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"The Complete Man": Masculinity in Indian Television Advertising

Over the past decade, the Indian media have celebrated the emergence of the "new" (upper-class) Indian woman. Some of the enduring images of this "modern" femininity come from advertisements (the "woman of substance" in advertisements for the women's magazine, Femina, for example). Simultaneously, although not as dramatically, images of a new masculinity have been created in advertising. One of the early and best known advertising campaigns that represents a new Indian masculinity is the Raymond suitings "complete man" series. The complete man in the advertisements does many things like sports and work on construction sites but, at the same time, he is in touch with his feelings and is not afraid to express them. He is shown as emotionally connected with his children, with older people, and with his friends. This paper examines Raymond advertisements from the 1990s to ask how they engage with an existing discourse of gender in India, and to what extent images of the complete man overturn traditional notions of masculinity. While the approach of the paper is primarily textual, it also - through interviews with the creators of the advertisements - explores the socio-historical circumstances that led to the conception of this campaign.

Sunil M. Agnani, Columbia University

Jacobinism in India, Indianism in English Parliament: Political Concatenation and Enlightenment Critique in the thought of Edmund Burke

Famous in literature departments as a theorist of the Sublime, in political theory for his concept of the ancient constitution, the range of Burke's political thought extended far beyond the confines of his justly well-known Reflections on the Revolution in France. What underlying logic made possible Burke's eventual support of the right of the American colonists to secede, his scathing attack upon the Jacobin revolutionaries in France, and yet his even shriller denunciation of Hastings and the East India Company's actions in India? I organize these questions around a reading of the Reflections and develop the suggestion that manners and custom provide one entry into the complex languages of political thought in the late-eighteenth century. Some of the affinities between these disparate contexts which Burke saw may be better understood if we elaborate his critique of Enlightenment reason (what he called "arithmetic reason") and consider his response as one shaped by a fear of an emerging political modernity common to these cases. As one who shared a deep suspicion of Enlightenment universalism and rationality, Burke, I will argue, must be read as a more complex figure than as an apologist for the Whig order in England. Thus this paper will engage with the Burke who has emerged in recent studies which share this presupposition (Bromwich, Uday Mehta) and in Irish studies (O'Brien, Deane, Gibbons).
Laura M. Ahearn, Rutgers University

**Constructing a Past Together: Memory in Nepali Love Letters and Political Speeches**

Memory is at the same time both personal and political. In this paper, I examine how Nepalis construct their pasts together through language. Drawing on a corpus of over 200 Nepali love letters and on the transcript of a two-hour-long Nepali politician’s speech, I trace some of the personal, political - and cultural aspects of memory. I argue that passages in the love letters that focus explicitly on memory help the writers to create a new sense of personhood - one that is much more individualistic than previous Nepali conceptions of personhood. In these letters, we can see individuals taking precedence over extended families as couples co-construct pasts for themselves that exclude outsiders. Similarly, many janajati politicians in Nepal attempt to establish an identity for their ethnic groups by constructing unique versions of history that exclude or diminish the importance of other ethnic groups or castes. In an analysis of a speech by Gore Bahadur Khapang Magar, I illustrate how one politician evokes memories of a Magar past for his audience in order to create in his listeners an awareness of their ethnic identity. In both the love letters and Khapang's speech, memory is intertwined with identity, emotion, and personhood.

Rafique Ahmed, University of Wisconsin-La Crosse

**Man-made Environmental Pollution in Bangladesh**

Many educational institutions in the United States are currently offering programs through distance education, and that trend is increasing. The major reason for this high growth in distance education programs is its capabilities of reaching a larger number of people without significantly increasing the cost and without reducing the effectiveness of teaching and learning compared to traditional face-to-face teaching and learning. People living far away from an educational institution or people with little time to attend traditional classes can only be reached through these types of programs. To be able to provide educational opportunities to all the taxpayers without increased budget is also morally appealing to the public institutions that are partially supported by tax money.

The need for increased educational opportunities without significantly increasing cost is undeniable for a country like Bangladesh. In almost all spheres of education, Bangladesh needs to make available the expertise of the most qualified faculty to her distant people. But the fundamental question remains as to whether distance education is the right method to achieve that goal. This paper tries to shed light on the prospects and problems of distance education in Bangladesh.
Syed Ali, James Madison University

Forgetting to Remember, Remembering to Forget: Identity Construction among Hyderabad Muslims in New York

This paper examines how different types of ethnic identities become salient or lose salience, and how these identities are defined, fought over, and forgotten. I take as my case study Muslims from Hyderabad (Deccan) living in New York. Hyderabad Muslims form strong networks in many places around the world, including Dubai, Karachi, Toronto, Chicago and London. This however has not happened in New York. In this paper I demonstrate why a Hyderabad group identity has not become salient in a city with a large Hyderabad population. I explore the ways that Hyderabad is purposefully forgotten and remembered in the negotiations of different ethnic groupings - Hyderabad, Indian, Pakistani, South Asian and Muslim, and why being Muslim is emerging as a more important identity than other geographically-bound identities.

James Apple, University of Wisconsin-Whitewater

Intuitive (pratyatatmavedya) and Aperceptive Knowledge (svasa.mvedana) in Indo-Tibetan Buddhist Thought

Tibetan and Indian Buddhist exegetes of Maadhyamika thought have, even to the present day, refuted the nature and existence of "aperceptive" or "reflexive awareness." (Skt. Svasa.mvedana, Tib. rang rig). In the dialectical and conceptual discussion of this philosophical topic, most Indo-Tibetan scholars have maintained a clear distinction between the terms rang rig ("reflexive awareness") and so so rang rig ("intuitive awareness"). However, until recently, the important terminological distinctions between these two terms and the vital conceptual repercussions of understanding these distinctions were not recognized and still have not been fully addressed by Euro-North American scholars. Recently, Matthew Kapstein ( "We Are All Gzhan Stong Pas," Journal of Buddhist Ethics 7 (2000)), in a review of Paul Williams's The Reflexive Nature of Awareness: A Tibetan Madhyamaka Defence (1998), has briefly brought to the attention of scholars the important difference between these two terms. Kapstein has demonstrated that Williams conflates rang rig with so so rang rig in his reconstruction and interpretation of the Buddhist terminological compound so so rang rig pa'i ye shes. The problem and source of confusion in distinguishing these terms for modern scholars is that the Tibetan term rang rig may refer to either reflexive awareness (rang rig) or intuitive awareness (so so rang rig). Picking up where Kapstein left off, this paper will provide an exegesis of the contextual etymologies (niruki), defining characteristics (lak?aia), and distinctions (vi?e?a) between reflexive awareness (rang rig) and intuitive awareness (so so rang rig) through the purview of Dge-lugs-pa Tibetan Buddhist thinkers. This paper will also discuss the use of these terms in Indian Buddhist texts and the possible conflation of these two terms within Indian Buddhist scholasticism. Through clarifying the differences between these two important concepts, this presentation will be able to definitively establish what is being refuted by Tibetan and Indian Madhyamika thinkers in their negation of "reflexive awareness." Moreover, through properly identifying the "object of negation," the type of rang rig which is accepted by Tibetan Madhyamika thinkers will be presented for the first time in the arena of Euro-North American scholarship.
How Musical is Bollywood?: Song Integration in Hindi Cinema of the 1950s-1970s

Within the first decade of independent filmmaking in commercial Hindi cinema, following the decline of the major film studios in the late 1940s, film songs rose to prominence as a major selling point of a film. Song and dance had been integral to Indian cinema since the advent of sound film, but emphasis on the musical aspect of the coalescing film formula - "a star, six songs, three dances" - brought a new level of song integration to the narrative that in turn led to stardom and financial success for film music directors (composers) and spawned an emerging popular music industry. An equally dramatic shift in cinematic production in the early 1970s curtailed this "golden age" of Hindi film song, a shift away from musical melodrama to cinematic violence and revenge. As the narrative formula changed, so too did its musical component, especially evident in the declining number of songs per film. In this paper I investigate the dynamic character of song integration in Hindi film narrative in these two contiguous yet distinct periods in film song's history. Examining several films from this time period and drawing on interviews with film music directors, I consider the variety of forces that compelled film makers and music directors to orient mainstream (musical) cinema away from the closely woven musical films prevalent in the 1950s and 60s to the loosely connected songs in films of "Bollywood's angry years."

Anila Asghar, Harvard University, and Meenakshi Chhabra, Lesley University

Emerging Narratives

In this article we attempt to construct a framework, to analyze the narratives of Indian and Pakistani women around the moment of partition. Three women from each country met at an interactive problem solving workshop at Harvard University. The sharing of narratives from across conflict lines revealed, the core constructs that each group was anchoring on, to delegitimize the other. The independent narratives from both sides divulged these constructs as mirror images, creating a doubt among the participants about their own narratives and blurring the boundaries between the constructs. The core concepts that were being perceived as exclusive to the other community such as, treatment of women, religious fundamentalism, and conditions of minorities, became reference points of collective inquiry. From this transformative moment the process moved towards a shared analysis of the conflict; a new interdependent narrative focusing on joint responsibility and action began to emerge.
Janmashtami at Govindadev Temple: Celebrating the Birth of Jaipur's God-King

The Govindadev temple is Jaipur's preeminent Krishna temple. It is especially revered because of its image of Krishna Govindadeva, which originally manifested itself in Braj to Rupa Goswami in 1534. It was smuggled out of Braj in the seventeenth century when Aurangzeb began destroying temples and images in Mathura and Vrindaban. After an extensive and convoluted journey, Govindadeva was eventually brought to safety in Jaipur. He has been there since the eighteenth century, under the care of the Jaipur royal family. Govindadeva's miraculous manifestation, his historical connections with Vrindaban, and the relationship with the royal family accords the god an enormous devotional following in Jaipur. I will explore the unique ways in which Govindadeva is worshipped, focusing in particular on his birth festival. While the temple follows many of the same ritual practices as at other Krishna temples, it also elaborates upon the basic rituals with a full week of special darshans preceding the birth anniversary. In analyzing the events, aesthetics, and visual displays surrounding this festival, I will be considering such larger issues as the texture of local practices, the importance of Govindadeva as Jaipur's favored deity, how local patronage works, and the relationship to Vrindaban.

Brian Keith Axel, Harvard University

The Shadows of the Non-Eventful

Historiography is plagued by its own attachment to narrativity. This attachment belies historiography's witting or unwitting alliance with the modern nation-state as a primary prism through which to reflect all forms of longing and belonging. Historiography's mastery of the historical 'event' barely hides this alliance's instability which stems from the fictive quality of a nation-state's posited people, the powerful effectivity of non-linear forms of time, and, indeed, from the hauntings of what never happened. But how can we write history otherwise? This paper offers a history of the non-eventful. Here, Khalistan--the name of a desired Sikh homeland--stands out as one of the significant non-events of a modern South Asian history saturated by the figuring of monumental events. In contrast, this archive does not report successfully implemented plans, but signifies, rather Khalistan's continual deferral and failure. Nevertheless, between 1932 and 1947, the unrealized Khalistan proved a powerful force for the realization of Pakistan and India. Writing the shadows of the non-eventful and the temporality of deferral then becomes a writing, not of the modern nation-state and 'its' people, but of what has been excluded, yet continues to appear. It is a writing of terror, of haunting, and desire.
Deepika Bahri, Emory University

The Cultural Logic of Speed: Indian Identity in Global Time

The notion that geography is history seems to have become commonplace by now. Indeed, at this point in time when the present has overtaken all other preoccupations, it would seem possible even to say that history is history. Paul Virilio has suggested that "globalization and virtualization are inaugurating a global time that prefigures a new form of tyranny. If history is so rich, it is because it was loCalifornia - it was thanks to the existence of spatially bounded times which overrode something that up to now occurred only in astronomy: universal time. But in the very near future, our history will happen in universal time, itself the outcome of instantaneity - and there only." This paper examines the ways in which Indian identity is being in-formed by the accelerated time of global virtuality. In this paper, I will explore the potential impact of electronic technologies on issues of identity, with reference to expatriate and homeland Indian communities and the relations between them. It is precisely within the cultural logic of speed, I propose, that certain arguments for Hindu Indian identity have become technologically enabled for worldwide transmission for the first time in history.

