite tablets are. Yet since this panel's focus is discussing how or whether speakers of a specific Indo-European language, an Aryan language that is, migrated into South Asia a few millennia ago, then the Rg Veda is unavoidable. The Rg Veda is the oldest literature on the planet written by Aryans, for Aryans, in an Aryan language, having Aryans as its protagonists. It was never engraved on stone or placed on the bottom of a pyramid, but its every word is remembered to this day -- at least in one of its recensions. Back in 1954, Emeneau (University of California, Berkeley) defined the entering of "the speakers of an Indo-European language into India over the northwest passes" as a "linguistic doctrine." Time has shown his statement to be accurate. My paper's purpose is not to perform any historical, epistemological, or ideological analysis of the doctrine. I will simply try to examine from a linguistic and philological perspective some Rg Vedic words and passages that have been or may be taken as indications of the coming of the Aryans from outside South Asia. My intention is to keep the text within its own textual context and thus let the data speak for itself. Albeit modest, this is not an easy task. One recent translation of some selections from the Rg Veda was dedicated "To all those who have occupied themselves with the Rg Veda and endeavored to understand its meaning."

Valerie Ritter, University of Washington  

Ayodhyasingh Upadhay "Harigudh's" epic poem Priyaprasas (1914), and his collection of Braj poetry, Rasakalas (1931) expressed the ambivalence of his generation of poets toward the erotic content of dominant poetic genres in Braj Bhasa. Beyond the didacticism that often characterizes Harigudh's style, his ambivalence was resolved through the use of particular poetic devices that were already part of the existing vocabulary of alankar, yet provided a framework for the transformed erotic content of Chayavad poetry. In the latter, nature became the screen upon which the activities of the lover and beloved were projected. Harigudh's use of nature began to unmoor poems from their original allegorical referents in Radha and Krishna and riti lovers to create a pointedly modern aesthetic in which nature itself was deployed in reassessments of ideal love and the poet's own voice. My paper will use examples of Braj Bhasha poetry by Bihari and Raslin,Dwivedi-era poetry (primarily of Harigudh), and poems of Nirala to illustrate the disjunctures and continuities found in the new Hindi poetic genres of the time.

Paul Robbins, University of Iowa  
Occupying the Ecologies on the Global/Local Border

Global environmental initiatives continue to drive and be driven by a declensionist discourse; the language of struggle against the forces of desertification, deforestation, and biodiversity decline is consistently evoked in Indian environmental policy. Locally, environmental narratives center on productivity, inclusion, and exclusion; the priorities of production and the politics of sovereignty dominate stories of environmental change in village Rajasthan. These two languages and priorities encounter one another in the daily life of producers and managers who adapt, adopt, and transform global and local environmental languages to the practical problems of their lives. In particular, local State
Forestry planation officers occupy the space between global environment and local cultural ecology. This paper focuses on the ecological priorities and daily politics of these officials. Here, the often assumed divisions between the global and the local fall apart, leaving an indeterminant and highly contested environmental terrain.

*Lloyd I. Rudolph, University of Chicago*

**Medievalism, Nationalism, and Romanticism in the Making of Tod's Rajasthan**

Why and how did James Tod construct the metaphors and narrative of his two volume *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* [1829 and 1832] in terms of feudalism, neo-classicism, Romanticism and nationalism? And how did his text influence imperial and Indian historiography and early, particularly Bengali, nationalist tropes and narratives?

I address these questions by inter alia examining and interpreting chapter I of the second part of volume I, "Sketch of a Feudal System in Rajasthan" where he tells us "I had ample abundant sources of intelligence to guide me in forming my analogies; Montesquieu, Hume, Millar, Gibbon. The most important for forming his analogies is the least renowned today, Henry Hallam's *View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages*. First published in 1818 and running through eleven editions in England and four in America, Hallam's *Middle Ages* unlike the works of the other authors Tod singles out, failed to achieve canonical status but for Tod writing in the 1820s it loomed larger than the others. We find evidence too of the influence Europe's burgeoning neo-classicism, Romanticism and nationalism, particularly as they are manifest in the "Hellenic" Greek "nation's" rebellion in 1821 against the despotism of the Ottoman Turks.

Finally I consider how Tod's text shaped British imperial ideology, e.g. India's princes as loyal vassals of the Queen Empress, the theory of the martial races; Rajput conceptions of themselves as valorous warriors and ancient ruling dynasties; and nationalist conceptions of heroic history and resistance to despotic imperial rule.

*Clara Sacchetti, York University, Canada*

**Colonial Encounters: Single-Lady Missionaries in India, 1870-1900**

Feminist history underscores the important role middle-class Victorian "western" women played promoting British colonialism. This was especially the case in late-19th century India, where evangelists, government agents, and sojourners generally believed that India was not an entirely "savage" or "barbaric" place; an ideal that allowed "western" women - albeit mostly as wives of colonial agents or missionaries - to travel to the Orient. My paper explores the various ways in which Victorian constructions of Indian womanhood helped to open up spaces for "western" women to participate in the colonial project - especially single-lady Baptist missionaries from Canada. At a time when Victorian women were circumscribed in the private sphere and metonymically indexed by their reproductive abilities, the single-lady missionary, who was neither a mother nor a wife, constituted a "deviation" from the norm. To legitimize this "deviation," missionaries fashioned an image of Indian womanhood as a "degraded" but powerful force in the modernization of Indian society. By evoking these two polar
discourses, single-lady missionaries were able to expand Victorian conceptualizations of "western" womanhood and, by extension, their role in the colonial arena.

Lawrence Saez, University of Chicago

Rethinking Indian Federalism: The Significance of the Sarkaria Commission for Centre-State Relations

On June 5, 1996, the newly appointed United Front government released a "Common Minimum Programme" (CMP). A centerpiece of this document was the United Front's strategy with respect to a redefinition of federal relations in India. The CMP called for the implementation, through administrative and legislative action, of the recommendations of a 1988 governmental commission called the Sarkaria Commission. For that purpose, the CMP invoked a two-track policy. The first track entailed the implementation of those Sarkaria recommendations "on which there is a broad consensus." The CMP also proposed a second track which called for a "high level committee to review and update the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission." On July 7, 1996, Prime Minister Deve Gowda appointed Orissa's Chief Minister, J.B. Patnaik, to prepare a paper on recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission in consultation with other veteran Chief Ministers.

This paper examines some of the key provisions of the Sarkaria Commission. The paper first analyzes the context under which the Sarkaria Commission was constituted. It then examines the Sarkaria Commission's recommendations in light of some of the key debates brought to light in the responses to the Sarkaria Commission. The paper goes on to argue that the debates about federalism as embodied in the Sarkaria Commission Report did not illustrate a simple difference in approach to centralization and decentralization of federal power. Instead, borrowing Alexis de Tocqueville's terminology, the debates about federalism in the Sarkaria Commission showed differences in approach with respect to centralization and decentralization of administration, but a consensus with respect to centralization of government. The paper concludes with an analysis of the limited legislative efforts to enact some recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission and its prospects for successful implementation under the United Front government.

A. Whitney Sanford, Iowa State University

Negotiating Braj Cultural Tensions Through Poetic Vision

In Braj bhakti, icons of the deity - whether presented through verbal and visual media - lead the bhakta inward on a cognitive pilgrimage which transforms the bhakta's perspective from lauikika to alauikika. These iconic images function as code for the bhakta; each detail triggers culturally constructed mytho-poetic associations which strengthen the bhakta's identification with the lila. Balarama - like Krishna - represents an amalgamation of disparate threads which coalesced over time, yet, Balaram E5ma's cultic antecedents (naga, yaksa and agricultural) represent multiple cultural tensions which render him an ambivalent figure. Images of Balarama - poetic and visual - mediate tensions between representations of urbanity and the rural; pastoral constructions of nature and the raw aggression of an "unconstructed" nature compete for self-expression through Balarama.
Priya Sankalia, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
A Regional Spatial Analysis of Forts in the Chitradurga Area, Karnataka

Anthropological and ethnohistorical studies of the poligar chiefs in South India have demonstrated the changing construction of kingship in medieval south India. This paper explores this change through the archaeological record with a spatial analysis of the forts and fortifications in the Chitradurga area of Karnataka. The observed proliferation of military architecture in the region is offered as a premise based on the post 1565 downfall of the Vijayanagara empire, and its resulting economic and political dynamics. Using gazetteer information, Survey of India map data and a GIS approach, this paper will analyze these political and economic interactions that possibly manifested a distinct archaeological signature.

Stuart Sarbacker, University of Wisconsin-Madison
Yoginis and Dakinis: Goddesses on the Threshold

The religious cults surrounding the Yoginis and Dakinis demonstrate a process of interpretation and re-interpretation of myth within the regions of Northern India, Nepal, and Tibet. In the Hindu tradition, the Yoginis are associated and identified with marginal and malevolent figures such as the Goddess Kali, the Matrikas and Grahas, sorceresses and graveyard spirits, and female ascetics and yogis. In Buddhism, though the malevolent appearance of the Yoginis and the Dakinis remains, there exists a strong association of these goddess-figures with the conception of prajna, or wisdom, and certain historically important female ascetics and meditators. A diversity of scriptural bases and identifications are found within Hindu and Buddhist literature which detail the particularities of each cult with regards to initiation and outer and inner objects of ritual worship and meditation. The relationship between the valuation of these mythic figures and the role and activity of women and the "feminine principle" within these traditions is an issue which has been explored in the works of authors such as Shaw, Klein, Gross, and Willis. These studies also provide a reflective example of the extension of the influence of these mythic forms upon American culture. We argue that the Yoginis and Dakinis can be understood to be "on the threshold" in several respects. Often associated with malevolent and dangerous forces, they stand on the margins of life and society. As initiators, they stand on the threshold between ignorance and wisdom. As women they epitomize an ideal of autonomy which breaks down cultural and religious boundaries.

Mahua Sarkar, Johns Hopkins University
Hindu Perceptions of Muslims and the Problematic of Muslim Identity in Late Colonial Bengal

Recent pioneering work on Muslims, in general, and Muslim women, in particular, has shown that identity tensions among Bengali Muslims in late colonial Bengal arose chiefly, if not solely, out of their efforts to reconcile an inherited “Islamic” (i.e. Perso-Arabic) culture with a new indigenous (Bengali) one. The present paper both builds on and seeks to go beyond this existing scholarship. It argues that the identity question amongst Muslims in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries stemmed at least as much from the prevailing constructions of these identities, the “Islamic” and the "Bengali", in currency at that time—constructions engineered by a dominant Hindu community. The paper cites articles from
contemporary Bengali periodicals to show that Muslims were not only aware of negative representations of themselves, but were involved in actively contesting them in their efforts to forge a Bengali Muslim identity.

_Laxman D. Satya, Lock Haven University_

**The Impact of British Colonialism on the Land, Water, and Forest Resources of Berar (Central India) in the 19th Century**

This paper will address the impact of cotton cultivation on this region. It will analyze how the gradual extension of cash crop agriculture led to large scale ecological disturbances. It will study the impact of colonial pressure on traditional irrigation methods, water and forest resources of Berar. How did colonial exploitation lead to deforestation and dislocation of forest dwellers? How did the traditional agricultural society adapt to the drastic change brought about by colonial technology like railroads, telegraph, metalled roads, steam gins and presses, etc. A general rise in temperature and the scarcity of water for human and animal use will be seen in the context of changing ecological landscape. How did environmental change lead to the rise of diseases like cholera, smallpox, malaria, plague, fever, bowel-complaints etc.? In what ways did colonialism lead to the decline of food availability and famine? There is certainly a connection between famine and ecological change. This paper will critically examine this connection.

In summary the paper will look at the overall picture of the environment and analyze the impact of colonialism on it. This will be undertaken through the study of changing demography, human migration pattern, disease, temperature, rainfall, weather pattern, cropping pattern, water salinity, soil condition, floral and faunal condition, land use, etc.

_Mathew Nelson Schmalz, University of Chicago_

**Tales Untouchables Tell: Counter Myths Among Landless Laborers in Eastern Uttar Pradesh**

Based upon ethnographic research in the Ballia District in Eastern Uttar Pradesh, this paper examines how untouchable landless laborers have developed their own counter mythology. In so doing, they attempt to reclaim an identity which they believe the prevailing culture has either hidden or distorted. The counter-myths told largely concern the _Ramayana_ in which Ravana becomes a revolutionary crusader for social justice with Hanuman portrayed as a libertine and rapist. Such reinterpretations of Hindu myths stand alongside more political stories which claim that the scheduled castes were the original inhabitants of India who, after Independence, were destined to establish the independent state of “Chamaristan,” only to have such aspirations thwarted by Gandhi and Nehru. The paper concludes by considering how these counter-myths draw upon a variety of political and cultural movements resisting untouchability and constitute an analysis and critique of what are considered to be the dominant themes in Indian life.

_Carolyn Woodford Schmidt, Independent Scholar_

**Bodhisattva Images with Floral- or Jewel-Wreath Attributes in Buddhist Art of Ancient Gandhara**
At some point, seemingly during the late second or early third century A.D., sculptors in Buddhist ateliers of Gandhara began to produce large schist images of turban-wearing Bodhisattvas that carry floral or jewel wreaths. While these large examples exist as isolated images long removed from their original iconographic contexts, the life-size or half-life-size scale of the images and the technical skill with which they were carved place these Bodhisattvas among the finest examples of early Mahayana Buddhist art from South Asia. Held in the proper left hand, the use of the floral or jewel wreath attribute appears to be unique to the Bodhisattva tradition of the northwest sector of the sub-continent. No examples have been recovered from Buddhist communities that were also active at this time in the Mathura region or regions to the west of the Safed Koh.

An approach that offers possibilities for supplementing information that can be developed from early Mahayana literary preferences, stylistic characteristics, and archaeological reports is comparative analyses focussed on small-scale stone panels and stelae from the same period and region. Several diminutive relief images that replicate the characteristics of large, individually sculpted figures offer invaluable insight into iconographic developments by providing models for the reconstruction of Buddha triads and other programmatic features.

Peter L. Schmitthenner, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
Telugu Identity Arising out of Resistance to the "Orientalist" Construction of Modern Telugu, ca. 1840-1875

This paper examines and compares works constructed during the mid-nineteenth century that were aimed at legitimizing an emerging prose literature in Telugu. On one side were descriptive grammars, lexicons, and accompanying texts that were largely the product of Western influence and incorporated colloquial spoken usage of Telugu. The chief representative author of such works was C.P. Brown, known particularly for his Telugu-English and English-Telugu dictionaries (both were first published in 1852), and, to a lesser extent, for his Grammar of the Telugu Language (1840; rev. 1857). Contemporaneously, native Telugu scholars wrote prescriptive grammars, lexicons, and accompanying works. Prose defined by such works was largely guided by classical Telugu and Sanskrit grammatical rules for writing poetry.. The chief representative of this latter category of works was Baalavyakaranamu, a grammar written by Paravastu Cinnaya Suri and first published in 1858. Until recent times, such prescriptive works have retained greater authority over descriptive works. Thus, in the "modern" vernacular construction of Telugu grammar, native (particularly brahman) agency appears to have been much more influential than any colonial-based forces.

Charles M. Schweik, Indiana University
Using Spatial Information to Understand Forest Change and Community Dynamics: A Case from Nepal

In most settings, the forest composition we witness today is a product of temporal anthropogenic and nonanthropogenic disturbances. Any investigation dedicated to understanding human impact on forest resources therefore requires the collection of information on the condition of forests across multiple time
periods. Or does it? Scholars from geography, anthropology and other disciplines have long been aware of the informing nature of spatial relationships: human actions from a previous time often leave their imprints in today's landscape. Traditional empirical studies of forest condition typically ignore this type of information and rely on aggregated forest-level indicators developed from aspatial plot-level analyses. This paper conducts a spatial analysis of one particular important forest product species using geographically referenced forest plots collected in the southern Siwalik hills of Nepal. After accounting for the natural spatial distribution of the species and physiographic influences, an unexpected geographic pattern is discovered. This pattern is best explained through an understanding of the forest governance structure and the social inequities that exist between villagers within the forest user community.

Martha Ann Selby, Southern Methodist University
The Sign of the Bangle: On the Symbolic Life of an Object in Early Indian Poetry

Inspired by Roland Barthes' 1953 essay "The World as Object," this paper will trace the symbolic life of a single item, the bangle, through several centuries of poetry and across three distinct poetic traditions. I will be drawing poems for close analysis from various classical anthologies, including the Sanskrit Subhasitaratnakosa and the Amarasataka, the Old Tamil collections Nairnai and Ainkurunuru, and the Maharastri Prakrit Gathasaptasati and Vajjalagga. The goal of the paper is to demonstrate the diverse ways in which poets from three discrete traditions have understood and incorporated into their compositions a solitary object common to their physical and literary environments, and, in turn, how audiences well-versed in aesthetic convention should ideally process this object in the act of "reading."

Sagaree Sengupta, University of Wisconsin-Madison
The Pleasures of Prejudice: Bharatendu Hariscandra's Social Satires

My paper will discuss the ambivalent motivations behind the stereotypes found in social satires written by the 19th-century Hindi and Brajghasha writer Bharatendu Hariscandra. In addition to over-colorful content that unavoidably connects these short dramas to the milieu of their composition in spite of Hariscandra's "classic" status in Hindi literary history, the plays embed implications about the very nature and value of dramatic performance in the Indian context.