Janaki Bakhle, Columbia University

Modern Hinduism and Classical Art: V.D. Paluskar’s Syndicated Music Nationalism

V.D. Paluskar, Hindustani music's key modernizer/reformer in the late nineteenth century uplifted the status of music by linking it primarily with devotional contexts and "religious" themes. He established institutions for the spread of musical education, (re)instituted a modern variant of the guru-shishya parampara and instituted a culture of sacrality around music's performance and pedagogy. Women were encouraged to learn music so they could introduce their children into a musical religiosity to be carried forward as adults into the larger cultural sphere. Paluskar publicized his faith as the expression of a personal relationship to the divine and yoked it in programmatic rigidity to music, which in turn became his instrument of proselytization. In Paluskar, one sees the direct link between Hindu nationalism and music's modernization in the early years of the twentieth century. Through an analysis of his contributions, I argue that almost at the moment of its inception, where music was concerned, the public sphere was taken over and determined by him as nationalist, exclusively Hindu and fundamentally Brahminic.
Sukanya Banerjee, University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee

Holborn, Central Finsbury, and Salisbury's "Black Man": Dadabhai Naoroji in London (1886-1892)

My paper investigates the ways in which the presence of colonial subjects in late nineteenth century England provided a locus for articulating notions of Indian national identity, which were self-consciously formulated alongside a changing political consciousness in England. Through an examination of the speeches and writings of Dadabhai Naoroji, the first Asian (and non-white) member to be elected to the House of Commons (1892), I review the ways in which ideas of Englishness were refracted through an intimate intermingling of domestic interests with imperial concerns, and how this, in turn, influenced emergent concepts of an Indian national identity. Born in Bombay in 1825, Naoroji traveled to England in 1855 as a trading partner of Cama and Company and intermittently resided there till 1907. Keen to establish an awareness about Indian affairs in the British parliament, he contested the 1886 elections on a Liberal ticket from Holborn. The 1886 elections had been called primarily to decide the fate of Gladstone's Irish Home Rule Bill, and even as Naoroji sought to generate interest in Indian political affairs, Ireland featured prominently in his election manifesto. This paper analyzes the import of Naoroji's election addresses, which attempted to forge a "cosmopolitan imperialism" by effecting a confluence of Indian, Irish, and English political interests. Although he lost in 1886, he went on to contest the elections from Central Finsbury in 1892. While he was successful in his second attempt, his election campaign was marred by racist imputations. Lord Salisbury, then Prime Minister, infamously referred to him as a "black man," questioning his eligibility to represent an English constituency. Yet, despite the highly eclectic and fragmented nature of the support ultimately accorded to Naoroji in England, his election victory was eulogized in India as proof of English adherence to principles of democracy and liberalism. In gesturing to the ironies of such an interpretation in light of the actual turn of events, the paper studies the ways in which Naoroji's election victory was hailed in India and how it signaled, in turn, the urgency of a cohesive spirit of political activism. But in studying the manner in which the events of English electoral politics informed a certain political consciousness in India, the paper highlights how central notions of political exclusiveness and agency were rearticulated and reinforced within this particular diasporic exchange.

Richard B. Barnett, University of Virginia

Strategies of State and Society in Hyderabad, 1752-1803

In 1724 Nizam ul-Mulk founded the regional polity of Hyderabad, the largest, wealthiest, and most complex of all 18th-century states. After his death, however, as post-Mughal political and economic behaviors became more prominent, historians generally have avoided close examination of the strategies and rationales on which they were based. Looking at the reigns of Salabat Jang and Nizam Ali Khan, this paper asks to what extent did these regimes, far from being stuck in the old ways, act pragmatically and forcefully to achieve legitimacy, co-opt influential groups and local magnates, and adopt to the needs of their regional rule.
Carla Bellamy, Columbia University

If it's Thursday, it must be Baba-ji: Possession, Religious Healing, and the Fluidity of Religious Identity among the Pilgrims of Hussain Tekri

Hussain Tekri is a Shii place of pilgrimage located in the town of Jaora in the state of Madhya Pradesh. The site attracts pilgrims - both Hindu and Muslim -- who come seeking healing, relief from financial and business troubles, and freedom from a wide variety of malevolent possessing spirits. This preliminary investigation draws upon interviews with a wide range of pilgrims, with a focus on (1) their understandings of the site and (2) their reactions to the case of Purnima M., a Hindu woman who was healed at Hussain Tekri about fifteen years ago.

Every Thursday evening Purnima is possessed by a divine presence that she associates with Hussain Tekri, and while she is possessed a wide range of people come to seek her advice and blessing. Purnima's own understanding of her experience and her role as a servant of "Baba-ji" will be presented and contrasted with the opinions about her and her work expressed by both pilgrims who were interviewed at Hussain Tekri itself as well as those who come to visit Purnima at her home.

The larger goal of this project is to begin to clarify the terms in which people speak when describing a place of pilgrimage that attracts both Hindus and Muslims.

Nina Bhatt, Yale University

King of the Jungle: Constructing Bureaucratic Identity in Nepal's National Park Services

While the politics of forest management in Nepal has received intense attention at the interCalifornia - national, and international levels, there is little attention to the culture of government bureaucrats who work in these contexts. Despite the influx of donor aid, conservation ideologies, and international development programs, the nature of the Nepalese state and its bureaucratic workers invariably involved in these projects remains an elusive object of analysis. By combining ethnographic with historical/textual materials, this paper examines official ideologies, the discourses and practices of governance, and the cultural and political practices whereby national park bureaucrats construct their identities as officials of His Majesty's Government of Nepal. The historical component of this paper seeks to illuminate the ways in which the Royal Regime shaped bureaucratic identity and thus induced certain patterns of relations, behaviors, aspirations and ideologies before the 1990 democratic revolution. The ethnographic research focuses on contemporary constructions of identity in the framework of Nepal's post 1990 democracy. By examining the politiCalifornia - economic and cultural dilemmas of Nepalese state functionaries, much is revealed about the politics of governance, identity construction, and state making which challenge received ideas about South Asian bureaucracies.
Nilanjana Bhattacharjya, Cornell University

**Cutting Up Pieces: Aesthetics of Contemporary British Asian Identity**

The British media has interpreted the recent mainstream commercial success of several British South Asian musicians as a revolutionary articulation of British Asian cultural identity. Popular British Asian musicians including Talvin Singh and Nitin Sawhney make use of digital sampling and sequencing in their music, which layers strains and fragments from traditionally distinct musical traditions into a soundscape representative of both their British Asian identity and technologically mediated access to a variety of musical cultures. Although innovative in its own right, this musical aesthetic of collage, sampling, and pastiche may be incorporated into a more sustained narrative of British Asian cultural expression, particularly in the visual medium, over the last twenty years. This paper will explore the connections and disjunctions between techniques of production in recent music and those in art by contemporary British Asian artists and posit a more inclusive system of aesthetics for the contemporary diasporic British Asian experience.

Jim Blumenthal, Oregon State University

**Do Other Maadhyaamikans Attain Buddhahood?: A Critical Evaluation of dGe-lugs Analysis of kleshavrana and jneyavarana in the Madhyamaka Thought of Shantaraksitaita**

This paper investigates the way in which Tsong-kha-pa and his dGe-lugs-pa followers critique Ñåntarakita and the so-called 'Yogåcåra-Svåtantrika-Madhyaamaka' positions concerning requirements for the attainment of Buddhahood, ultimately concluding that followers of that position will not attain Buddhahood in reliance on such a position. In particular, we will examine the dGe-lugs-pa critiques of Ñåntarakita's views on the status of affective emotion obstacles (klevåvara'a, nyon sgrig ) and obstacles to knowledge (jñeyåvarana, shes sgrig ). These critiques become contentious because upon close analysis it appears that the foundation of these critiques lies in attributing positions to Ñåntaraita which he never asserts and apparently even contradicts in his major philosophical treatises. As a part of this process of understanding these thinkers better on their own terms, I will evaluate the strength of those dGe-lugs-pa critiques in light of these claims made by Ñåntarakita in and his Madhyamakålaµkårav@tti and Tattvasaµgraµha as well as his disciple Kamalabåyla in, Madhyamakålaµkåraµapaññikå, and Tattvasaµgraµhapaññikå in addition to considering the intellectual context in which these thinkers were asserting their positions. The task of comparing what these Indian authors said concerning the issues of klebåvara'a and jñeyåvara'a with what the dGe-lugs commentators claim they said while pointing out the discrepancies and suggesting reasons for these discrepancies in light of considering their distinct intellectual milieus comprises the central focus of this paper.
Toward a Theory of Aesthetic and Narrative Conventions in Hindi Film Music

Hindi film songs and the music scenes in which they appear are at the core of the conventions that generate emotional response and meaning in the Hindi cinema. Film songs are a central pillar supporting film-culture's central place within the broader realm of Indian popular culture. Many of their cinematic and narrative conventions have firm roots in pre-modern music drama forms, but the intensity with which the Hindi cinema pursues its conventions, and the genre's enthusiasm for the image-manipulating procedures of the post-modern mediated world result in a highly variegated narrative style. I suggest that Hindi cinema's distinct set of aesthetic and narrative conventions offers important explanations for the mixed reception of Hindi films and songs in Indian and foreign scholarship. In an examination of background music and music scenes found in a range of historical and recent Hindi films, I identify three potential foci for the development of a theoretical understanding of Hindi cinema's aesthetic and narrative conventions: (1) distinctions and shifts between two modes of dramatic representation and narrative time (narrative and lyric mode), (2) background music, conventional emotional representation and traditional theories of emotional response in South Asia (rasa), and (3) reflexive and intertextual uses of film song in the construction of meaning and emotion.

Mandakranta Bose, University of British Columbia

The Ramayana Re-invented in 20th Century Bengal: Roy's Parody and Basu's Short Story

The reception of the Ramayana in Bengal has been ambivalent from early times, but more so from the 19th century onwards, when both poets and critics began increasingly to question Rama's ethical integrity as well as the institutionalized injustice to disadvantaged groups, including women. This critical trend led in the 20th century to doubts about the moral authority of the Ramayana in general, and this doubt was often expressed through humour bordering on satire. This paper will examine two of the best known examples of such humour. The first is a short play, LAKSHMANER SHAKTISHEL, written in the jatra form by Sukumar Roy and the second, a short story, HANUMANER SVAPNA, by Rajshhekar BasUniversity. Focussing on the narrative strategies and cultural stereotyping that form these retellings and inventions of Ramayana episodes, this paper will demonstrate how they undercut the idea of the Ramayana as a foundational text.
Jeffrey M. Brackett, University of Pittsburgh

A Tale of Two Hills: Creating, Preserving, and Transmitting Hanuman Festival Traditions in Pune and Satara

Hanuman is one of the most popular and easily recognizable Hindu deities. Nowhere is Hanuman's popularity more evident today than in Maharashtra, a region that boasts of a special love for Hanuman. One can call Hanuman an easy-access god, as devotion to him is often marked by its simplicity and lack of formality, which is acted out in everyday, individual devotion (i.e. puja) performed in Hanuman temples, as well as in collective devotion during festivals (i.e. Hanuman Jayanti). In my paper, I describe the Hanuman Jayanti celebrations of two settings, one urban (Pune) and one rural (Jarandeshvar, Satara). Both settings involve hills: on one hill new rituals (hill climbing competitions) are being created, while on the other hill the jatra ("village fair") tradition flourishes. Each location mixes "serious" ritual with playful activities. I argue that the diversity, simplicity, and playfulness of Hanuman ritual traditions contribute to his regional popularity. Despite being commonly referred to as a guardian or protector of boundaries, Hanuman's popularity increases through his ability to crossover many boundaries: class, caste, education, age, sex, village, city, and even "religion."

Joel Brereton, University of Texas at Austin

Gods as Priests: The Rbhus and the Third Soma Pressing

This paper presents the argument that the poets of the Rig Veda composed and reformulated myths to justify or to explain particular ritual procedures. By examining the acts of the Rbhus, whose deeds mirror the offerings and special purposes of the third soma pressing, the author illustrates the direct connection between certain Rigvedic narratives and ritual acts. Such observations may help reconstruct the history of Vedic ritual, since narrative describing divine initiatives may signal ritual innovation.

Rebecca M. Brown, St. Mary's College of Maryland

Wrestling the Modern: P. T. Reddy and the Language of Post-Independence Indian Art

In examining the works of P.T. Reddy, an artist who spanned the crucial transition from colonial rule to an Independent India, one sees a struggle with modernism--a struggle at the cusp of the formation of a post-Independence "identity" for Indian art. Reddy (along with others in his circle) addresses this in two different modes. Much of his work reclaims a folk painting past, reminiscent of western Indian performance paintings of mythological subjects. Reddy's works include many examples of Shiva and Parvati, scenes from the Mahabharata (Bhima seems to be a favorite) and Krishna imagery. At first glance these seem like awkwardly conscious "naive" paintings. Seen in the context of Reddy's neo-tantric works, however, these folk-based paintings demonstrate a struggle to define what it means to be Indian after 1947. Many of the same struggles of the nationalist movement earlier in the century are echoed here (essential Indian core versus internationalist modern style), but Reddy incorporates both in his tantric works, walking the line between universalist abstraction and complex symbolic systems. This paper mines Reddy's work for an understanding of this struggle in the post-independence decades,
concluding that his work presents us with a visual language which addresses the conundrums facing artists at this crucial time in India's cultural history.

Allison Busch, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

**An Area of Critical Disjunction: Revisiting the Medieval Hindi literary Categories of Bhakti and Riti**

Intellectually bicultural scholars of Hindi can find themselves in the challenging position of having to mediate between the vernacular milieu of modern Hindi criticism with its often quite restricted concerns, and the more cosmopolitan domains of western scholarship. For instance, the intellectual revolutions engendered by such concepts as orientalism and postcolonialism have not taken place in Hindi scholarship. While such perspectives may yield fecund avenues of inquiry for a western scholar of Hindi literature, they sometimes clash with traditional interpretive structures. This paper embodies one such area of critical disjunction. I reexamine in light of post-colonial thinking one of the foundational concepts about medieval Hindi literature: the notion that there are two distinct periods known as "bhakti" (devotional) and "riti" (the courtly style). I show how this periodization schema was constructed during the colonial period, and argue that it is embedded in a larger web of colonial discourses about Indian civilization. The valorization of devotional literature and the dismissal of courtly literature in Hindi originate from these colonial-period historiographical assessments. Such notions remain embedded in current Hindi scholarship as fundamental organizational and evaluative principles. My paper presents arguments for rethinking these categories.