Jim G. Shaffer, Case Western Reserve University
Migration, Philology and South Asian Archaeology

Prior to the development of archaeology as a distinct discipline, philology, or historical linguistics, was academically and publicly believed to be the only field of investigation that could provide insight into historically unknown human arenas. An important element in this approach was the widely held association of linguistic and cultural change with specific peoples, or "races", and their movement across the landscape. Such beliefs persists in South Asia which is routinely depicted as little more than a host of series of migrations, or diffusionary influences, from the West. Certainly the most significant, and one of the earliest, of these migrations was that of the Indo-Aryans. Archaeological research now indicates
this traditional hypothesis of an Aryan invasion into South Asia is unsupported by the emergent data. Rather than an invasion or diffusion from the West, the South Asian archaeological record indicates cultural continuity and internal changes which are consistent with the traditional Vedic accounts. A discussion of these developments and how they affect our understanding of not only South Asian cultural history but also that of the more expansive paradigm of Indo-Aryan (European) linguistic theory will be presented.

S. Shankar, Rutgers University

Poison, or Committed Literature in the Age of Global Capitalism

Writing in the age of global capitalism should be a poisonous activity. Committed literature (to resurrect an old, discredited term), like poison, must course through the body of global capitalism, leaving dissolution and change behind. Like poison, committed literature is not outside the body it corrupts. It has no way of moving about in the world—of finding distribution as people in the industry of publishing might say—except through the channels that global capitalism itself makes available. Today, committed writers must be assassins, injecting poison into the veins of global capitalism. Our venomous objective must be two-fold—the spread of anti-capitalist ideas through our writing; and the dislocation of the big-business practices of publishing, the circus that is the marketing of literature. It seems to me the first, though apparently more substantive, is easier to achieve than the second.

At this point, a note of caution is in order. Is it not possible that by actively participating in the production of committed literature global capitalism reviews the substance of the criticism against it, coopts it and fortifies itself? It is possible, even probable, that to global capitalism committed literature is not poison but a vaccine. Is it not appropriate to say then that through committed literature global capitalism actually renews the vigor of its antibodies, retools the mechanisms of its defences?

I wish there were a simple answer. I will read an excerpt from my novel A Man of Where I Live and some poetry (including sections from the poem that was published in Contours of the Heart) not as a way of setting out an answer but rather to illustrate a dilemma.

Amita Shastri, San Francisco State University

Indian Tamils: The Ceylon Citizenship Act and Sri Lankan Politics

The current ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka has led scholars to analyze the past in a effort to discover the roots of the present crisis. Several studies have focused on the sectarian nature of the Sinhalese nationalist ideology and politics that developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. This paper examines a neglected aspect of this ideology and its consequent policy—the particularly conservative and illiberal bent it acquired in relation to the Indian Tamil population as tragically evident in the citizenship and franchise laws which were passed by the local elite soon after independence. In this essay, I argue that in the complex 'nested' calculations of high politics, the actions of D.S. Senanayake and his colleagues were rife with economic and political calculations, which could and did lead to explicitly ethnically divisive outcomes; just as much as did the more explicitly articulated ethnic policies of S. W. R. D.
Bandaranaike later. I show that the new laws critically altered the electoral balance between the various ethnic groups, and had a crucial bearing on the political and electoral possibilities for coming to power in the following period, with fateful consequences for ethnic relations within the polity as a whole.

*Elora Shehabuddin, Princeton University*

**Defining the Illicit: The Politics of Adultery in Rural Bangladesh**

Although adultery is not recognized as a criminal offense by the Bangladeshi state, over 60 women have been whipped, stoned or, in one instance, burnt at the stake, on charges of adultery since 1993. These punishments have been meted out in the form of fatwas [Islamic judgments] by village salish committees [mediation councils] comprising social and religious community leaders.

Through a detailed exploration of the reformed Muslim family law code espoused by the state and of customary laws, which are based on tradition and local interpretations of Islam and generally inform salish decisions, my paper analyzes the factors that have permitted local elites to take the law into their own hands in this manner. I explore the extent to which these rival codes reflect the concerns, interests and actual practices of impoverished Muslim men and women. I argue that their ignorance of the law, along with a lack of faith in the state’s ability to enforce its own laws, protect the weak, and uphold public morality, lead the rural poor to dwell largely outside the nation’s formal legal structure shunning courts in favor of informal salishes, for example rendering them, in the process, susceptible to exploitation by the rural elite.

*Mohan N. Shrestha, Bowling Green State University*

**Recent Migration Patterns in Nepal**

Population migration in Nepal is not a new phenomenon. However, it was only in the 1991 census, a question on the place of residence one-year prior to the census was administered. It was reported that 91,000 people or 0.5 percent of the total native born population aged one year and above changed their place of residence from one district to another district. Out of these total migrants, 59,000 people moved across their geographical regions. More than half of these migrants came from the Hill Region, followed by the Terai and the Mountain Regions. Major destinations of these migrants were the Terai Region, particularly the Eastern and the Western Terai Regions. The only Hill Region that gained population through the in-migration during this period was the Central Hill Region. With this rate of population migration, it is imperative that by the year 2000, the population of Terai Region will be equal to the combined population of the Hill and the Mountain Regions. If the present uncontrolled population migration continues, it will perpetuate economic poverty, social injustice, and ecological imbalance not only at the origin, Mountain and Hill Regions, but also at the destination area, the Terai Region. Therefore, this exodus of people from the hills and mountain areas in the north to the fertile plains in the south should be looked at not only as a symptom of population pressure and ailing agricultural economy, but also as a possible cause of failure of future national development process itself.
Land is not just a feature in the grand configuration of Nature; it is also a vital resource, imbued with social and cultural meanings because it is a source of social status and cultural roots. Land is what gives peasants their rootedness, what gives a peasant society like Nepal its economic character and grounding. By definition, common land can be viewed as a resource that anybody (or any class member) can claim. There are three competing forces that lay claim to this resource in the Tarai. They are: the State, the (local) dominant class, and the landless and near-landless (the dependent class). Admittedly, the division between the State and the dominant class is somewhat tricky because of the fact that the State’s ruling class is generally the dominant class in society. In this sense their interests certainly overlap. Yet their diverse interests cannot be ignored. While the state as a ruling class is vested with the duty of protecting its dominant class interest, the state as a ruler composed of certain factions or individual members of the ruling class is keenly interested in preserving its own factional or individualized priorities, that is, to maintain its powerhold and hence the spoils of their power and authority almost at any cost. Such a power and class configuration and contestation over common land has historically led to common tragedies, both for poor peasants and common land resources. Yet missing from this picture is any common ground that can bind the three competing forces together for a common cause, that is, to protect the ecological sanctity of the land as well as the economic security of the poor. It is these issues that my presentation will explore.

This paper recreates the everyday lives of middle-class Baghdadi women through the narrative of Farha, a member of the Jewish Diaspora of Calcutta, India. Farha, born in Baghdad, came to Calcutta to marry a petty trader. Then she travelled with her husband on several of his trading ventures across the Far East. She later set up her own small businesses in Calcutta, including an import-export trade in Jewish food and ritual items to support her family. Through her narrative the conceptual, material and spiritual worlds of middle to lower middle class women are examined from multiple locations. The roles women played in community are explored. The paper raises several questions related to issues of identity, travel and diaspora. While Farha’s life encompassed a great deal of spatial and geographical movement, she always stayed in one location - "The Baghdadi Jewish Community." Her travel was more about sustaining and recreating the diaspora community than an individual’s encounter with "otherness." The paper broadens notions of who was travelling and for what purposes in the 19th century in the East and Far East paying particular attention to the role of gender in coloring those experiences.

The world’s earliest writing systems tend to be invented/adopted for limited use, and later co-opted by other sectors of society for increasingly diverse purposes. The largely undeciphered script of the Indus...
Valley Civilization appears to be no exception to this pattern. But over the course of the possibly 900 years (ca. 2800-1900 B.C.) of its existence, there is still no evidence of its use in the diversity of contexts found in other early civilizations. The recent excavations of the Harappa Project in Pakistan have provided a chronology (still in development) for inscribed objects which, while showing increased diversity in repertoire of forms with which it is associated, suggests a still-restricted use of writing across Harappan society. This paper will compare the development and use of the writing system of the Indus Valley Civilization to other cultures, and develop criteria by which a contextual "ethnography of writing" can be applied to an archaeological context. It will also outline how the categories of form, material and message intertwine and can be tested against the interpretations given here and elsewhere.

**Natasha Singh, Sarah Lawrence College**

**Writing and the Burden of Representation**

This paper will examine issues facing writers and, in particular, writers who are emerging from marginalized communities. South Asian writers in the diaspora are currently engaged in a process of reconstructing our identities. In this process, however, we often feel the burden of representation. We know that when one's work goes out into the mainstream, one is often deemed to be the political representative or spokesperson for one's community. This burden of representation is placed upon South Asian writers, whether they like it or not. And to reject this burden does not change the fact that the expectation and assumption of representation continues to hold.

While some may feel empowered by being in this position, clearly no one person can write for a community which is heterogeneous, and one voice cannot and should not have to do that. This climate can amount to what writers now call self-censorship. Since there are so few South Asian writers who are reinventing our representation (as compared to their white counterparts), we may find ourselves reluctant to write about the problems and tensions in our respective communities. The danger in this reluctance, however, is that we lose out on valuable opportunities to redefine ourselves collectively, and, therefore, to engage in critical dialogue with one another. However, in examining both the issues of the burden of representation and the burden of accountability to one's community, it is crucial to interrogate not just dominant culture, but the climates we create within our own communities. How do we not only as South Asian writers but also as readers assess the works emerging from within the South Asian diaspora? Are we attached to notions of authenticity? What shapes the lens through which we write/read our communities/our selves? How do we critically talk about South Asian writing without essentializing identity? How do we share the burden of representation? How do we problematize accountability so that we allow for a multitude of voices/experiences to be reflected in our writing?

Reading excerpts from my short fiction, among which is the story "Miss Vindaloo" (appearing in Contours of the Heart: South Asians in North America), I will attempt to show the ways in which my own creative work incorporates and illuminates these issues.

**Rana P. B. Singh, Banaras Hindu University**

See J. McKim Malville
**Amita Sinha, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign**

**Design of Settlements in Vaastu Shastras**

The architectural treatises of medieval India, vaastu shastras, are based upon a metaphysical design philosophy which underlies the construction of furniture, vehicles, building details, buildings, and settlements. Design geometry is an abstraction of anthropomorphic form called purusha which is also a symbol of self. The vaastu shastras outline a theory of environmental design based upon person-place identity. Both sacred and secular structures are governed by its design principles. Design of settlements is an elaboration of architectural design at an enhanced scale, using a similar vocabulary of forms, their symbolic meaning, and design expertise.

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**Subir Sinha, University of Vermont**

**Revisiting State Retreat, Transnational Linkages and the Third System: Globalization and the Indian Fishworkers’ Movement**

Hardly a decade ago, scholars writing in solidarity with 'new social movements' in the South had begun to argue that local communities, comprising peasants, women and indigenous peoples, victims of state-led development, were struggling to find 'autonomy' from the state. Deep disillusionment with the post-war development project and with the state as its chief agent, in this formulation, required a retreat of the state, and the enhancement of local capacity to manage local affairs. Some saw in the new movements the contours of a 'post-development' era.

Globalization has thrown these theories, which pit 'state' and 'social movements' and 'global' and 'local' as adversaries, into some disarray. As McMichael (1996) has argued, it is the increasingly untrammed movement of global capital, not local social movements, which threaten to reduce the relevance of the state, and end development as we know it. Social movements in India now seem to enter into two sorts of new relationships, one with the state, and the other with social movements abroad. In the case of the Indian fisheries particularly, globalization has involved multinationals entering into joint ventures for deep sea fishing within the Indian EEZ with Indian business houses, and the national fishworkers entering into alliances with social movements globally.

This paper first draws attention to the new role of the state articulated in the Indian fishworkers' movement agenda, and then will focus on linkages it has established with environmental, fisheries and human rights movements worldwide. Using this movement as an example, I will provide critiques of theories of state retreat, and re-examine some theories, such as Korten's 'third system', which attempt to explain how and why social movements link up across national borders. I will conclude by outlining a theory of 'counter-globalization'.

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**Ajay Skaria, University of Virginia**

**A Counter-Aesthetics of Modernity: Some Dangi Histories**

In Dangs, a densely forested region of western India, there is a rich complex of oral narratives or gath about the past. This paper suggests that it is inadequate to understand these narratives as mere sources
for an oral history, or even as important resources for an ethnohistory. Rather, it argues that these narratives are better understood as articulations of a counter-aesthetics of modernity. In conventional understandings of modernity, history is an inescapable and inevitable precondition for thinking about personhood and agency. Thus, radical movements have often staked claims to recovering the history of subaltern groups, to reclaiming for these communities the pleasures (and struggles) of their pasts. Yet, both in Dangs and elsewhere, is this move of claiming history (and thus modernity) adequate? Focusing mainly on the ways in which Dangi narratives deal with questions of truth and time, my paper will argue that these narratives — and subaltern narratives about pasts, more generally — do not simply affirm history, do not only claim history, but that they also significantly exceed the concerns of history. Precisely because of this excess, the paper suggests, they produce hybrid histories, pasts that exist in an agonistic relationship with history and modernity.

Selma K. Sonntag, Humboldt State University
Contestation from Within: Autonomous Councils and the Indian Liberal Nation-State

A number of studies predicting the "end of the nation-state" envisage the nation-state being rendered obsolete by globalization and regional economic blocs. Others foresee traditional European nation-states and post-colonial nation-states disintegrating under the forces of communalism and secessionism.

In its obsolescence or disintegration, the totality of the nation-state remains the theoretical premise. In contrast, this paper suggests that it is the aporia of the nation-state itself that contests its theoretical (liberal) foundation. Fissures result from aberrations in the liberal project. The institutionalization of these fissures differ from federalism—they are not designed uniformly by administrative fiat. Rather they are asymmetrical and anomalous. As such they are the institutionalization of a "counter-discourse" to the liberal paradigm of the nation-state.

In the paper, autonomous councils in India are used as a case study of the institutionalization of the ruptures caused by the aporia of the post-colonial liberal nation-state. I argue that liberalism's contortions in accommodating group rights has resulted, in the Indian case, in the possibility of institutional alternatives, such as autonomous councils. These institutional structures contest the nation-state far more than the normal channels of dissent in the liberal nation-state, such as the courts.

Rajini Srikanth, Tufts University
Planting Land Mines in the Frontier of the Text

Contours of the Heart: South Asians Map North America (New York: Asian American Writers Workshop, 1996), of which I am co-editor, was one of the winners of the 18th annual Before Columbus Foundation American Book Awards. This collection of writings by first- and second-generation South Asians in the North American diaspora features fiction, poetry, essays, and photography. While both the editors and contributors are extremely gratified with the recognition conferred on the book, I wish to look beyond the euphoria of the present moment to examine some troubling implications.
What are the "responsibilities" a South Asian creative writer faces in the context of North American multiculturalism and its celebration of the production and consumption of literature by people of color? David Palumbo-Liu, in his introductory essay to the collection The Ethnic Canon, declares that one of the dangers of ethnic texts is that they come to serve as easy substitutes for the real experience of entering other cultures and comprehending their multiple dimensions. The text, he argues, becomes the comfortable space in which to encounter the "other." Liu's observation draws attention to the importance of the creative writer's task that s/he be always aware of the necessity of making the textual encounter multilayered, complex, and unsettling, precisely because the textual experience can become a kind of intellectual and abstract meeting ground that has been swept clean of the "unseemly" clutter of meaningful encounters.

Consider the text, as does Arnold Krupat, as a frontier, or as the line of contact between writer and reader, between one culture and another, or between diverse subgroups within a large ethnic group. Is it too prescriptive to enjoin the South Asian writer to riddle the textual frontier with land mines? South Asian communities in North America are diverse in terms of class, sexual orientation, religious practices, education, and occupations. Contours of the Heart: South Asians Map North America was conceived with the view to problematizing and complicating the portrayals of South Asian experiences in the United States and Canada. Yet, a multiculturalist literary endeavor can become complicit in the commodification and fetishization of the unfamiliar. A reader of the majority culture can consume the commodity and assess it to be "interesting" (a convenient and polite word with which to categorize difference). Is it ever possible for writers of color, in general, and for South Asian writers in the diaspora, in particular, to avoid such a reductive reading of their work? What are some of the devices that South Asian writers might deploy to mitigate against the easy consumption of their work?

My paper will serve as the "preface" to my reading from my short story "Fully Incorporated." By framing the reading within the paradoxes of multiculturalism and questions of commodification of South Asian diaspora culture(s), I hope to engage the audience in an interactive discussion of the ways in which my story confronts or does not confront the issues raised in the introductory presentation.