Mary Cameron, Florida Atlantic University

**Imagining Healing Landscapes in Ayurvedic Medicine**

Ayurvedic medicine has historically drawn its images from a cultivated agrarian and uncultivated jungle to further its theories of illness cause, progression, prognosis and cure. The living organism, constituted by the three dosa, interacts with its life environment, constituted by five elements, six flavors, and six seasons. The dynamic state of congruence suggests a state of health derived from a rural rather than an urban environment. Current efforts to professionalize ayurvedic medicine in Nepal constitute urban and rural places in ways that replicate and refashion a polarized landscape of healing. The rural is positioned as an original source of dietary-based humoral balance and medicinal plants, relative to other materialistic, polluted and hence imbalanced urban places. Yet contradicting such pastoral visions are the ayurvedic authorities who are presently drafting professional statutes, all of whom are from Kathmandu and educated in India urban centers. While simultaneously extolling the virtues of the rural village and the purity of its plants, these urbanites nonetheless may potentially place arbitrary limits on village healers' rights to practice medicine, healers they presume to be male. Other producers of the imagined rural include a major Indian ayurvedic pharmaceutical company which has relocated its experimental facility from the city to an expansive rice field outside of Kathmandu University.
Brian P. Caton, University of Pennsylvania

No Caste in the Bar: Social Categories in Panjab, 1800-1947

Caste in Panjab, as documented in official and demi-official literature of the early twentieth century, was the product of complex negotiation between British administrators and Panjabi litigants, informants, and census victims. Lineages, flexible social constructs based on real or imagined blood relations, were the organizational units of Panjabi society before the 1870s. As officers of various civil and military ranks sought to distill Panjabi society into some semblance of order which could be integrated into larger Indian structures, an elaborate series of caste names and identities emerged in recruitment manuals, court reporters, gazetteers, codes of customary law, and magnum opuses grounded in surveys from the 1883 and subsequent censuses. These same sources also reveal the struggle among Panjabis to understand the uses to which the British applied survey responses and Panjabis' efforts to capitalize on the inchoateness of the emerging system. By the end of the colonial era, economic and political priorities made caste, with religion and class, the most important mode of both subjective and objective identification.

Gunnel Cederlöf, Uppsala University

The Sovereign State and the Subjects' Right in Nature: India Under Company Rule

As forest lands were ceded to the East India Company in the early nineteenth century, the principles of land settlement came into conflict with those of the local livelihoods of nomadic pastoralism and shifting cultivation. In the southern part of the subcontinent, containing less violent and organized resistance against encroaching state power, the legal sphere became a prominent battlefield for determining rights in land and resources. A common argument about colonial forestry emphasizes that nature was perceived in a purely technical way, as resources to be conquered, controlled and utilized for their market value. In this "colonial project" people were "tribalized" and marginalized within an orientalist discourse. However, this paper shows that in first encounters, local people were a major concern of East India Company officials, and the interests of the Madras government and Company officials contrasted at times sharply with those voiced by representatives of the Crown. In the administration, support for direct relationships between government and subject, free market ideals and individual proprietary rights stood against the vision of supporting intermediaries between state and subjects, preferences for Company trade, and state sovereignty. As will be argued, in this contested domain, people locally found space for negotiation on rights in nature. Depending on support within the state, they could delay decisions, obstruct orders and refuse to comply with demands to give up land.
Anthony Cerulli, University of Chicago

Miscarriage, Myth and Medicine in the Kasyapa Samhita

In this paper, I will explore the medical crisis of miscarriage according to the Kasyapa Samhita. I will argue that the Kasyapa Samhita’s treatment of miscarriage standardizes the social expectations of women, facilitating its authority not by scientific explanation but by incorporating medical diagnosis and treatment into a mythological system that is, as Lévi-Strauss has argued, "itself a projection of the social universe". To do this, Kasyapa reconfigures the cosmological suppression and eradication of evil in the myth of Revati into a medical etiology for human miscarriage in order to address the importance of procreating (male) children and to explain why a host of certain activities of a (potentially pregnant) woman are not conducive to this end. Given this, I will also ask how the Kasyapa medical tradition perceived the female as a powerful and therefore dangerous, albeit necessary, component of the social structure that necessitated limitation. To conclude, I will consider why the myth of Revati might have been incorporated into the Kasyapa Samhita and what force the myth might have added to the Kasyapa medical tradition. I will also briefly look at the Indian physician’s combinatory enterprise in medical practice and mythmaking.

Shefali Chandra, University of Pennsylvania

The Social Life of English: Gender and the Polite Society in Nineteenth Century Bombay

In this paper I want to discuss the status of the English language in the social life of nineteenth century British India by discussing the arguments presented in favour of women’s English education. The maintenance of racial difference in colonial situations was always rendered most powerful through the knowledge of cultural distinctions. Languages were the most potent form of cultural knowledge in this history, so much so that nineteenth century Bombay saw the rapid crystallisation of distinctions between the language of power and the ‘vernacular’. And yet, social groups across racial, economic and linguistic divides argued most persuasively for the formal and informal introduction of ‘native’ women to an English language education. My paper, which focuses on the imperatives presented by the colonial government, the native elite and European women for the English education of Indian girls questions the reasons why the English language was considered to be a necessary component for girls’ education in western India. Not only were English educated Indian women considered acutely necessary for cementing an atmosphere of conviviality and amiability between European and Indian society, but they were also believed to increase the atmosphere of intellectual companionship in the most private spheres of their domestic relations. Most centrally, the English language was believed to be the medium through which Indian women could be best socialised to learn correct forms of emotion and feeling. Arguing therefore that the meaning and purpose of English changed substantially in a gendered context, I am interested in discussing the manner in which the knowledge of gender difference effected and encouraged the knowledge of the English language.
Angana P. Chatterji, California Institute of Integral Studies

Violent Intersections: Globalization and Human Rights in India

This paper challenges practices within globalization that annihilate local processes of self-determination. Last December, Abhilas Jhodia, Raghu Jhodia and Damodar Jhodia, three tribal community members, were killed in a police firing in Orissa, in eastern India, protesting the violation of constitutional provisions barring the sale or lease of tribal lands to non-tribals or to private companies without their consent. Their protest was against a consortium of industries mining bauxite. In alliance with postcolonial movements for social and ecological justice in Orissa, this paper examines the consequences of corporate financed development projects. Local movements contend that corporations operate without concern for social gains. Such intervention prompts ecological devastation. Is there a lack of policy that protects the interests and rights of local people? Where local communities are engaged in confrontational processes of self-determination, are government agencies perpetrating violence on marginalized peoples to weaken struggles against irresponsible development? What interface will allow for more responsible corporate behavior and limit the extent of corporate control? What roles can local governance structures play? What are the mechanisms through which community interests can be protected? Drawing on my engagement in local movements since 1990, this paper discusses critical concerns in Orissa.

Rashmi Bali Chilka, Independent Scholar

The Gift of Janjati: The Fashioning of a Tribal Identity

In 1967, the state of Uttar Pradesh recognized the whole of Jaunsar Bawar as a tribal area despite the recommendation of a Parliamentary Committee on Scheduled Tribes (1965) against such a designation. The Jaunsari upper castes, who had argued for equality of social status with Brahmans and Rajputs of the plains till the 1950s, gradually shifted to accepting and advocating a tribal identity for themselves. I will explore how this fashioning of a tribal identity really reveals the attempts of Jaunsari upper castes to maintain or retain a privileged position in the post-colonial state. I will argue that the designation of "scheduled tribe" was an important victory for the upper castes in the struggle over land rights with the lower castes in the region. "Tribal" thus becomes a vehicle for the upper castes to retain their privileges when a marginalized region gets incorporated into the larger nation and becomes subject to nationalist ideology. The tribal identity however, is fraught with tensions for the upper castes as they try to retain the economic privileges it bestows with their fight for social equality with the larger nation. Central to this whole problem is the prevalence of fraternal polyandry that was pivotal in establishing a tribal identity for the Jaunsaris. While allowing them to articulate a separate identity it fosters a sense of inferiority amongst them. The whole idea of polyandry works against the larger national ideology privileging monogamous relations and has been used to portray Jaunsaris as a society with "loose morals". This has then led to extreme sensitivity on the woman's question and has eroded some of the freedom enjoyed by Jaunsari women in terms of sexuality and divorce. This paper then, highlights the problem of the tribal identity both, in terms of its application and its differential impact within the society that has been labeled with the designation.
Race, Class, Community: Philanthropy and the Division of the Public Realm in Colonial Bombay

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the colonial government encouraged Indians to imitate their way of exhibiting charity, by convincing them to pay for useful projects such as wells, charitable dispensaries, hospitals, educational institutions and so on. While Indians continued to feed brahmins, build fine temples and mosques, they also co-operated with the British in founding public institutions or works in the public interest, apparently secular in nature and for the use of the general public. This was a very specific public sphere. The Indian elite was to learn that only by combining British ways of exhibiting charity to specific colonial projects would they be rewarded by honors and titles. This paper explores the role of philanthropy in the creation of this joint public realm of Bombay in which new public institutions were established, especially in and after the 1860s. Focussing particularly on the lunatic asylum, my paper argues that European racial prejudices and the nineteenth century obsession with counting, sorting and separating met its counterpart in Indian prejudices of ritual pollution and local interests to create a divided public realm.

Reeta Chowdhury-Tremblay, University of Carlton, Montreal

Kashmir Politics and Militancy: One Step Forward Two Steps Back

This paper reviews the impact of the secessionist/nationalist movement and the accompanied militancy on Kashmir politics. What emerges as the discussion's central theme is that although democracy has been formally operational in the state during the past five decades, it is a democracy that has been neither effective nor substantive. Indeed, the Valley lacks both a robust civil society and a capable state, the former choked off early on by the restricted public space to which dissidents of state policy have been confined, and the latter circumscribed by its own patronage politics. In fact, because the power of the Indian army and the Islamic jihad militants has become effectively institutionalized, the already anemic civil society in the Valley has been further debilitated. And the task of the Indian state has become even more difficult. Whereas in the pre-insurgency period its challenge was to foster a deeper, more substantive democratization of the state, particularly in the Valley, it must now attend as well to the procedural and formal aspects of electoral democracy which had once seemed assured.

Whitney Cox, University of Chicago

Urban and Textual Form in Medieval Cholamandalam

Beginning with the reign of the Cola emperor Kulottunga I (1070-1112), the ancient Saiva holy place now known as Cidambaram underwent a period of transformation. A notable index of the emerging centrality of this site and its cult of Siva Nataraja was the number of brahman religious specialists from elsewhere in the peninsula who took up residence in the brahmadeya-s in its vicinity. Unique in the core region of Colamandalam, Cidambaram was considered an autonomous administrative unit under the authority of the Nataraja temple's Saiva virtuosi. In this paper, I will concentrate on two works produced in this milieu, the Maharthama-jari of
Mahesvarananda and Aghorasivacarya's Vrtti on Bhojaraja's Tattvaprapakasa These two theological texts mirror each other in crucial ways, yet can each be said to constitute the polemical object of the other. Through with close readings of these texts, along with the Tamil Kalinkattupparani, the peculiar status of urban spaces like Cidambaram in the Cola social order can itself be made open to question. Urban space in Colamandalam tended to take the form of archipelagos of individual settlements, rather than the center-periphery model familiar from elsewhere. Such localities were critical centers in an ideological complex of agrarian localism, one which paradoxically tended to misrecognize precisely the urban and the non-local.

Corey K. Creekmur, University of Iowa

All Hindi Films Are (Not) Musicals: Film Songs and Genre Definitions in an International Frame

In the few available accounts of Hindi cinema that attend to the prevalence of picturized songs, critics frequently assert that "all Hindi films are musicals," a claim often followed immediately by a modification recognizing that, because almost all Hindi films are song-filled, the distinct musical genre per se does not exist in Indian cinema. Rather than solving the ostensible question of whether Hindi films are or are not musicals, this paper will examine the issues and assumptions that motivate both the persistent recourse to Hollywood models to explain Indian modes, as well as the equally common disavowal of Hollywood's influence. Musical sequences in Hindi films have been used to locate distinctive "Indianness" as well as foreign appropriation, and this tension between Hindi cinema's status as a "national" cinema and its increasingly ostentatious internationalism reveals concerns that extend beyond the formal issue of proper genre designation. The Hindi film song frequently functions as a sign of Indian cinema's difference from other national cinemas, though its status as a tie-in commodity now resembles the role of popular music in contemporary mainstream cinema throughout the world. In fact, I will argue that the Hindi cinema provides an unacknowledged model for Hollywood cinema in the era of the traditional film musical's exhaustion: the use of songs in virtually all popular films - an Indian convention since the arrival of sound - now defines the construction of Hollywood soundtracks as well, though the song-filled American cinema does not continue the tradition of visualized performance that defines Indian "picturization." If Bombay cinema once followed Hollywood in some of its uses of popular music, Hollywood now follows a form of musical incorporation and marketing that the Indian film industry established decades ago. The paper will be illustrated with brief clips from a range of films.

Steven Curtis, Cornell University

Sur Sudha's Nepal: State Radio, the World-Music Market, and the Continuity of Nation-Making

The music and marketing of Sur Sudha, the most internationally successful Nepali music group, is popular with both foreign and domestic audiences for its alleged ability to evoke a sense of "Nepaliness," or Nepalpan. These commercially galvanized notions of national character are significant, though, for their striking similarity to the musical models of Nepalpan that were developed in the 1950s as part of Radio Nepal's role in state-sponsored national unification efforts. Sur Sudha's mixtures of the "familiar and exotic," in the interest of attracting attention in the global tourism and world-music markets, directly recall Radio Nepal's combinations
of the "new and old" as assertions of a cosmopolitan yet distinctly Nepali identity. While contact between groups is generally assumed to be an important factor in identity formation (Barth, 1969), it is commonly conceived in terms of interactions "on the ground" between neighboring groups. In examining instead the contact and competition that occurs within an international marketplace, this paper addresses the relationship between globally- and locally-held ideas of Nepali. It asks: how are global notions made comprehensible in local historic contexts? What are the implications of this popular, contemporary elaboration of the ideologies of Nepali traditionally associated with the Nepali state? Through comparisons of national identity as deployed in the global marketplace, as historically manifest by the state, and as variously conceived by Nepalis, the paper examines how conceptualizations of national character formed in the commercial music industry do in fact return to impact relations on the ground.

Vasudha Dalmia, University of California, Berkeley

**Citizenship in Independent India: A View of the Early Fifties**

Sara Akash ('The Whole Sky', 1968) by Rajendra Yadav, is set in Agra in the early years of independence, before the first elections to be held in democratic India, in the years of the heated debates on the Hindu Code Bill. Here proving one's mettle, gaining recognition, winning a place in society, is for the young man on whom the novel centers, closely coupled with nationalist, with Hinduistic, if I may coin this term, aspirations. The first version of this two-part novel was written in 1951 to be revised and published under the present title in 1968. It presents two visions of the nation and personal destiny as linked with it. The first vision reflects what we now describe as the Nehruvian dream of the fifties, of vast dams, heavy industrialization, of surging ahead, of nation building shot through, in our case, with militant RSS rhetoric of self-sacrifice and achievement. The second is less a vision, more a perspective, colored by the disillusionment which set in with the sixties, of a nation disintegrating and barely held together, of social structures struggling out of older moulds. In the novel it is almost as if the second perspective is superimposed upon an older, which had apparently provided the original creative impulse. My paper will seek to disentangle and present these visions and perspectives.

Carol Davis, Pomona College

**Against Their Will: Nepal's Theatre of Girl-Trafficking**

Against their will, girls and young women from rural Nepal are kidnapped, lured, sold and married into prostitution. Transported to India and estranged from people and languages they understand, they are pressed into sex slavery in the hellish brothels of Calcutta and Mumbai. The magnitude of Nepal's girl-trafficking problem is staggering and its ramifications are complex; annually, approximately five thousand Nepali girls are pressured into the business of sex. Nepali theatre is throwing a spotlight onto the girl-trafficking crisis, and troupes of dedicated artist/activists are battling the problem using theatre as their only weapon. To raise awareness and mobilize policy makers, police, and general public toward the elimination of this problem, actors portray the causes and consequences of the girl-trafficking dilemma. Where rural literacy level is low, poverty rampant, electricity scarce, terrain arduous, and roads few, live, mobile, entertaining, and free theatre proves a powerful means of raising issues that have few alternative routes of discourse. In my presentation, I will describe this theatre aimed at essential social change, and I will analyze and
visually illustrate the rough magic these artist/activists use to catch their audience unaware, and to question the culturally-determined system that permits the sale of women and girl children in Nepal.

Donald R. Davis Jr., Bucknell University

**Malayalam, Modernism, and M. Mukundan: Transforming the Short Story in 20th Century Kerala**

To date, most academic surveys of regional literatures in India focus on the late 19th century as the turning point in the transition to modern literary forms in regional languages. An equally important turning point, however, was the later shift in Indian literature to modern themes and subjects. Malayalam literature in the first half of the 20th century, for example, stayed centered on romantic, tragic, and realist themes that are closer in content to Dreiser and Hardy than to Joyce and Faulkner. Neither the images nor the movements of modernity found a place in Malayalam literature which seemed to be playing catch-up with European and American writers.

Enter M. Mukundan, at least for Malayalam literature. Mukundan's work took Malayalam literature out of its limited, regional context and explored the worlds of existentialism, radical communism, psychedelic drugs, and industrialization through a series of both cosmopolitan and parochial characters who endured as much ennui and angst as any factory worker or revolutionary in English, French, or German literature of the same period. Mukundan's short stories in particular were the first to use Malayalam not merely to describe traditional life in Kerala, but to explore and critique the modern world beyond the Kerala border.

Cabeiri deBergh-Robinson, Cornell University

**From the Camp to the Village: Territorializing Refuge in Azad Jammu and Kashmir**

Since 1947, the Line of Control which divides the former Princely State of Jammu and Kashmir into territories administered and claimed by Pakistan and India has come increasingly to function as a border. During the wars of 1947-1949, 1965, 1971 and the current armed conflict in the Valley of Kashmir, refugees have crossed this dividing line and settled in camps and villages in Azad Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan. In some cases their migrations were planned and intentional, the refugees acutely aware of the presence and location of borders and the competing claims of local California - regional and national centers of authority and power; in some cases their migrations were less reflective and more determined by the construction of new borders and the impossibility of return, as people became refugees only miles from what had always been their homes. By examining the organization of ritual labor in a refugee camp and a refugee village, this paper examines the ways in which refugees, migrants, and internally displaced persons in Azad Jammu and Kashmir manage and memorialize experiences of loss and separation and negotiate claims made upon them as political subjects in the struggle between states to secure legitimacy for claims on the polity and territory of Jammu and Kashmir.
A Taste for Urdu Poetry: Understanding Cultural Investment in the Ghazal

This paper examines the literary artifact known as the Urdu ghazal and the cultural investment that has been made in it both in the narrow field of Urdu/Hindi intellectual scholarship as well as in the broader world of South Asian literary studies in the metropolitan site of the English medium universities outside of India/Pakistan. It seeks to understand how ideologies come to be inscribed on a literary artifact such as the ghazal, the very process by which a genre becomes delineated and maintained in the construction of a literary canon, and the investment that intellectuals, literary critics and cultural elites have in this process. In it I argue that while the ghazal was supplanted in the so-called modern period by prose and challenged by the poetic form that came to be known as "nazm", in the process being re-inscribed as a pre-modern artifact and emblematic of the decadence of the pre-modern era, it nevertheless has come to occupy a significant position as the embodiment of Indo-Islamic cultural practices. This paper seeks to understand these shifts in the wider context of the literary field in the subcontinent and the parallel world of metropolitan scholarship in English.

Corinne Dempsey, University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point

Yakshi as Contemporary Folklore and Cinema Star: Alive (Dead), Well, and Hip in Kerala

The Indian yakshi is indeed an ancient figure, but not entirely enduring. Featured throughout the subcontinent and the centuries in various guises and performing numerous functions, she has, in recent times, largely faded from popular imagination. Finding yet another way of bucking a national trend, Kerala has managed to sustain the yakshi by promoting her not only through folklore and local devotion but, more recently, on the silver screen as well.

This paper will briefly explore some of the yakshi's many manifestations throughout Indian history as a backdrop against which we can view her present condition in Kerala. I will argue that the yakshi's function in recent centuries has often been as a frightening foil against which religious systems (Buddhist, Christian, and Hindu) demonstrate their beneficence as well as their mettle. In Kerala, folktales of vampiric yaksis demonstrate how local Christian and Hindu religious systems share practical sensibilities - in the form of sacred yaksi repellent - that defy normative doctrinal differences. Competition between traditions exists, yet it concerns shrine power and patronage, not religious conversion. Expressing more recent religious concerns, cinematic productions featuring the yakshi demonstrate shifts in ideology while expressing, in a rather simplified manner, interests of inter-religious harmony and compatibility.
Prachi Deshpande, Tufts University

Caste as Maratha: Colonial Sociology and Social Conflict in Early Twentieth Century Maharashtra

The category "Maratha" has several registers in Maharashtrian history and society and serves as an interesting site to explore the complex interaction between colonial discourses and debates within Indian society in producing modern social categories in south Asia. From shorthand for all Marathi speakers as well as a marker of elite Kshatriya status in the nineteenth century, the category "Maratha" has transformed into the marker of a particular agricultural caste in twentieth century Maharashtrian society. This paper argues that this process was the product of the complex interaction between colonial sociology and policy and the changing economic and political context of Maharashtrian society. Colonial policy not only attempted to fix the meaning and boundaries of what had been a relatively flexible marker of elite status as a "caste" through censuses and ethnographic surveys, but linked it to policies such as legislative elections and military recruitment. Maharashtrian society, particularly activists of the non-brahman movement, engaged with colonial discourses and policy to put forward different social constructions of the category Maratha in the early twentieth century. This process was by no means smooth and unanimous and the sources, both colonial and Marathi, reveal a great deal of debate and conflict. Eventually, more radical visions which sought to democratise the category to include all the non-brahman masses lost out to the more elite, conservative sections of the movement that claimed Maratha as a marker of an upper-caste, elite peasant group.

Neil DeVotta, University of Texas - Austin

Sri Lanka's Illiberal Democracy and the October 2000 Parliamentary Election

Despite nearly fifty years of ethnic malpractice, the politicking and invidious rhetoric surrounding Sri Lanka's October 2000 parliamentary election evidenced that the country's religio-political leaders have failed-or refused-to see how ethnic outbidding has undermined political stability, generated the ongoing civil war, and legitimised an illiberal democracy. Sri Lanka's experience clearly shows that while democracy affords the requisite structural mechanisms to promote ethnic accommodation, its attendant electoral politics, especially when combined with weak norms and debile institutions, may encourage opportunistic elites to manipulate latent cleavages that can then lead to ethnocentrism, protests, and violence. Indeed, the Sri Lankan case typifies how democracy and ethnonationalism can feed off each other and how their interaction, when mismanaged, can lead to illiberal governance.
The "New Artisan": Global Labour in the Culture Trap

Since the onset of modernity, for nostalgists and fervent modernizers alike, the "artisan" has appeared to embody the disappearing vestiges of a lapsed economic, political - and cultural context, ever receding in the face of the advance of industrial capital. This paper revisits the "artisan" as a figural entity in the debates on industry, culture, tradition articulated within the distinct, but derivative ideologies of 19th century imperialism, 20th century nationalism, and late 21st century "globalization". It attempts a rudimentary sketch of the "artisan" and its many forms of appearance in modern history, delineating it as a global rather than local figure that persistently undergirds the narrative of so-called modernization. The paper argues that the artisan, far from disappearing under the withering tides of industrialization, is in fact a key productive element created by it. As a culturalist cover for all manner of decentralized, super-exploited, informal labour positioned outside of the analytical rubric and architectural space of the centralized factory, the "artisan" is in fact the very hinge through which global industrial capital is able to incorporate local and customary idiosyncracies of production. Examining the colonial and post-colonial histories of India, the paper argues for re-thinking "localist" anthropology, nationalist historiography, and the economic theories of underdevelopment in this regard.

Purnima Dhavan, University of Virginia

Ideology and Statecraft in 18th-Century Punjab

In the eighteenth century a radical change swept the Punjab as Jat Sikhs replaced the old agrarian elite of the Mughal Empire. Although the aggressive ideology of new Khalsa Sikhs is usually cited as the primary reason for peasant unrest, this does not explain the economic and social reasons that spurred peasant rebellions. This paper traces both the evolving ties of community and ideology that bound the small community of Khalsa Sikhs to each other, as well as to other rural communities of the Punjab. Also, it establishes the wider economic causes of the dislocations in the Punjabi economy that spurred agrarian discontent. This synthetic approach explains the wide appeal early Khalsa ideology held for marginalized Jat peasants and small proprietors, and highlights its discordance with any attempts to establish a viable state once Sikh chiefs occupied a territory. The Sikh chiefs had to accommodate the competing interests of local lineages, agrarian communities, and merchant classes as they attempted to establish stable regimes. In the process, they fostered several vibrant and diverse Sikh identities and traditions.
"...Superficial - out of profundity": Re-evaluating the Question of Nihilism in Regard to Madhyamaka Philosophy

Both within the Buddhist tradition and among academics working on madhyamaka philosophy, the question of nihilism remains an important and contested issue. It is widely recognized that the anti-ontological position of the founders of madhyamaka carries with it the problem of grounding practice and ethics. Typically, this charge of nihilism is thought to undermine the place of madhyamaka within the broader context of ethics and the practice of Buddhism. The purpose of this paper is to approach this question from the perspective of some recent work on nihilism being conducted by Keith Ansell Pearson and others. Building on the later work of Nietzsche, these thinkers suggest that the concept of nihilism can be "re-valuated" into an affirming and creative starting point for thinking about human beings and society. Nihilism, then, is a necessary "tearing down" that opens the way for new thought and ways of being, and a return to the phenomenal world. This paper will apply the results of this recent work on Nietzsche to the understanding of Madhyamaka thinkers and will argue that the charge of nihilism need not necessarily be considered condemnatory.

Mandakini Dubey, Duke University

Colonialism and the "Oriental Kabala"

This paper explores the interplay between colonial ethnology and esoteric religion in the late Victorian period, through an examination of the Theosophical Society's quest for an "Oriental Kabala". In the 1870s and 1880s, the Society, led by Madame Blavatsky, elaborated a syncretic doctrine which sought the secret, shared wisdom that it saw to be at the heart of all religions, rooted in the traditions of India and Tibet. By discussing Blavatsky's texts and sources, I focus on the anthropological underpinnings of this transcendental quest, and link the esoteric structures of initiation, transmission and exegesis in this fantastical vision to the esoteric structures of empire.

Edward Falls, University of Wisconsin - Madison

Nagarjuna's Arguments

An attempt is made, relying on analysis of Nagarjuna's arguments in his Mulamadhyamakakarika and Vighrahavyavartani, to locate his philosophical "project" on the spectrum of the contemporary realist/anti-realist debate, with special attention to its connection with the specter of nihilism that appears (from the perspective of some) to hover near the anti-realist pole. I argue that Nagarjuna is not a global anti-realist; if he were, then his claim that emptiness does not entail nihilism would indeed be untenable, as some have argued it is. As his arguments make clear, he is an anti-realist just about (1) objects that have independent existence and (2) mental contents. As I read him, Nagarjuna's philosophical project turns out to be not dissimilar from Wittgenstein's therapeutic project, as scholars such as Thurman and Huntington have suggested. The Mulamadhyamakakarika is a therapeutic tool designed for the sake of Buddhist monk/philosophers immersed in the Abhidharma schools, to help them attain release from the anguished perpetual
grasping after views. But, as with Wittgenstein, Nagarjuna is, in the end, left with a view of sorts. For he is ontologically serious at least about entities that dependently arise, and this seriousness calls for a realism that would blanch global anti-realists.