Radhika Subramaniam, New York University
Sacred Excess: Gandhi and Political Performance in Bombay

Bombay's streets have long been spaces of contention over religious processions that converted ostensibly public space into sites of a riotous and sacred excess. Nationalist campaigns used as their performative sources the festive formats of Muharram and the newly invented Gaipati procession. Gandhian satyagraha also used as its source religious models of sacrifice — for instance, in the great bonfire of foreign clothes that competed for crowds with the Prince of Wales' arrival in 1921. The central concern of this paper is the emergence of 'sacred excess' that is located at the core of both religious/nationalist processions and the unruly rioting mob of religious riots. It examines the performative connections between Gandhi's nationalist campaigns and prayer meetings and that used by the Hindutva movement in recent years. The issue of Muslim "public prayer" has been a source of tension, fanned by Hindu right groups. During the riots in Bombay in 1992-93, the local Hindutva political parties organized a series of massive prayer meetings called 'maha-aris' to "recapture the streets for Hindus." These prayer celebrations, it is said, inflamed religious passions and incited Hindu mobs
to attack Muslims. This paper asks therefore: How does the interaction of passion and place as manifested in political performances such as processions and prayer meetings also provide the source for the "riotous" crowd?

_Ajantha Subramanian, Duke University_

**Competing Visions of Sustainable Development: Local Fisheries in Tamilnadu**

India's New Economic Policy marks a shift from a command economy, in which the state was the primary vehicle of development, to an emphasis on private capital, both national and foreign, as the engine of growth. My paper outlines two positions on this new development paradigm by comparing their reactions to the modernisation of a local fishery. The first Sustainable Development position is exemplified by the National Fishworkers Forum (NFF); the second Hindu Nationalist approach by the Swadeshi Jagaran Manch (SJM). Their approaches to culture, democracy and the world economy form the bases of comparison. Both share a critique of the subordination of national interest to the global capitalist economy. However, they view national interest, and its cornerstones of development and democracy, very differently. The NFF defines democracy as the devolution of control over natural resources to artisanal producers and adopts their cultural economy of non-capital-intensive production as a basis for development. The SJM too uses a model of a decentralised economy grounded in a culture concept but this decentralisation is defined as greater liberalisation of state controls towards extending capitalist growth, and its cultural grounding as a fluid, stratified Hinduism. I argue that while the NFF offers a real alternative to globalisation, the SJM's Hindu-style capitalism operates within this paradigm.

_Radha Subramanyam, New York University_

See Elspeth Kydd

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_Tom Suchan, The Ohio State University_

**Locating the Mahasiddhas in Newar Buddhism**

The Mahasiddhas, Great Accomplished Ones, form a diverse range of personages from kings to housewives who, having obtained higher realizations in their lifetimes, acquired transcendental powers over physical and mental phenomenon. The tradition of great siddhas or master yogins occurs both in Buddhism and Hinduism. The great siddhas are generally believed to represent real, historical personages whose life spans coincided with the establishment of the great Buddhist learning centers during the Pala Sena Dynasties (7th to 12th centuries). In the Tibetan Vajrayana traditions, the great siddhas figure significantly as the authors and transmitters of many important texts. Although no similar teaching lineage per se occurs in Newar Buddhism, sick/has are mentioned in the Swayambhu Purana, and a number of sick/has are frequently represented in Newar Buddhist art. Their importance is primarily related to Cakrasamvara, the agam deity of many Newar temples. This paper will exam what sick/has occur in Newar Buddhism and how they relate to the greater ontology of the Newar Buddhist community.

_Peter Sutherland, Louisiana State University_
Government by Deity: Caste, Representation, and Agency in a Former Himalayan Hindu State

Caste (with a capital 'C') no longer dominates anthropological studies of India. But, despite repeated assertions that Enlightenment models and orientalist discourse have rendered caste agency invisible in western historiography, we still know little about the political life of castes (with a small 'c') in the pre-colonial Hindu state -- especially in the 'mid-field' of power between 'king' and 'village'. My regional fieldwork on the 'devi-devata' system (system of goddesses and gods) of eastern Himachal Pradesh fills that gap with a detailed study of a Himalayan political idiom which one of my informants felicitously calls 'government by deity'.

Ethno-historical analysis shows that the 'signifying practice' of tutelary deities and their oracles formerly articulated a territorially organized and caste-ranked system of collective representation, power, and agency in the twenty-two Hindu states of the Sirmil Hill States District under colonial rule.

I argue that this traditional religious system, now seen as the sign of 'under-development', still preserves a pre-colonial form of Hindu polity frozen by 'British protection' in 1815. My paper focuses on the world-constituting representational symbolism of jāti in government by deity in which different 'species' (jāti) of tutelary deity 'stand for', 'speak for', and 'act on behalf of' different human 'castes' (also jāti) in four kinds of relationship -- 1) between local communities (in peasant society), 2) with the king (in the former Bashahr state), 3) with demons (in nature), and 4) with the great gods (in Indraloka) -- through an idiom of 'dancing' palanquins, oracular speach, processions, and assemblies.

Anne Sweetser, ATS Consulting

NGO Contributions to Educational and Social Development in South Asia

NGOs functioned primarily as relief agencies until the early 1980s when more responsibility for social development was devolved to them by governments influenced by conservative international economics and severe budget constraints. Their numbers grew significantly and they received increasing support from international donors; more complex programmatic administrative and supervisory skills were demanded of them. Some NGOs criticized the failures or harmful consequences of the programs with which they were assisting, and sought greater opportunities to contribute to project design and relevant policies. With the cessation of the Cold War, their role as partner with government and the private sector is receiving greater scrutiny. Their ability to reach and directly involve citizens who might otherwise be 'left out' in planning and executing social programs for their own benefit has led to both improved social conditions, for example a more widely and perhaps better educated populace, and intensification of social capital -- the networks of association based on reciprocity and trust -- that constitute civil society and support further economic development. Examples pertaining to educational and social development in Pakistan, India and Bangladesh will be presented and discussed.

Woodman Taylor, University of Illinois-Chicago

Displaying Resistance to Imperial Designs: Visual Rhetoric of the Bada Mahal's Painting Program at Kota
Through 'reading' the visual rhetoric of the Bada Mahal wall painting program within the royal palace at Kota a counter history unfolds in architectural spaces that contests the hegemony of colonial histories. Here paintings as visually constructed history disturb the status and interpretation of textual representations. The wall painting program, which frames narrative episodes and also incorporates individual folio paintings mounted behind glass, projects a visual message of Rajput resistance to imperial designs during the early nineteenth century. For two years, from November 1819 to November 1821, Maharao Kishor Singh resisted British designs on Kota, engaging company forces in an armed conflict that for Tod was 'one of the most difficult that ever beset our policy in the East.' In his contestation of supplemental articles added to Kota's 1817 treaty with the British, Kishor Singh opposed British support of the Regent Zalim Singh, insisting that all authority reside with the Maharao. After losing a battle with colonial forces Kishor resorted to sima, or asylum, at the religious polity of Nathdvara, from where he negotiated a favorable settlement. As represented in the Bada Mahal painting program, in this move Kishor deftly employed religious alliances based on the notion of Kota being ruled as a Vallabha polity, where in darshan displays and during court ceremonial Maharaoos and divine svarup images were prominently displayed together.

*Raghuraman S. Trichur, Temple University*

**Politics of Goan Historiography**

Goan History is dominated by elitist renditions of their family histories and documentation of Portuguese colonial activities in Goa. Majority of the Goan population, i.e., the Goan peasantry is not easily visible in this body of literature except in the romanticized versions of Goa's pre-colonial past. Thirty six years after liberation from Portuguese rule the problem persists. The historiography of Goa has evolved in isolation from the theoretical concerns characteristic of Indian historiography. This has restricted the scope of postcolonial Goan research within the chauvinistic content of colonial historiography. Postcolonial Goan historiography has sought to construct a precolonial and colonial Goa which does not expose but obscures the real impact of the colonial legacy as well as the ongoing crises within the context of postcolonial Goan society. In this paper, I will critically evaluate Goan historiography. This paper will explore the political economy of colonial and postcolonial Goa and show how the same influences the politics of Goa historiography. I will also explain the persisting dominance of the Hindus merchants and landed gentry in the colonial and post-colonial Goan economy.

*Sue Tripathi, Kent State University*

**Beliefs and Health Behavior of Rural Women in India with Sexual Diseases**

This paper presents results on the beliefs and health behavior of women with sexual diseases in four districts in rural India. Health behavior patterns for all sexual diseases are based on women's illness experiences. Particular diets are followed by women to eliminate diseases such as white discharge, syphilis, genital warts and sores. White discharge is a common complaint and linked with other key health problems of women. In particular, women associate white discharge with "weakness" and "backache". Feelings of shame and embarrassment are associated with the disorder which prevent women from reporting symptoms of the disease. The health behaviors of women indicate that there are three main modalities of treatment seeking for all sexual diseases: use of home remedies, traditional
practitioners and western medical practitioners. Traditional beliefs, feeling of shame and guilt, fears, taboos, perception that sexual disease is women’s fate and should be accepted as such, reservation and concerns about illnesses, prevent women from seeking help immediately. This study is a significant step toward an effort to understand the health behavior of such women.

Helen E. Ullrich, Tulane University
From Midwife to Obstetrician: Maternal Birth Experiences in a Karnataka Village

In the Havik-Brahmin dominated Karnataka village of Totagadde, traditionally Havik Brahmin midwives assisted Havik women in birth and trained non-Havik women in midwifery. In the 1960s they referred women with difficult pregnancies to the hospital. At the same time a prominent woman went to the hospital for the birth of her second child, and some Havik Brahmin families requested government-trained midwives. Since 1980, obstetricians in the nearby town have provided all Havik Brahmin women with prenatal care. So rare are Havik home births that they arouse comments. Even the Havik midwife believes hospital births are safer. Other Havik women comment about their fear of home births. With an increase in hospital births, there are rising expectations for a healthy mother and child. Older women angrily express their frustrations about the earlier period when women did not have access to prenatal care and hospitals. In this paper I will explore changes over the past thirty years in prenatal care, birthing arrangements, and postnatal care and what they reflect about broader social and economic changes.

Gautam Vajracharya, University of Wisconsin-Madison
Reigning in the Rain: A Study of Cakravarti the Ideal Indian King

Cakravarti is the ideal Indian king. He differs from the kings of other civilization significantly. This paper will examine the reasons for the difference.

Vamsicharan Vakulabharanam and Maya Yajnik, University of Massachusetts-Amherst
Strategic Interventions in the Liberalization Debate

The practices of economic liberalization in India have often been justified with a "there is no alternative" rhetoric. Proponents of liberalization wave documents, spout numbers and offer arguments related to the balance of payment crises, the hollowing of the industrial infrastructure and the need to keep up with the rest of the "developing" world as compelling reasons that must inevitably force India on the globalization and liberalization bandwagon. Even as the poverty levels in the country surpass those of sub-Saharan Africa, the argument goes that liberalization is the road to prosperity and that closing our doors to foreign investment would invite economic disaster.

In this presentation, we shall examine the possibilities of strategic interventions in the liberalization debate. We will offer answers to some important questions such as: What are the pragmatic alternatives to liberalization? What are some of the grass-roots responses of the affected majority to the national
economic policy? At what levels does the liberalization phenomenon offer the space for strategic resistance? What are the principled options available to us, the bourgeois subjects of the diaspora?

Through this, we will challenge the increasingly hegemonic formulations of this exclusionary discourse that ironically affects the lives of millions of people.

Martijn van Beek, Aarhus University (Denmark)
Lessons from Ladakh? Local Discourses about development

Ladakh is often held up as a place where the ill effects of the 'development project' are particularly clearly seen. Traditional Ladakh, in these representations, is placed either in the past, or in the villages. It is represented as a utopia of gentle Buddhists living in harmony with one another and their environment. This traditional Ladakh is then held up as a model for itself and the world.

This paper, drawing on more than a decade of research and engagement in Ladakh, critically reviews some of the dominant themes in the representation of Ladakh. Rather than engaging in a debate on authenticity, it lets Ladakhi political leaders, activists and 'the people' speak about their ideas of past, present and future of their society. These statements show that Ladakhis themselves do not recognize a glorious golden past, nor do they share a coherent critique of development, or 'Western civilization'. Ladakhis' lived experience, in their own understanding, is not one between tradition and modernity, village and city, past and present, but an engagement with the conditions of their lives as they seek to create livelihoods. In this context, they consistently employ idioms of 'backwardness' and 'marginality', attributing their lack of 'progress' to the machinations of unsympathetic and incompetent state governments. Their demands, quite logically, have been for more conventional development and a state of their own to manage it. Rather than engage these local conceptions, they have been dismissed and erased by counterdevelopment activists.

Virginia Van Dyke, University of Washington-Seattle
Uttar Pradesh: "We Have Seen India and It Is Us"

UP is the center of a struggle over India's identity and the arena within which political battles with all-India implications are being fought--communal issues, caste conflicts, and issues of ideology. Yet, more than its political importance, UP considers itself to be "India" and regional autonomy, an important issue for some constituents of the United Front, is therefore not a concern. Casteism and communalism are the important issues here, and the only language issue also has communal implications--the status of Urdu. Regional parties in UP frame their own political struggles in Pan-Indian terms and view UP, or at least the Hindi heartland, as being somehow synonymous with India. Therefore the attempts of one regional party drawing a large part of its support base from UP, the BJP, to unite all Hindus may butt up against the resisting forces of regionalism in other areas of India.

Ainslee Embree argues that tendencies towards regionalism in India have been countered by a nationalism stemming from two foreign invasions and a unifying Brahmanic ideology. (Wallace, 1985) All of these factors have implications for UP's view of itself as the center of India. UP is the mythological center of Hinduism, being the location of the birthplace of Ram, the birthplace of Krishna,
the city of Shivaand one could imagine nationalism, or centralization such as it was, extending out from UP, as the center of the Mughal Empire, the center of British rule, the area where Muslim separatism developed and Pakistan as a theory was born. Hindu nationalists want to view India, and UP, as somewhat desecrated by its foreign intrusions--their view of India is the mythical India with 12 centuries of invasions miraculously erased. In this sense, the South can be seen as more Indian than the North, but Hindu nationalists do not view the south as then the center of India--rather it is a protected backwater.

*Sylvia Vatuk, University of Illinois-Chicago*

**Barattee's Death: Jurisdiction Over Women and Slaves in Households of the Muslim Nobility in Madras in the 1820s**

On the 18th of January in 1828, Fakharunissa Begum, a daughter of Muhammad Ali Walajah, deceased former Nawab of the Carnatic, was accused, together with three of her young slave-girls, of having murdered "Barattee", another of her domestic slaves. While steadfastly maintaining that she was in no way responsible for Barattee's death, the Begum professed a mortal dread of breaching a lifetime of strict seclusion by appearing in public in a British court to answer the charge of murder. Presenting her version of events to the court via a British solicitor, she ultimately allowed herself to be persuaded to plead-guilty to the lesser charge of manslaughter and then apply to the King of England for a pardon. This case raised for those involved, as well as for the then reigning Nawab (her grand-nephew) and the British authorities, a number of jurisdictional issues concerning the locus of authority over women and over slaves in the Muslim household generally and within the Nawab's extended family in particular under Company rule. It also raised questions about how far the British authorities were found to respect customs of female seclusion in order to ensure the preservation of social respectability for women of the Muslim nobility and the honor and prestige of their male kin. The paper will examine the "conversations" that took place among some of the parties concerned in this case, with the aim of disentangling the perspectives and motives of both those parties allowed to speak and others as centrally involved--notably Barattee herself and her sisters in slavery -- who were, predictably, completely silenced.

*Anu Vedagiri, The Ohio State University*

**Return to Lumbini: Revealing the Sacred History Through Narrative**

The didactic role of a narrative to illustrate myths and epics has been a medium of public communication for hundreds of years. The story of Sakyamuni Buddha's return to Lumbini, a life event unique to Newar Buddhism, is frequently depicted in narrative form. Scenes of his return are re-enacted during festivals and the legend is portrayed in various art forms. In order to understand the reportage of public ceremonial observances, it is necessary to consider their function in life.

These episodic events are used as narrative frames to provide a context for the realization of his presence. This method of recollecting the Buddha's return to Lumbini manifests and reinforces his state as a paradigmatic Enlightened Teacher. Similar to the practice of uttering and interpreting epithets that praise the exalted nature of the Buddha, the tradition of recounting biographical virtues can be understood as a technique of visualization and a way of vivifying his presence. As Eliade states, "reality is acquired
solely through repetition and participation". This paper examines the recreating of sacred history as fundamental, because it explains and, by the same token, justifies human activities in the context of Newar Buddhism.

_Jyotika Virdi, George Washington University_

**Symbolic Worlds of Film: Real/Fictional Histories in the Culture of Popular Indian Films**

For its hundred years of history, for its ranking as the largest and most prolific film industry in the world, for its singular dominance in the Indian scene of cultural production, we are in possession remarkably little today by way of historical records and archival resources that document the history of popular Hindi cinema. Treated as pulp and scorned by the literati, practically no attention has been paid to this institution that otherwise has a pervasive and powerful influence... Many films, themselves a record of history in some sense, are lost, film records have been destroyed, even film lists and production details are hard to come by. How then does one write film history, trace culture and change, reconstruct our past?

To a large extent we rely today on films themselves to speak a social history. But when the film texts tend to be “formulaic,” the sources we read must expand, the archival records we use to construct culture must include the social text beyond the film. For this purpose, I conceptualize film culture as a “continuous film text.” By this I mean not only the narrative within the film but also those surrounding it: discourses on film among different fora, such as, film criticism by journalists, within the academy, but most importantly, the popular discourse of film and gossip magazines.