Harald Fischer-Tíné, Humboldt University

'Aспiring to True Brahminhood' - The Dissemination of Civic Ideals in the Gurukul Kangri (1902-22)

Late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century India witnessed many initiatives relating to 'national education' that aimed at training active and responsible citizens. One of the most original attempts to make a school the nucleus of a new society occurred at the Gurukul Kangri, a residential educational institution founded in 1902 by the Arya Samaj, the well-known Hindu reform movement.

If mentioned at all by scholars of Indian history, usually the Gurukul has been depicted as 'traditionalist', 'anti-modernist' or even 'devotional'. In this paper I argue that in spite of the religious rhetoric used by the Gurukul spokesmen, the institution did have a highly 'modern' agenda though not necessarily a 'Western' one. While the Gurukul's emphasis on discipline and physical culture as prerequisites for character building was something that drew heavily on British models, there was a corresponding reference to the ancient varna system. But 'true brahminhood' was redirected from 'selfish otherworldliness' toward 'modern and mundane forces' and service for society at large. The Gurukul and the ideals of citizenship it promoted can therefore be understood as an expression of a 'mélange modernity' that created its own specific cultural idiom.

Julie Flowerday, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Hunza Scales into Pakistan: The Waistline of a Marginal Region in the Belly of a State

In this paper, the corporate process of interchange between symbolic center and periphery is examined through food, a source that nourishes a body polity from sacred to profane. In little more than fifty years, Hunza in the Northern Areas of Pakistan was moved from an insular Mirship (rulership) under British colonial control to a subdivision of the Gilgit District in the state of Pakistan. Formerly, the Mi’s Fort was filled and emptied, like a great underbelly of the society, recreated and cultivated through the life pursuits of its agricultural inhabitants. By the 1990s the Fort was a museum and "national state treasure". In its symbolic transformation from royal residence to international showpiece, the Fort larder had been cleaned of its produce, its prison cavern flooded by light, and its residential quarters stripped of their shadowy warmth and secrecy. The Fort, like the Mirship, was barren. Hunza was now in the belly of the State. The corporate process of nation building lends itself to metamorphic inscriptions of scales, waistline, and belly.
Rich Freeman, University of Michigan

In the Spaces of the Sacred Shadow

This paper seeks to analyze the intersecting frames of political-territorial, social, and ritual space in an extraordinary liturgical poem of 13th-century Kerala, The Garland of the Sacred Shadow (Tirunilalmla). Hitherto unnoticed outside of Kerala, this recently discovered text, (composed in a "Tamil" that is transitional to Malayalam), celebrates a temple festival in which a high Hindu god undergoes exorcistic rites of blood sacrifice and possessed dance by Untouchable ministrants (Freeman, in press). Capturing the age of cultural fusion between an earlier Dravidian "bhakti" of song, dance, spirit possession, and bloody sacrifice, and the subsequent ascendency of the Agamic, Brahmanical temple, this work orients its localized ritual arena within a series of larger cultural emplacements that I chart and analyze. The political geography of the temple's own village, its network of allied shrines and villages, the manors of these places' various "owners", the royal capital of this realm and its glories, the larger territory of Kerala itself, and the myth of its founding in a Puranic geography of wider "India" (Parutakandam) are all telescoped into the ritual and discursive space this text works to project and celebrate around the effectiveness of its own performance.

Tom Fricke, University of Michigan

A Taste Shared: Reflecting John Hitchcock and the Good in Fieldwork

Although John Hitchcock never wrote a sustained book-length treatment of the subjective and moral aspects of his South Asian research, clues to his position are contained in his shorter writings. Many of his essays and chapters foreshadow more recent concerns with fieldwork ethics, reflexivity (not a word he would have used!), and personal relations with the people being studied. This paper discusses anthropological fieldwork as experience, as methodological stance, and as moral imperative through the lens of Hitchcock's work and his influence on his students. It takes off especially from themes raised in Hitchcock's memories of his informant, Surat Singh, and his later essay, Fieldwork in Gurkha Country, moving back and forth from Hitchcock's own reflections to more general themes turning on the ethics of fieldwork and the role of personal disposition and experience in the encounter with cultural others. The perspective here is personal, from the point of view of a former student, but the lessons are more general. Illustrations come from reminiscence, letters, and journals from both student and mentor.
The Power of Place: Rethinking and Relocating Vaisnava Holy Sites in Colonial Bengal

In nineteenth century Bengal Bhaktivinoda Thakur utilized emerging technologies and 'modern' institutions in order to reclaim the premier Gaudiya Vaisnava holy sites of Gauradesh. As the leader of a fledging Vaisnava revivalist movement Bhaktivinoda sought to recover and appropriate the original janmasthan and related sites of Caitanya-lila in order to respond to a felt need of a nascent middle-class Bengali Vaisnava community. Though there had long been an active pilgrimage site in Navadvipa controlled by hereditary Brahmin Goswamis, over the course of the last decade of the nineteenth century Bhaktivinoda struggled with the existing community in Navadvipa as he put in place an alternative pilgrimage site which he called Mayapura. A consideration of Bhaktivinoda's activities helps us to understand the mutual imbrication of class, power, religion and culture in colonial Bengal. My paper will explore the general theme of cultural contestation in the nineteenth century by delineating a trajectory of religious revival and ritual renegotiation vis a vis Vaisnava holy sites in Nadia. My argument is that Vaisnava sacred spaces, far from being immutable touchstones of timeless and static 'tradition,' were themselves often sites of contestation and renegotiation in the nineteenth century given the vicissitudes of the colonial milieUniversity

Enrica Garzilli, University of Macerata

Abhinavagupta's Representation of the Three Worlds

Abhinavagupta's (10th cent.) depiction of the three worlds (triloka) in his TantraAloka can be taken as an example of the previous Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina cosmolectic, cosmogonic and cosmographic scholarship. Three kinds of black, mixed and white karman are the dynamic forces associated with his depiction. These three kinds are respectively for people in the World of Hell, in the World of Earth and in the World of Heaven, on the top of which there is the Shiva principle and, beyond that, the creative power called the Equal.

While teaching the effect of karman and the related rebirth to the ascetic, through this depiction Abhinavagupta offers us many more elements to be examined, such as a historic geography of the known world at the time, the myth -- which is also present in Western scholarship -- of a Golden Land, the actual principles supporting the three worlds that are the masculine/feminine principles, and so on. While I will show these three worlds designed according to Abhinavagupta's words, I will hint to some of the major points to be considered in reading his depiction.
Diasporic Afflictions and Partition Fictions

Recent scholarship on the 1947 Partition of the subcontinent focuses on the social and psychological effects of Partition rather than on the realm of high politics. And yet, the focus of much of the feminist and Subaltern Studies-type historiographic re readings of Partition remains solidly grounded in the national. While this focus on the state as ultimate master patriarch that intercepts everyday life is more than justified in Partition analysis, it effectively restricts the actors (especially the women) in the bind of being evaluated only in terms of a framework in which they are of necessity positioned as sufferers, victims, as second-class citizens as women and/or as refugees. As long as the rubric remains that of the nation and its critique, we cannot imagine outside of the numbing fixities of gender and minority positions within the national framework. I turn to Partition fiction to further examine these fixities and to look for ways in which some of the fiction does manage to move beyond them. I will bring a diasporic framework to bear on literary representations of Partition, in order to see if we might emerge with a different set of insights by focusing on the, sometimes banal, aspects of these dynamic situations. The vast body of Partition literature has been read, quite understandably within the framework of nation building, since the 1947 partition created two nations - India and Pakistan (West & East). While these literary texts have been read as the quintessential National literature that documents the birth pains of the nation(s), they can just as accurately be read as diasporic narratives. Certainly, partition literature suggests that people in all affected locations were learning to belong in new nations but they were also transformed into diasporas in exile. As currently practiced, critical discourses on nationalism and on diasporas proceed as if the two had diametrically opposed objects of study. I use Partition literature to examine the validity of maintaining such distinctions especially when we consider how gender is constructed in both discourses. Butalia, Menon, Bhasin and other feminists in their wake, work within the framework of the nation and in their analysis of Partition's gendered violations, respectfully stop from forcing into speech the many silences around the issue of rape and abduction. I turn to the fiction in order to locate other routes into an understanding of how gendered relations operate in Partition narratives. These routes, I will argue are made visible within Partition literature -- but they are routes that require reading outside the official rhetoric of nation and in the last instance, transforming the customary language of diaspora.

Pika Ghosh, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Madan Mohan's Travels

In this paper I reconstruct the travels of Madan Mohan, a god who endeared himself to the local populace of Vishnupur, an important center of the Gaudiya Vaishnava devotional community in seventeenth-century Bengal. Madan Mohan subsequently moved to the colonial mercantile center emerging in Calcutta in the eighteenth century, where he graced a merchant's urban household with his presence, around which a Bengali neighborhood coalesced gradually. I examine the processes whereby he settled down in these towns: architectural construction, ritual worship, and oral narratives about his miraculous acts, which are also successful techniques for community formation at these sites. The tales and temples reveal contestation and negotiation between king and merchant revolving around their claims upon the deity image. They disclose the unusual circumstances whereby the earthly body of the divine is duplicated and anxiety about authenticity and identity. In tracing the travels
of a peripatetic deity, I therefore explore the acts and tales of transformation that accrue to his sculpted body, and how that object in turn reshapes its physical environment and cultural space.

Rajdeep Gill, University of British Columbia

Fire, Imperial Trauma and Indian Cinema

My paper explores the politics of the cinematic text by looking to Deepa Meeta's Fire within the context of diasporic interventions at a time when the Hindu Right is in power and India has opened up to multinational capital. My paper frames Fire in relation to the 'shock' of this historical moment and seeks to push beyond seeing cinema as a site of fantasy or regression. This pivotal moment in India witnesses not only a right wing government in control, but also points to the reconfiguration of the 'native informant' position by urban, diasporic subjects in both cinematic and theoretical production. I shall explore the limitations of individual and familial 'crisis' portrayed in Fire in conjunction with the film's potential to function as a site for the working through of personal/familial traumas by comparing it to Bollywood social and visual vocabularies. This paper also considers how disjunctive sites in the globalized world translate and negotiate 'shocks' to their imaginaries and the possibilities doing so without surmounting the incommensurability of those translations.

William J. Glover, University of Michigan

"For a Public Purpose: Urban Space and Customary Practice in Colonial Lahore"

This paper explores a range of concepts invoked in contests over the proper use of public space in colonial Lahore (ca. 1880-1920). I will use three case studies to illustrate the legal and moral bases of authority different urban actors called upon to make their arguments persuasive. The cases include a petition to the municipal authority by Indian residents of Mozang (a village in Lahore's Civil Station) to prohibit non-residents from using the village commons (shamlat deh) as a public graveyard; a petition from the Muslim community in the old city to reclaim a municipal building for use as a "public" wedding hall (janj ghar); and arguments between a private individual and British military authorities over the former's illegal erection of a mosque on cantonment property. Together, these cases illustrate the complexity inherent in contests over the definitions and proper uses of public space in a colonial city. The paper focuses, in particular, on the interaction between customary and British legal spatial practices, and on the different strategies of authentication, persuasion, and adjudication entailed by each.
Anne Marie Goetz, University of Sussex, and Robert Jenkins, University of London

**People's Movements Against Corruption: Transparency, Accountability, and the Right to Information in India**

This paper examines efforts among groups in India's civil society both to demand governmental accountability and to combat corruption. Based on case studies from the states of Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Goa, and Kerala, the analysis focuses on the difficulties of sustaining such movements, as well as the role of rights-based discourses in shaping them. Of particular concern is the way in which issues of importance to poor and marginalised people get both expressed and obscured in the processes by which civil society groups pursue accountability. In addition to charting the course these movements have taken over the course of the past five years, this paper examines the complex responses of the state, which have included repression, emulation, and neglect. It also seeks to place these Indian cases in comparative perspective by drawing on selected portions of the secondary literature from other parts of the world, primarily the Latin America and the United States.

Ann Grodzins Gold, Syracuse University

**Seed Talk: Cyclicality and its Opposites**

Seed talk at many levels is replete with spiritual and moral implications, generating webs of religious significance, in India as elsewhere. At present it seems that unbroken cycles of seed planting, harvesting, storing and planting are threatened in unprecedented ways. New technologies are embraced by some farmers and resisted by others. Monsanto claims to offer "Food, Health, Hope" with genetically modified products; diverse environmentalists and social activists critique ulterior motives of corporate greed and predict disastrous ecological and economic consequences. Ecofeminists -- preeminent among them India's Vandana Shiva -- see the religiously nurtured and meaningful "eternal seeds" of Hindu women's ritual and agricultural lore threatened by multinationals' "terminator technology." In ethnographic fieldwork in 1993 and 1997 I interviewed many farmers on planting strategies, and observed and recorded both everyday and ritual practices involving seeds. In earlier research I happened to record devotional hymns featuring seed metaphors. This paper unfolds a range of seed talk and seed meanings as they are articulated in a single rural locality's hymns, ritual offerings, and agricultural techniques. I attempt to relate these locally embedded uses and meanings to some of the furious contests currently swirling around biotechnology in the subcontinent.

Peter Gottschalk, Southwestern University

**The Raj that Memory Forgot: Local Forgetting During National Remembering**

Most residents of Arampur and other, surrounding villages know stories regarding British rule in India. Many speak of the "golden bird" gutted by the avarice of the angrez. Yet few remember occasions of local interaction with British officials and their agents. Informed by a state-curriculum expressed in uniform textbooks, many residents of this western Bihar constellation of villages know about the British Raj from a nationalist perspective that privileges memories of Mohandas Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and the Amritsar Massacre. Ultimately, the historiographic
memories sponsored by the state through educational institutions and state-owned media promote an association with the location of "India" and "Bihar." The strength of this active remembering is demonstrated by the forgotten state of local edifices evidencing the local influence of the Raj. Despite the presence of elder residents who lived under British rule, the dominance of state-sponsored memories eclipses in significance local memories. This paper will demonstrate the intersection of memory, place, and narrative and explore the disjunction between both local and national identities and active remembering and passive forgetting.

Harold Gould, University of Virginia

**Grass Roots Politics in Karnataka and U.P.: Does "North-South" Really Matter?**

To differentiate what is 'general' and what is 'particular' about political processes in India, one must somewhat ironically, move to the lowest level of abstraction with regard to the operation of these processes. It is when one looks at how the quest for political office proceeds at the level of constituency-specific elections that answers can be found to the question raised by Jaffrelot and others. That question is: How much difference does it really make whether given elections occur in the North or the South, or indeed in the different states regardless of their geographic location, in terms of how politicians win or lose elections? My thesis is that in these terms, so-called culturally idiomatic factors matter very little. Politicians have to factor into their electoral strategies essentially the same complex of ethnic and class variables wherever they may be campaigning.

Rolf Groesbeck, University of Arkansas - Little Rock

**Social Categories and Ethnomusicological Field Experience in Kerala**

Various South Asia ethnomusicologists have recently paid an increasing amount of attention to the preceptor-disciple relationship as a defining factor in field research (Qureshi 2000, Scott 1997, Neuman 1990 Chapter 2). In this paper, I would like to add to this theme by suggesting that the existence of indigenous musical/social categories besides those of "disciple" and "preceptor"--notably that of "patron/connoisseur/landholder/scholar" (a single individual frequently performs all four activities)--implies the potential for a more variegated field experience. Specifically, I will show that during my own musical fieldwork in Kerala (1988-90, 2000), a number of patron/connoisseur etc. field colleagues expected me to define myself within their social category, while others--mostly fellow disciples, and my own preceptors--assumed that I would conform to the role of "disciple". The expected behaviors of the two groups inevitably conflicted, and fieldwork became for me a complex negotiation of the space between mutually exclusive social categories. I had to experience this space for myself to gain insight into the categories' interrelationship. By describing this experience here, I hope to contribute to a growing literature in South Asian music studies which underscores the fluidity of field experience.
Alan M. Guenther, McGill University

Justice Sayyid Mahmud and the Codification of Anglo-Muhammadan Law

Sayyid Mahmud (1850-1903), the first Muslim to be appointed as a High Court Judge by the British in India, gained a reputation for lengthy judgments and for regularly dissenting from the opinions of his fellow judges. This paper examines these rulings from a historical rather than a legal perspective, to discover Sayyid Mahmud’s understanding of Islamic law and its interface with the system imposed by the British. His work reveals his perspective of the relative value of the traditional Muslim sources and principles of jurisprudence. Drawing from the modernist heritage of his father, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Sayyid Mahmud clearly situates himself on the side of those holding to the need of ijtihad against those promoting taqlid in questions of Muslim law. At the same time, he also integrates his education in British colleges with his broader understanding of law. His appointment as judge in 1878, in the midst of a period of rapid codification of Anglo-Indian law, gave him a unique opportunity to influence the British attempts to codify Muslim law. His judgments reveal that he saw his role as not merely enforcing existing law, but rather creating law, as he continually appealed to broader principles of justice. His success in this endeavor is seen in the influence of his judgments in later amendments and commentaries on law in India.

Kim Gutschow, Brandeis University

Betwixt and Between Asceticism and Domesticity: Buddhist Nuns in Kashmir

This paper explores the liminal status of nuns in relation to the realm of renunciation and domesticity. It begins by noting the misrecognition and elision of Tibetan Buddhist nuns in Kashmir from scholarly and literary sources due to their ambiguous relationship with the domestic realm. While the apprenticeship, ordination, and later institutional affiliation of Buddhist nuns establish their ritual and social status in the community, these stages also reinforce their ties to that community. We will examine how nuns, unlike monks, remain bound to their families and to the domestic realm despite their ritual passage as novice nuns and later full members of a monastic community. The progression of nuns through ritual stages aims to move nuns from the mundane to the monastic realm, even as village economics and local mores bind nuns ever more closely to domestic obligations. In the end, nuns must be both dutiful daughters and compassionate celibates.

Chad Haines, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Traversing the State: Travel and the Postcolonial State in Northern Pakistan

State formation is a cultural revolution that enables particular behaviors while simultaneously attempting to curb others. The processes of state formation are not always overt, predicated on modes of coercion, real or imagined. In enabling certain behaviors, perspectives, and practices, the state works through subjects, naturalizing its presence as an everyday reality. The postcolonial Pakistani state, as an institution, has been a failure in the region of Gilgit. Yet, its presence there is pervasive, particularly as structured by the Karakoram Highway, built in the 1970s. In this paper, I discuss how state formation is being enacted, encoded, and inscribed through changing patterns of geographical mobility. The paper is exploratory,
opening new realms of understanding state formation through tourism, trade, out migration, shifting of government agents, and internal migration.

Murphy Halliburton, Queens College, CUNY

The Waning of Spirit Possession in 20th Century Kerala

Both in terms of internal development and in relation to other regions of India, Kerala has witnessed considerable transformation in the 20th century. Studies of Kerala have also changed in that they no longer center simply on anthropological studies of matriliney and "primitive" marriage, indological studies of Vedic rituals, or development studies of the "Kerala Model." Kerala studies now include a wide range of disciplines and methodologies for understanding both the uniquenes of Kerala culture and its position in the larger culture of India and South Asia.

The present panel will explore several areas of recent research on Kerala in the 20th century with a focus on the continuities and discontinuities between historical and contemporary Kerala or between Kerala and other parts of India. Topics for the panel include the effects of modernism on Malayalam literature, the continuing presence of the yaks in Hindu and Christian communities in Kerala, and the decline of spirit possession as a medical cure. The goal of the panel is promote discussion of Kerala as locus for regional studies and to describe the variety of research being conducted there today.

Susan Hangen, University of Pittsburgh

"We must dig out the true history of this land": Narratives of the Past and Boycotts of the Dasain festival in Nepal

During the last decade in Nepal, leaders of the ethnic political organizations like the Mongol National Organization (MNO) have called for ethnic minorities to boycott Dasain, the country's largest national festival. The MNO argues that Dasain celebrates the Hindu conquering of ethnic minorities in mythical and historical times. Through Dasain boycotts then, the MNO dramatizes its political project of ending Hindu dominance in Nepal. In this paper, I show how the Dasain boycotts highlight a disjuncture between two different modes of relating to the past: the narratives that MNO calls the "true history" of Dasain and people's lived, local memories of the festival. I analyze the multiple interpretations of and reactions to the Dasain boycott in a village where the MNO gained considerable popular support. While MNO activists sought to impose a singular meaning on the holiday through forwarding a collectively shared history of Dasain, in practice the Dasain boycotts had a range of meanings. While people asserted that they boycotted Dasain, they continued some of the festival's hallmark activities, and began to hold weddings during Dasain. Thus, they did not renounce their recent memories of Dasain as a celebration of kinship ties and as a time of plenty.
Obaidul Haque, University of Dhaka

A Forlorn Minority: Stateless Biharis in Bangladesh

Three decades after the independence of Bangladesh the legal status of Biharis, many of whom consider themselves 'Stranded Pakistani', still remain unresolved. Originally from the Indian State of Bihar these people migrated to the then East Pakistan after the partition of British India in 1947. Although most of the estimated 14 million people who migrated to either side of the newly drawn border have assimilated well into the respective host societies, Biharis have retained their separate cultural and linguistic identity and failed to assimilate completely. Since the independence of Bangladesh in December 1971 the Biharis have been remaining in Bangladesh as 'Stateless Persons'. They do not qualify under the United Nations definition of refugees as they did not leave their country but their country left them. They have been victims of endless neglect and ostracism. Barring some wealthy and resourceful Biharis most of an estimated 400,000 are living today in 66 squalid camps dispersed all over Bangladesh. Although after the independence of Bangladesh some of the Biharis opted to go to (West) Pakistan, their chosen homeland, Pakistan did not take them. The successive governments in Pakistan played political games on the issue and kept it unresolved. The successive Bangladeshi governments also kept the issue of repatriation alive. Three decades have passed without the promises being implemented. Despair runs deep among the quarter of a million of Urdu speaking Biharis who wonder if they will forever remain stateless. Many young Biharis now prefer to stay permanently in Bangladesh and stop becoming homesick for a place they had never been to. However, Dhaka had not yet promised them a home. It is high time to seriously think about the viability of the idea of Bihari repatriation. As it appears today, the repatriation issue is a lost cause. This paper attempts to focus on prospects for repatriation of Biharis to Pakistan and reintegration into the Bangladesh Society. The paper suggests that the Biharis would be better off as naturalized Bangladeshis. The Biharis have become helpless victims not of their own making. Therefore, it is important that they are protected and treated humanely.

Hans Harder, Halle University

Intra- and Inter-religious Boundaries in Contemporary Bangladeshi Islam

This paper surveys the discursive distinctions observed among Bangladeshi Muslims and asks how such distinctions reflect the interrelations between subgroups within their community and between Muslims and non-Muslims. Drawing on recent field work at the Sufi shrine complex at Majbhandar, I review the terminology used for in-group and out-group demarcations and explore patterns of construction of group boundaries and relations. These patterns display great variety, and developing a typology of them is one of my goals.

My study also suggests that conventional academic terminology used to discuss the relationships of religious groups may need revision. Following Paul Hacker, the term "inclusivism" is still often used to describe a uniquely Hindu way of accommodating heterogeneity. But such an attitude is also found in Bangladeshi Islam. Another term, "syncretism," for long employed to characterize the melding of Hindu and Muslim traditions in Bangali religion, seems imprecise, outmoded and ideologized. It is also associated with the Redfieldian notions of "great" versus "little" traditions, too, creates doubtful hierarchies and serious problems of classification. The paper concludes by suggesting how indigenous modes of religious discourse can help to
interrogate the meta-terminology used by scholars in discussing religious group relations.

Anne Hardgrove, University of Texas-San Antonio

**Trafficking in Difference: Marwari Women and Social Reform c.1890-present**

The classic story of 19th century social reform of Bengali middle-class bhadralok women, from Rammohan Roy onwards, is often read as a well-rehearsed script for women's modernity all over India. Yet within the Marwari business community in Calcutta and northern India, intellectual debates over widow remarriage, women's seclusion, female education, and dowry reform did not arise until the 1930s and 40s, about one hundred years after Bengalis wrestled with similar issues. This paper addresses the problem of how we understand the Marwaris coming to social reform "later." Drawing upon my interdisciplinary archival and ethnographic research, I argue that this appearance of coming late to social reform is actually a problem in the formation of a public and collective Marwari community identity under colonialism. Unlike the Bengali bhadralok, who drew upon law as their sphere for intervention, the Marwaris advocated reform within their community using social boycott and other disciplinary techniques. Current perceptions of Marwari women remain entangled in this history. My paper explores how evidence from the ethnographic present helps us to account for voices and experiences left out of the archival record.

George Hart, University of California, Berkeley

**A Journey from Human to God: Reworkings of Sangam Literature by Nammalvar**

It has often been pointed out that Nammalvar, author of the Tiruvaymoli, the seminal part of the Divyaprabandha that is generally considered to be the most sacred and important constituent of the Srivaishnava Tamil Veda, took many of his themes and ideas from the Tamil Sangam literature of many centuries before. This paper will identify several such sections in which the Sangam akam conventions have been used by Nammalvar. A close reading of some of Nammalvar's poems and of similar Sangam poems will reveal the strategies he used to change the focus of the conventions from human to god and it will cast new light on the motivations and purposes of the poet, showing how a tradition that influenced many modern Hindu sects was self-consciously and carefully crafted from earlier conventions and literature. The paper will investigate not only how the earlier tradition influenced the Srivaishnava tradition; it will suggest that the Srivaishnavas attempted to revalidate the earlier traditions in order to lend legitimacy to a new sect that was partly based on those traditions.
Writing Themselves into History: Women's Organizations and Islamization in Pakistan, 1977-1988

In this paper, I will examine the rhetorical strategies used by women's groups in order to oppose General Zia's Islamization policies. I will focus on the arguments made by one group, the Women's Action Forum, to claim a place for women as the subjects of national identity and not just its object or symbol. Since Zia's regime so closely intertwined religious and national identity, the WAF tried to achieve its goals by challenging the interpretation of Islamic laws rather than by simply rejecting the value system on which they were based, a move would have left them open to charges of treason. This move reveals the social position of WAF members since they sought not so much to challenge the power structures that privilege only an elite group as they did to create room for themselves within those structures. I will explore the implications of this strategy for the possibility of cross-class alliances between women in Pakistan, and will end by arguing that the secondary project of recovering women's histories of Partition offers much more hope for such alliances since it reveals both the impossibility of speaking on behalf of all Pakistani women and challenges the very basis of the religious masculinist national ideology that informed Pakistani identity in this period.