Among the constituting elements of the Hindi film industry, the dingle most dominant group is the film stars. With a powerful grip on people's imagination, “star-texts”, comprising narratives of film star's lives, are a constant preoccupation of film magazines – virtually an ancillary industry. Read against as parallel texts to films, star texts offer a fund of information about cultural politics, particularly because of the post-independence years. In part this methodological innovation is in response to the exigency of the situation – the emptiness of official archives, but it also is one that draws upon the domain of the popular in order to read the popular. I will discuss how the construction of stars in popular discourse intersect many of the issues raised in the films: femininity, masculinity, heterosexuality, family, nation and community.

_Kamala Viseswaran, University of Texas-Austin_

**Gender Asylum in the U. S. South Asian Communities**

Gender asylum is a fairly recent concept under U.S. immigration law. Historically, women had little success obtaining political asylum in the U.S. when facing gender-based persecution argued under membership in a social group. Although sexual assault has been used as a political weapon throughout history, it has not, until recently, been viewed as gender specific persecution. While battered immigrant women married to U.S. legal residents have recently gained some relief under the Violence Against Women Act, immigrant women married to nonresidents and subjected to violence have only one avenue to gain residency - gender asylum. This paper discusses the legal and social complexities of asylum claims by South Asian women based on persecutory harm that is specific to applicants' gender (e.g.,
domestic violence, rape, sexual abuse, genital mutilation, bride burning, infanticide, forced marriage, forced sterilization, forced abortion, etc.). It also addresses the responsibility of the academic community in supporting such claims by women by suggesting roles South Asia scholars can play in influencing policies on violence against immigrant women.

Jeffery von Munkwitz-Smith, University of Connecticut
Contractive and Past Habitual Forms in the South Asian Linguistic Area

An examination of the connection between the forms used in contractive and past habitual statements in the South Asian linguistic area in light of Bruce Pray's 1980 assertion (in Evidence of Grammatical Convergence in Dakhini Urdu and Telugu", Proceedings from the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistic Society) that the use of a single form for those two types of statements in the Dakhini Urdu-Telangana Telugu micro-linguistic area was the result of Telugu influence. The conclusion is reached that the use of a single form in the larger linguistic area was most likely the result of internal development in Indo-Aryan that spread to several other languages, of various language families, in the South Asian linguistic area. Further, while not all languages in that linguistic area share the feature, it is sufficiently widespread to be considered a characteristic of the linguistic area.

Susan S. Wadley, Syracuse University
Inscribing the Community: Gender and Caste in the North Indian Oral Epic Dhola

Dhola is an oral epic performed primarily by low castes males in the farming villages of Bharatpur District in Rajasthan and the western districts of U.P. The social community in which it is performed includes numerous castes, castes often ignored by the Brahmanic epics of divine kings and military heroes equally common in these villages. Situating this epic within the plethora of oral and literary traditions current in this region, I show how Dhola incorporates the social communities of its listeners into its narrative - whether these be women, oil pressers, Gujars, or Sweepers while at the same time contesting the rule of kings and Brahmans. As such, Dhola can be seen as a Bakhtinian parody of the more prevalent and all-India epic, the Ramayana.

James Walch, Stockholm Institute of Education, Sweden
The Telecom Policy Process in India

The telecom sector in India is operating in a global context of economic, technological and informational disparity. The lack of adequate telecommunications has been a major bottleneck for development in key sectors in the economy and for export. The new telecom policy of the 1990s is part of the New Economic Policy of liberalization, a break with the post-Independence economic strategy of centrally planned allocation of resources and import substitution. However, large public sector involvement in informatics did lead to considerable progress in certain areas, notably software development. A goal of the new telecom policy is to bring in both foreign capital and technology and telecommunication services are being privatized. Telecom is politics in India and telecom policy is being formulated and implemented in a
context of partisan disputes. The formation of a new institutional framework that would separate the functions of policymaking, regulation and production in telecom has been tardy, taking place after the launching of the new policy. As a result, many actors participate in the telecom policy process, each bargaining for part of the final outcome. India’s telecom modernization policy is overdetermined and subject to vacillation.

*Joseph Walser, Loyola University-New Orleans*

**Synthesis and Schism: The Vicissitudes of Legitimization in Early Mahayana Literature**

A great deal has been written in modern scholarship about the rise of Mahayana Buddhism as a reaction against the more established "Hinana." What has not been explored as thoroughly is the way that, despite a degree of rhetorical resistance, there is a degree to which Mahayana literature remains overdetermined by the authority of certain fundamental Hinayana doctrines. In this presentation, I will demonstrate this overdetermination through an examination of some of the early Mahayana sutras and their reworking in the early "anthologies" (sutra samgraha or sutralamkara). I support this reading through the discussions of Asanga, Vasubandhu and Bhavaviveka of the relationships between Mahayana and Hinayana texts. I argue that while Mahayana texts definitely have anti-Hinayana rhetoric, their success is ultimately tied to their ability to appear as a "double-exposure" -- as both orthodox Hinayana and at the same time more fundamental, i.e., Mahayana. The goal of Mahayana rhetoric of this early period, is not to create a new Mahayana tradition but to show the radical possibilities of the existing Hinayana tradition.

*Judith Walsh, SUNY-Old Westbury*

**What Women Learned When Men Gave Them Advice: Rewriting Patriarchy**

We need to rethink the place of women in the late nineteenth century nationalist reconstruction of patriarchy in Bengal (and by implication India). Although much Bengali women’s writing in this period is marked by an intensely devotional tone, it is a mistake to read this as signifying either a return to older patriarchal traditions or a simple acceptance of (what Partha Chatterjee has called) anti-colonial nationalism’s 'new patriarchy'. This paper investigates the rewriting of patriarchal traditions and ultimately the issue of women's agency in late nineteenth century Bengal through an analysis of a genre of late nineteenth century Bengali domestic science/advice for women manuals, with particular emphasis on an 1884 manual by the popular author, Dhirendrenath Pal, and a 1900 book by the woman poet Nagendra Bala Dasi. New patriarchy offered Bengali women an attractive alternative to the family hierarchy sanctioned by older patriarchal traditions and this alternative, combined with new patriarchy’s sanctioning of literacy and education, allowed Bengali women (such as Nagendra Bala) to begin the process of rewriting both old and new patriarchal traditions at the end of the nineteenth century. The intensely devotional tone, sentiments and ideas characteristic of Nagendra Bala's Nari dharma -and, I think, of Bengali women's discourse in this period in general-result from a choice made by women like Nagendra Bala. This choice, while contingent on the possibilities open to women in the world in which they found themselves, also began the rewriting of old and new possibilities to meet some of those same women's needs. In the end, my essay concludes, "what women learned when men gave them advice was
simply this: they learned to read." Competing patriarchal traditions—and the transforming power of education—open up a space in which women can begin to fashion an agency for themselves.

Saleema Waraich, University of Wisconsin-Madison
The Art of Politics: Raja Savan Singh and the Kishangarh School of Rajput Painting

This paper focuses on the relationship between Raja Savan Singh and the Kishangarh school of Rajput painting. Raja Savan Singh's interest in and patronage of painting will be examined as a conscious construction of identity through the use of style and themes. An outline of the characteristics of the Kishangarh school of painting is combined with an analysis of their implications, meanings and functions.

Sujata Warrier, New York City Office for the Prevention of Domestic Violence
Responses to Violence Against South Asian Women in the U.S.

This paper will examine the issue of violence against South Asian women and the responses by the mainstream domestic violence community in the U.S.. It will explore the ways in which strategies propagated by domestic violence service providers fail to address the needs of South Asian women, especially with the passage of the Welfare Reform Act and IRAIRA (Immigration Reform Act). In addition, the paper will examine the failure of the South Asian academic community to respond to the needs of the constituency they "study."

Anne Waters, Mount Holyoke College
Marked Women: Violence and the Female Body, 1740-1826

The paper examines historical records from eighteenth and nineteenth century Maharashtra judicial records that focus upon women as a site of violence. I analyze documents that describe specific forms of violence: the mutilation and disfigurement of the female body (such as amputation of breasts, slitting of the nose, burning of limbs, etc.).

I discuss the familial and social context of these acts. These were often criminal but include other instances in which the mutilations were judicially sanctioned. Further, I suggest that these documents illustrate a fundamental contest between the family and the state in the (literal) inscription of power over the female body and by extension, women subjects.

Zach Weber, University of Wisconsin-Madison
Jharkhand: Identity, Sub-Nationalism & the Indian Constitution

Jharkhand is a geographical, but not a geopolitical area of East India. During the division of independent India into linguistic states, the tribal network on the Chotanagpur Plateau was unable to lobby the central government for its own state/union territory. India's secular, post-colonial existence has marginalized
those living in the region, and continues to perpetuate many of the colonial constructs surrounding issues of adivasis (tribals).