Syed Hassan, Claflin University

Resistance to Macaulayism and the Rise of Urdu as a Weapon of Commitment Literature in English India (1857-1947)

A hundred years after Britain lost its American colony, Benjamin Disraeli, the British Prime Minister, secured the passage of a bill in 1876 that conferred the title Empress of India on Queen Victoria. Prior to this, Thomas Babington Macaulay (as President of the Committee of Public Instruction in Bengal in 1834) in his "minute on Indian education" received total support of the Governor General of Bengal (Lord Bentinck), to the sentiments expressed in the minute. Macaulaysim became the official policy of British rule in India. Macaulay proposed, "that an immediate halt be put to the printing of Arabic and Sanskrit books." He also recommended that both Sanskrit College in Calcutta and Madrasa be closed down. Thus, instead of engrafting English on an already existing Arabic/Persian-Sanskrit foundation, Macaulay advocated total Anglicization by demanding complete substitution of native languages by English as a medium of instruction. On the back drop of such an imperial threat, linguistic nationalism gave birth to the promotion of Urdu in English-occupied India. My paper will argue that there are three basic strands of the use of Urdu as a language in the Indian national struggle: i) Apologetic approach of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and the quest for a platform of the Indian Muslims in their struggle as a nation, ii) Indian popular culture and the impact of Bollywood with Marxist slant with special reference to Sahir Ludhyanwi, iii) Resistance and the rise of Muslim nationalism by Muhammad Iqbal.
From the "Scientific" to the "Indigenous": Homeopathy in South India

Studies of homeopathy in Europe and the University S.A. have highlighted practitioners' attempts to emphasize 'modern' and 'scientific' approaches. Studies of homeopathy in India (e.g., Bhardwaj) have highlighted a process of Indianization. Arguing against such unilineal trajectories, this paper situates homeopathy in South India within the context of shifting relations between 'scientific' and 'indigenous' systems of medicine. From 1924 through 1934, homeopathy was singled out by Government of Madras officials as 'scientific,' as contrasted with the 'indigenous' Ayurvedic, Siddha, and Unani systems of medicine. From 1947 through 1960, different factions promulgated both 'indigenous' and 'scientific' interpretations of homeopathy. An Honorary Director of Homeopathy proposed the Indianization of homeopathy, and its reconciliation with Ayurveda. It was, however, not until the early-1970s that homeopathy was officially recognized in Tamil Nadu State. By then, both homeopathy and Ayurveda had become conceptualized as non-Tamil, in contrast with promotion of the Tamil Siddha system of 'indigenous' medicine. Thus, constructs of 'indigenous' and 'scientific' systems of medicine are quite malleable with respect to homeopathy in South India.

Ronald Herring, Cornell University

Enlisting 'The Poor' as Political Strategy: The Battle over Genetically Engineered Organisms

Both multinationals seeking access to India’s markets and NGOs seeking to wall off biotechnology deploy the poor rhetorically as legitimation. What is at stake for poor people in the biological revolution? How are distribution effects mediated by property systems, at both local and international levels -- from agricultural production to bioprospecting to biopiracy. In agriculture, operations of both markets and politics marginalize the rural poor under existing technologies; GMO-based agricultural technologies may alter these dynamics. Where does property intervene? Second, one way the poor are potentially able to benefit from the biological revolution is through ownership of traditional knowledge and biodiversity. What property innovations would make that possible? Third, risks posited for GMOs are class-differentiated: rich consumers are especially worried about allergenicity, the poor may well be more threatened by environmental risks that accompany GMOs. Finally, given class effects on distribution of health care and income, the putative effects of biotechnology in nutrition and medicine may be of special importance to the poor. As the global genetic commons is privatized with the retreat of public sector institutions, what are the implications for health, wealth and poverty, for environment and for agriculture in India?
Heather Hindman, University of Chicago

The Beachcombers of Kathmandu: Cultural Translation for Foreign Visitors to Nepal

This paper explores the mediation of Nepali culture for tourists, long-term visitors and even for Nepalis themselves. Beachcomber is a moniker I take from he work of Greg Denning to reference the often unique and even marginal figures who are able to position themselves as both knowledgeable about and yet separate from the culture they teach to others. By exploring this interaction from a historical perspective, I hope to better illuminate how we came to the vision of Nepal that is prevalent today. Beginning with iconic figures in Nepal’s history since the so-called opening of the country in 1950, such as Boris Lissanevitch and Erika Leuchtag, I move to the contemporary institutions and individuals who try to translate the complexity of Nepal’s many languages, religions and rituals into a palatable package. Moving beyond the previous work on Nepal in a foreign imaginary, I seek to position those able to make the translation. The beachcombers, of necessity, must be able to show they are fully part of Kathmandu culture and yet appear marketable to the West. With Nepal’s brief but intense romance with the outside world, this has been and will continue to be a vital role.

David Holmberg, Cornell University

Magical Power and Politics in Tamang Shamanic Soundings

This paper is conceived as a contribution to the study of Himalayan shamanic traditions the study of which was initiated in a serious anthropological sense by John Hitchcock. In particular, it examines how wang or magical power and related concepts are articulated in Tamang curative practice and imagination. Wang and other forms of symbolic power manipulated in shamanic soundings, I argue, constitute the alienated capacity of individuals to cure themselves in rhetorical terms that are best understood in Tamang sociologies. Particular attention will be devoted to how Tamang shamanic journeys enact this power and how the psychologies of affliction and curing are in separable from sociopolitical life.

Steven Hopkins, Swarthmore College

Loving God in Three Languages: Sanskrit and the Cosmopolitan Vernacular in the Poems of a 14th century South Indian Saint-Poet

This paper that explores the complex historical and literary relationships between Sanskrit, Tamil and Prakrit through the lens of a 14th century south Indian Srivaisnava poet-acarya named Vedantadesika who composed poems in all three languages. It is notable that this poet used conventions proper to each language as he composed, though much of what he wrote was grounded in Sanskrit tradition. In showing how Vedantadesika attempted to give legitimacy to his writings, I will use Sheldon Pollock's theories on the Sanskrit "cosmopolis" and the "cosmopolitan vernacular" to speak of the persistence of Sanskrit composition within a religious community during the "vernacular millenium" (1000-1500) in pre-modern South Asia. My paper will throw new light of just how an important religious tradition in India was formed, how it reinvented and used the past, and how the Sanskrit
tradition was mined and employed to give validity to something quite new that did not exist in Sanskrit previously.

Matthew Hull, University of Chicago

Villages and the Public in Islamabad Land Expropriations

The original Master Plan for Islamabad required the expropriation of all the agricultural land north of Rawalpindi for the development of the new capital. Today, a large area of western Islamabad is currently under illegal occupation by long-standing village residents and new arrivals. This paper will explore the relation between law and publics through an examination of the contest over this land between the government and residents. The paper focuses on the engagement of legal forms of individual representation and customary communal representation. This difference will be linked to divergent views of public space within the developed sectors of the city.

Maimuna Huq, Columbia University

Women's Islamic Activism in Bangladesh

My paper explores the emergence of religious activism among Muslim women in urban Bangladesh, a country whose birth, only three decades ago, was predicated on secular ethnic nationalism. I address three different styles of religiosity which characterize this movement, but focus on a particular organization, the Bangladesh Islami Chatri Sanstha (Bangladesh Female Islamic Students' Association, BICSa), which has the largest following among educated young women. I explore the micro-technologies BICSa employs in producing a specific kind of personhood which not only challenges both indigenous Bangali tradition and Western modernity, but shapes the very discursive regime which engenders it.

In seeking to reconcile faith with class aspirations, and ideological discourses with daily practices, activists strive to re-cultivate the self and re-form society in opposition to perceived secular-liberal hegemonic impulses. They do this, in part, through symbols and practices drawn contextually from various socio-cultural resources: local Bangali values, state and NGO-led modernization efforts, and Islamic revivalist trends in South Asia and elsewhere. In the process, women Islamic activists fashion a local Islamic modernity even as they hearken back to the 7th Century "golden age of Islam in Arabia as their model for the construction of an Islamic polity."
The Political Economy of Decentralization in Pakistan

The military has typically used political instability in the country as a justification for its interventions in the governance of Pakistan. However to maintain and prolong its hold over the state, the military leadership has found it convenient to invoke the economic imperatives of restructuring and development presumably to rectify the prevalent corruption and mismanagement. In that respect, the current reincarnation of military putsch is no exception. The highlights of the agenda of this regime include such lofty but non-specific goals as revival of the economy, improvement of investment climate, privatization of state enterprises, enhancement of tax collection, recovery of defaulted loans, accountability of the corrupt and the like. The interesting point about this line of rationalization for prolonging military rule is that so far it seems to have worked in every instance, in a manner of speaking. The apparent credibility of this approach rests on two popular premises: First, the latest entrants to the privileged club of economic advancement (the so-called tiger economies) have all made it under the auspices of authoritarian rule. Second, the comparison of economic performance under military vs. civilian management in which the former seems to excel. Even if the premises are granted at their face value, the fly in the ointment remains. Despite prolonged military rule and its avowed economic achievements the country remains in deep economic trouble. A closer examination therefore is in order of facts and figures as well as the logic of the arguments to decipher whether military interventions are part of the solution or a source of the problem.

Deborah Hutton, Skidmore College

The Codification of a Visual Identity for Bijapur

The architecture of Bijapur, one of several Islamic kingdoms that flourished in the Deccan region during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, went through several phases of development. The most celebrated phase—often considered the height of Bijapur’s architecture—occurred between about 1605 and 1635. During this period, massive rubble and plaster constructions gave way to more delicate—although equally monumental—buildings of elaborately carved stone. The new profusion of stone ornament combined seemingly disparate elements such as sinuous brackets of Deccani Hindu temples with slender Islamic minarets and bulbous domes resting on rings of lotus petals. Six significant monuments patronized by members of the Adil Shahi court during this period all display a remarkably consistent repertoire of ornamental motifs. The objective of my paper is to examine this select group of monuments, focusing on their ornamentation. Why did this new style develop when it did? Why is the repertoire of motifs so consistent? What semiotic function did the ornament serve? And, finally, what is the significance of stone as the new medium of choice for ornament? My study will focus on how the ornamental phase of Bijapur’s architecture related to the construction—or, more precisely, the codification—of a unique courtly identity for the Deccani Sultanate.
Ghalib in the Progressive Idiom

Mirza Ghalib (1797-1869) in addition to being one of the greatest poets of the Urdu ghazal, has also been a pivotal influence on Progressive Urdu literature. A Progressive view of Ghalib, of course, camouflages the aristocratic social code that had prescribed the poet's life. One has only to turn the pages of Ghalib's letters and other writings to see how far away he was from the rough and tumble of any laborious task, save for the aesthetic crafting of Urdu and Persian. He coveted royal titles and honors, basked in courtly patronage, and derived pleasure from the most exquisite of opulences. Hence, in the nineteenth-century accounts of Ghalib's life, both biographical as well as autobiographical - we find little trace of the ideals with which Urdu Progressive writers invested his legacy. But Ghalib's playful poetic subversion was what the Progressives were overly prone to see. This paper discusses the effects of Ghalib's figurations in the works of Progressives such as Sajjad Zahir, Ahmad Ali, Faiz Ahmad Faiz and Ali Sardar Jafari and the manner in which Ghalib's words have been redirected toward a progressive social agenda.

Laura Dudley Jenkins, University of Cincinnati

Caste Lists and Certificates: Community Definition through Reservation Policies

A political alliance between the groups officially defined as "backward" in India would give them the power of numbers. Yet this potential unity is complicated not only by social and cultural diversity but also by political and policy considerations. Reservation policies, in particular, have contributed to the reinforcement of distinct SC and OBC categories. Reservation policies include quotas of central government jobs for Dalits on the Scheduled Caste lists and for the so-called Other Backward Classes, a variety of low caste and other disadvantaged communities. The official definition and monitoring of the boundaries of the SC and OBC categories contributes, in part, to ongoing constructions of these communities. Based on official documents and interviews with bureaucrats, judges and social scientists involved in compiling official OBC lists or issuing caste certificates, I argue that official categories shape the incentive structure within which individuals and groups claim or mobilize around particular identities. In particular, I examine the role of the National Backward Classes Commission established after reservations were extended to OBCs at the national level in the 1990s. I argue that some of the procedures associated with official caste lists and certificates encourage group-based mobilization while others splinter larger group affiliations.
Stephen Jenkins, Humboldt State University

Compassion and Ethical Nihilism: The Problem of the Ontological Referent of Compassion in Indian Buddhism

The originators of the doctrines of no-self and emptiness recognized and struggled with their apparent nihilistic implications. Not only did they have to avoid charges of nihilism, they had to support an ethic of universal compassion as well. According to the Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines, maintaining compassion for all sentient beings, when ultimately those beings do not exist, is the single most difficult thing for a bodhisattva. The purpose of this paper will be to present how Indian Buddhists directly treated this problem in their discussions of the ontological referent for compassion, which became a stock motif in abhidharma literature and was expanded and restylized by the Great Vehicle. The paper traces this motif as it was treated from four distinct Buddhist philosophical perspectives.

Jennifer Joffee, University of Minnesota

Temples, Paintings, Poets and Avatars: Reclaiming Sisodia Authority Under Mughal Rule

In 1615, after years of intensive battle, the bankrupt Sisodia rulers of Mewar were forced to recognize Mughal sovereignty. Although this was, without a doubt, a humiliating turn of events for the proud Sisodias who considered themselves the head of all Rajput clans, the cessation of battles allowed the imperial treasury to grow and, in the years that followed, the Sisodia rulers expended a great deal of wealth on the patronage of buildings, paintings, and manuscripts. I believe that this profusion of royal arts patronage was intended to bolster the image of the no longer autonomous Sisodia rulers, not only in their own eyes, but in those of the Mughal empire and other Rajput houses who had long been flourishing under Mughal rule. Careful observation and analysis of select imperially sponsored works, including the Jagdish temple and a curious painting ostensibly depicting a Mughal ruler visiting the poet Tulsidas, suggest that the Sisodias were attempting to reclaim legitimacy and authority by visually linking themselves to the Mughals and, in some cases, even suggesting that they were more powerful than the Mughals and, hence, the rightful, legitimate rulers.