Within this particular sub-nationalism, the people inhabiting Jharkhand have been unable to find representation within the larger nation-state rubric via the Jharkhand Party, and the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha, and therefore, forced to look to Tribal Advisory Councils, Autonomous Councils, and/or a new state or union territory. Selig Harrison (1960) predicted that Indian Balkanization would occur if fissiparous tendencies were allowed to formulate. With growing tribal concerns, the implementation of the Fifth/Sixth Schedule, and reservation policy, there has been a re-emergence of sub-nationalist demands. In this Congressionalist nation, when the central government has failed to allow for participation, the only real solution has been to accede the creation of new autonomous councils, new states or union territories. Issues examined in this project include the multi-faceted identity of those living in Jharkhand, and how as a result of under representation, they have been forced to find alternative means of participation within the larger nation-state complex.

Identity is key for survival of any group. For that survival to continue, the Jharkhand need to control schools, law, health care, environmental management, and enhance political power for a sustained and productive livelihood. Jharkhand presents an opportunity to examine challenges faced by India 50 years after independence. The current nationalist construction has isolated parts of the populous, leaving them with no choice but to look to alternatives in retaining a sense of identity. If the central government of India hopes to prolong current nationalism and allow for the current nationalist fabric to remain intact, it must recognize its diversity and address the problems at hand.

**Gretchen Jayanti Wegner, Independent Scholar**

**Contemporary Marathi Theatre and the Folk Phenomenon: Regional vs. National Perspectives**

Beginning in the 1950s and climaxing in the 1970s a new theatre movement emerged all over India in which many artists threw off the shackles of western-modeled, living-room theatre and sought to discover how traditional Indian performing methods could be incorporated onto the contemporary stage. The result of this experimentation is most visible on the national and international festival circuit, in which many of the invited plays incorporate various combinations of folk/traditional elements to tell stories based largely on myths and folktales. Although to the casual observer these form-dominated plays create an image of uniform ‘Indian’ (ie ethnic) theatre, a closer look at regional theatre activity reveals a more complicated dynamic than the oft-touted post-colonial ‘search for identity’. In the state of Maharashtra, home to one of the nation’s most successful such experiments (Ghashiram Kotwal, 1972), theatre lovers are critical of what many see as a spectacle-ridden, irrelevant theatre idiom. Within this context I will examine a few Marathi plays of the 70s and 80s, revealing that their use of folk elements is less an attempt to regain a lost cultural identity (as in other states) but rather a series of creative solutions for various dramatic impasses. I will discuss these plays in their relation to 1) Maharashtra’s unique socio-political context during Delhi-based Sangeet Natak Akademi sponsored by the central government, and 3) the critique of such folk-experiments as voiced by two leading Marathi playwrights.

**Brian Weinstein, Howard University**


Bible and Talmud as Evidence of India-Israel Trade

Jewish traders from Arabic speaking countries such as present-day Iraq, Syria and Yemen were well-known in Bombay, Calcutta and Cochin from the 18th century to independence in 1947. For the period of the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries letters found in the Cairo synagogue Geniza have shown much about Jews trading between the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, and Indian Ocean. The Hebrew Bible, canonized between the 7th century B.C.E. (Before the Common Era - in place of B.C.) and the 2nd century C.E. (Common Era - in place of A.D.) and the Talmud, completed in Mesopotamia by the 6th century C.E. are another source albeit more conjectural. India is mentioned once in the Book of Esther and six times in the Talmud. Some commentators claim that Ophir and Tarshish, ports to which King Solomon and his Phoenician allies sent their ships, were in India. More interesting are the many references to specifically Indian products such as amomum, aloe, cinnamon, sandalwood, spikenard (nard), sweet flag (calamus). Weinstein attempts to infer a pattern of ancient trade between India and Israel from this and other evidence.

Chaundra Alta Williams, University of Minnesota

Tipu Sultan's Royal Regalia in its Indian Context

Tipu Sultan (r. 1782-1799), renowned for his resistance against the British, continuously strove to expand his kingdom of Mysore and to firmly establish his role as Padshah over the southwest Deccan. His reign and its artistic production have been studied primarily in terms of their relationship to the British and colonial expansion. This paper will address Tipti Sultan's reign and its arts with relation to his subjects and other Indian kingdoms. Tipu, a Sunni Muslim leader, who has been characterized by some as a near-fanatical Muslim out to vanquish all non-Muslims, extensively used the emblem of a tiger in his regalia. However, the tiger also was the ailing symbol of the powerful, albeit earlier, Hindu Chola and Hoysala dynasties. What awareness did Tipu have of these past dynasties and their symbols of kingship? To what extent and in what ways was he trying to solidify his own rule by appropriating royal symbols from past rulers? What meaning did his subjects and other Indian adversaries ascribe to Tipu's symbolically-charged arts? Finally, how sectarian were the kingly visual traditions on which he was drawing? This paper will explore these issues within their Indian context and will look at Tipu within his own kingdom and as an adversary to other Indian kingdoms.

Theodore P. Wright, Jr., SUNY Albany

Muslim Self-Reliance in India: The Model of the Business Communities

The "New Economic Policy", including privatization and globalization, introduced by the South Asian governments since 1991 has important implications for Muslims, be they in a majority as in Pakistan and Bangladesh, or in a minority as in India and Sri Lanka.

In India this policy marks a potential shift of power from the old asraf elites of Northern, interior India who from their history of pre-British dominance still look to government for benefits to the lower status quasi-castes and southern, coastal business communities, some of whom are from Ismaili (Khoja and Bohra) sects of Islam. These groups have a long history of self-reliance and strong internal cohesion
which should make them admirably suited to take advantage of the opportunities provided by privatization and globalization and to provide role models for the bulk of the Muslim minority who are neither "service" nobility nor business communities. There is some evidence that these entrepreneurs are not yet visible in big business, to which most researchers pay attention, but are to be found in small or medium sized firms.

Keiko Yamanaka, University of California, Berkeley
Nepalese Labor Migration to Japan: From British Army to Japanese Factory

According to Japanese immigration records, in 1989 during the height of Japan's rapid economic growth, 2,964 Nepalese entered Japan legally, an unprecedented number. Many of these arrivals overstayed their tourist visas to work illegally in jobs shunned by Japanese. Alarmed by the massive arrival of foreign migrant workers, the government implemented its revised immigration law in June 1990, imposing criminal penalties for employers hiring undocumented workers. In 1992 the economy entered a deep recession, leading the government to tighten immigration control even further. Nevertheless, the inflow of Nepalese workers continued. By the end of 1995 an estimated 3,000 unauthorized Nepalese-mostly men-were working in such labor-short industries as manufacturing, construction and services.

This study, based on 140 interviews and survey questionnaires collected among Nepalese workers in central Japan and returnees in Kathmandu and Pokhara, analyzes labor migration experiences of Nepalese as one of Japan's most vulnerable laborer categories. The research revealed a predominance of Tibeto-Burman speakers from Nepal's western hills, suggesting the likelihood that the well-documented antecedent "Gurkha connection" in the Asia-Pacific region has played a role in building contemporary Nepalese migration networks.

Phillip B. Zarrilli, University of Wisconsin-Madison
Reading Raudra and Vira in Kerala: Between "Fury," "Transgression," and Achieving an Optimal State of Accomplishment

Abstract: Reading across representations and enactments of raudra and vira in kathakali dance-drama, and discourses and modes of embodiment in the practice of kalarippayattu (Kerala's martial art), this paper focuses on raudra as a state of consciousness/ being/doing/actualization through which the ideal martial hero is optimally able to accomplish his traditional task of upholding the social order through sacrificial blood-letting. By examining the act of blood-letting both from the outside perspective where it appears "furious," and from the perspective of the sacrificer, it questions the usual 'transparent" translation of raudra as "fury", and suggests that it can also be read as a state of superior accomplishment/ doing/ actualization.

Joselyn Zivin, Drake University
The Building of an Information State Across the Colonial Divide in India
This paper will outline the genealogy of India's official mass media and propaganda institutions, and the ideologies and political logic that underlay them, from the inter-war years through the first decades of Indian independence. If British rulers had once touted the blessings of imperial overlordship, by the 1930s the government's new media and "publicity" departments were attempting to shroud the granite face of colonial occupation behind the construct of a benign state ushering in modernity and cultivating a responsible citizenry. Institutions to regulate and infiltrate the burgeoning sphere of public culture - everything from press liaisons and censor's offices, to radio stations and mobile cinema trucks - were the modern tools of the "imperial idea."

Considering their tainted birth, why did Jawaharlal Nehru and his fellow state-builders adopt whole-cloth to their predecessor's propaganda and mass media institutions and policies? The colonial information apparatus was designed to give credence to assertions that British governance preserved the civil liberties accorded democratic societies even as colonial rule remained necessary "for India's own good." So, too, did the postcolonial regime attempt to contain the forums of public culture (and especially broadcasting) "for India's own good," justified in the cause of "national integration" and the "peril" posed to it.