Priya Joshi, University of California, Berkeley

Public Culture, Private Selves: Books in the Age of Liberalization

Benedict Anderson has slyly noted that books, consumed in what he calls the "lair of the skull," leave few textual or representational remains of their consumption. How they work upon the subject's imagination, what they do there, and what the social outcome of reading is remain among of the hardest questions for cultural historians to contend with. And yet despite these lacunae in the historical record, scholars have never really shied away from making broad claims that connect reading and revolution (Roger Chartier and Robert Darnton), the novel and nationalism (Anderson, Dipesh Chakrabarty), or libraries and their users (Paul Kaufman, Simon Elliot). Indeed, as I have shown elsewhere in the context of nineteenth- and twentieth-century India, what books get read, when, and how provides an important index to the social and cultural landscape of consumption. This paper is an
investigation into how reading preferences among public library patrons illuminate social anxieties not always immediately evident elsewhere. It is an examination of the dialectic of modernity in colonial and postcolonial India as revealed through the borrowing patterns of two roughly homologous groups at the Connemara Public Library in Madras in 1900 and 1997. Through an account of who patronized this inherently public space and what they consumed, I hope to discuss the manner in which preoccupations with economic mobility, a state increasingly hostile to its subject/citizens, and the eventual pressures of global capital as manifest in India get played out in the half-century prior to Independence and then half a century after it. This paper is an analysis of the different narratives that emerge from examining the shifting culture of textuality and print across a single century that saw the ascendance of print followed by that of other media such as film, television, and the internet. In this regard, my paper probes the particular social meanings available from scrutinizing the evolving circulation and consumption of an "old media" in a changing economy. The continuities between film and print are, paradoxically, more visible between 1900 and 1990 than in contiguous times, and indeed, my paper turns on the nature of public fantasy that such forms of "private" consumption help illuminate.

Sanjay Joshi, Northern Arizona University

Historicizing the Archive: Making of the Native Newspaper Reports in Colonial India

My paper examines the history of the Native Newspaper Reports of colonial India, both to historically contextualize these important archival documents, and to contest some assumptions about the nature of the colonial archives. Given the unavailability of many original newspapers from the colonial era, historians have relied extensively on the colonial state's reports on Indian newspapers gathered in different provincial Native Newspaper Reports. Instead of seeing these reports simply as an instrument of colonial surveillance, and an example of "colonial discourse," my paper argues for a more complex historicization of these documents. Research reveals significant differences in the perspectives of the purposes of these reports when they were initiated around 1863-76. Even after monitoring potentially subversive native opinion was acknowledged as their primary purpose, available evidence suggests that Indian translators and reporters were able to exercise their own "agency" to reflect the reports with agenda inconsistent with the needs of colonial surveillance. The colonial archives, this paper suggests, need to be understood in much more complex terms than as simply the repository of a univocal colonial voice.

Shuchi Kapila, English, Kenyon College

'The Black Widow': The Many Lives of Indira Gandhi

This paper focuses on the politics of gender in the representation of India's only woman Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, who appears in Salman Rushdie's Midnight's Children (1981) and Rohinton Mistry's Such a Long Journey (1991) as 'the black widow' or a malefic, emasculating feminine presence, when in fact, her centralized government was considered 'draconian' and 'masculine.' As a looming presence, during India's liberation of Bangladesh from Pakistan in 1971, the ironic confusion between Indira and India at the height of her powers, is represented by Mistry through the perspective of Gustad Noble and the Parsi community to which he
belongs. As the 'strong' and 'strange' woman, her political power is mystified into a species of spiritual evil which pervades the novel. In striking contrast to these fictional representations of Indira Gandhi, in Katherine Frank's recent biography Indira: The Life of Indira Nehru Gandhi (2001) the eponymous subject of the work is a vulnerable, psychologically scarred young woman whose political excesses are prompted by the ghosts of her past. While some critics have appreciated this attempt to give psychological depth and realism to a figure who has been depicted only in terms of her larger-than-life drive, ruthlessness, and self-control, most other readers have been disturbed by Frank's attempt to understand a modern political icon in terms of her emotional and psychological vulnerabilities. The truth-claims of the biography have been questioned, allegations and denials have flown thick and fast about some historical details, and finally, members of Indira Gandhi's family have filed a defamation suit against the author. The public controversy over Frank's biography articulates the unwritten conventions within which public women can be acceptably represented in India.

Lamia Karim, Rice University

Blurring the Private: NGOs, Women's Rallies and Militant Islam

This paper examines how the work of developmental and social mobilization NGOs and urban women's groups blurs distinctions between the private and the public in rural Bangladesh. It focuses on how such interventions in reforming women's private lives threaten militant Islam. Muslim clerics govern rural people's private lives through their traditional power to interpret Islamic personal and family law and to ensure the "proper conduct of women." Working in areas like microlending and family planning, NGOs tie the concerns of the private to forces external to it and thus challenge local clerical authority.

But who bears the cost of social adjustment brought on by such social engineering programs? I explore this question by analyzing the conflict between the NGO, Proshikha, and the local clergy in a provincial town. I show how women were drawn by Proshikha into financial and social indebtedness, while also incurring Islamist ire for participating in NGO activities. In the ensuing confrontation, poor women were the real victims. While not supporters of militant Islam, the women could not resist being used unwillingly as Proshikha's "shock troops" against it.

Bengt Karlsson, Uppsala University

Indigenous Natures: The Politics of Forest and Ethnicity in Meghalaya, Northeast India

This paper will deal with the movement against forest reservation in the Garo Hills in the early 20th century, a movement that succeeded in putting a halt to further reservations and out of which a new type of ethnic politics and leadership among the Garos evolved. The Garo Hills is situated in the eastern part of the present Indian State of Meghalaya. In contrast to the general situation in India, the bulk of the forests in Meghalaya and other hill states of Northeast India are under communal management and ownership. The colonial state applied a policy of minimal governance in these out-of-the-way-tracts and some aspects of it has also survived into the postcolonial period (provisions for local autonomy under the sixth schedule of the Indian constitution). The paper will further address the contemporary politics of forest in Meghalaya, and above all discuss the controversial Supreme Court Order
of 1996 through which a moratorium on felling and transport of timber has been imposed. The "timber ban", as it is referred to locally, has triggered debates about Delhi imposing unjust rules that threatens the livelihoods of people who depend on the forest. And, as such, fueling autonomy demands and ethnic politics.

Charles Kennedy, Wake Forest University

**Pakistan's Local Government Plan, 2000 and Ethnic Accommodation**

In May 2000, the military regime of "Chief Executive" Pervez Musharraf introduced the Local Government Plan, 2000. The Plan is extraordinarily ambitious—perhaps even "revolutionary". The most radical features of the Plan include 1) the abolition of the Divisional level of administration and government; 2) devolution of authority from the provinces to the district and union levels and 3) creation and empowerment of elected district mayors (nazims) to head newly-created councils. There are many motives that could be imputed for the introduction of the Plan. This paper will focus on one possible motive-to quiet, perhaps defuse, ethnic conflict. Since the early 1980s, Pakistan has suffered from very significant ethnic conflict. Various strategies have been employed to try to ameliorate this conflict, including repression. In 1985 a new strategy was devised by the Ansari Commission. Namely, if national identity is defined by provincial domicile, and ethnic conflict is across such fault lines then if a government can weaken or dissolve the provinces' ethnic identity would be confused and ethnic conflict ultimately reduced. This paper will argue that the Musharraf Local Government Plan has extended the principle of the Ansari Commission. The paper will discuss the implications of this strategy for ethnic accommodation and the ethnic politics provoked by the plan.

Shafi A. Khaled, Uuniversity of Wisconsin - River Falls

**Technology Transfer: The Old-Fashioned Way**

All IAC's (industrially aspiring countries) seek industrialization. The quest has been on for about five decades. However, except for a handful, industrial revolution has escaped them. Various industrialization mechanisms are available. They may be broadly categorized under direct or indirect technology transfer. Direct acquisitions are those available through outright purchase afforded by trade-based income, grants and loans, and via direct foreign investment. Indirect technology transfers are those domestically brought about first by knowledge and skill transfer followed by selective technology transfer. Regardless of how it happens, a successful technology transfer is demand driven.

In an environment of vastly and extensively unmet demand, slowly growing trade surplus, limited grant and loans, and uneventful foreign direct investment, policy makers and entrepreneurs need to increase supply to match the unmet demand through their own means in a cumulative, interactive and planned manner. This paper looks at this issue.
Naveeda Khan, Columbia University

Illegal Mosques in Contemporary Pakistan

Illegality is the common condition of mosques in Pakistan. Some mosques are considered illegal as they have been built on lands grabbed from the state, others for being in areas zoned for different functions, and some others that have been forcibly possessed from the original group that built them. These gradations of illegality generate anxieties specific to the state, religious clergy and the modern day worshipper. With a focus on the anxieties of the ideological state, this paper will examine two well publicized cases of illegal mosque construction in colonial and post-colonial Lahore, Punjab. The first is the mosque made famous for having been built in one night, and the second for being the mosque demolished in Lahore shortly after the demolition of the Babri Masjid in India. I will show how (a) public debates on illegal construction serve as commentaries on Muslim ability to self-govern (b) the threat/act of demolition forefronts the tension between Islamic and bureaucratic conceptions of public ritual space.

Ruqayya Y. Khan, University of California - Santa Barbara

Representations of a Gendered Self in Pakistani Women's Autobiographies /Memoirs

In considering selected postcolonial women's autobiographies/memoirs in both Urdu and English, Khan discusses the following questions: 1) authorial legitimacy; 2) the role of memory and language; 3) the construction and presentation of childhood; and 4) the emergence of a gendered self in the context of mother-daughter and father-daughter bonds. Finally, she assesses the relevance of Nancy Chodorow's gender theory to these Pakistani women's life narratives.

Zillur Khan, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh

Values, Identity and Development

An attempt would be made to explore the crisis of political identity facing Bangladesh since its independence. To what extent it affected the political and administrative behavior of leaders in making and implementing vital public policies would be evaluated. How the two negative by-products, namely political violence and instability have adversely affected poverty alleviation efforts of government, non-government and inter-government organizations would be critically assessed. Could the negative trend be reversed with the integration of different ideological interest for a common purpose, i.e., national development? What types of consensus building strategies are appropriate for such task? Could a regionally integrated approach to solving problems in concert with India be feasible? Could the integration models used by western and selected non-western countries be applied to Bangladesh and its neighbors? These and related questions would be addressed tapping relevant documents, including data from author's field work in Bangladesh during 2000-01.
Meena Khandelwal, University of Iowa

Traditional Feminists and Modern Saints: Sannyasinis Confuse Dominant Models

19th century Indian nationalism elaborated a series of dichotomies that are still in place a century later: tradition/modernity, spiritual/material, East/West, and female/male. That they pervade Hindutva politics, popular American representations of Indian mysticism, and the gendering of "tradition" in diaspora communities suggests a high degree of ideological convergence. On the one hand, sannyasa appears to be hierarchiCalifornia - spiritual, mystiCalifornia - ascetic, and irrational-decidedly unmodern. Feminism, on the other hand, deems itself modern; indeed, it constructs a vague and ahistorical "(religious) tradition" as the culprit in women's oppression. Sannyasinis confound these analytical categories in multiple ways. Although they have renounced "traditional" domestic roles for the sake of personal spiritual pursuits, their lives and philosophies are diverse. Should we name their renunciation "feminist"? Can we establish that more women today are pursuing these "traditional" spiritual lifestyles? If so, is it "modernity" that has empowered them to pursue a lifestyle denied, in theory, to women? On the basis of ethnographic research on sannyasinis in North India, I suggest that, instead of asking whether these women are modern feminists or traditional saints, we examine their lives to rethink the tradition/modernity split as applied to both feminism and sainthood.

Hawon Ku Kim, University of Minnesota

A "Post-Colonial" Reading of the Laxmi Vilas, Vadodara

The architecture of India during the nineteenth century, especially the architecture of the British Raj, is usually considered to be a representation of the juncture between modernity and colonialism. However, in most cases, the lack of sufficient suggestions of "indigenous" architecture of the same period and/or continuation of traditional patronage creates a false impression: an impression of "there was nothing else." On the other hand, when mentioned, any indigenous attempts at Westernized architecture were ridiculed and considered a failure. A dichotomy of architectural historiography is created, where architecture has no choice but to be either "authentic" Indian, i.e. traditional, timeless, despotic, or to be Western, which was impossible due to the lack of modern, enlightened environment. This paper challenges this dichotomy, and the basis of this dichotomy often overlooked by architectural historians; the fact that the process of modernization and the creations of this process, i.e. the binary categories of modern/pre-modern are not natural but constructed. Through the analysis of Laxmi Vilas, a palace commissioned to Major Charles Mant by the Maharaja Sayaji Rao III of the Baroda state in 1878, the limits of such discourse and possible alternatives will be suggested.

Mark D. Kittlaus, University of Pittsburgh

Bharata Natyam, Pedagogy and Context in the United States

Indian communities and associations are flourishing all over the United States and the general public's exposure to the rich arts of India kept forward with the recent celebration of 50 years of Independence. In this era of heightened visibility classical dance leads the way as India's most recognizable cultural icon. Dancers today serve
as ambassadors to the arts and culture of the sub-continent and dance classes can be found throughout the cities and suburbs of the University's. This status is ironic considering the form's recent past. Bharata Natyam, perhaps the most prevalent and certainly representative among these classical forms, is just four generations removed from being a temple tradition with an uncertain future (anti-nautch movements were focusing on the reputation of the devadasi practitioners at the turn of the 20th century.) Pioneers, such as Rukmini Devi, relegitimized the study of Bharata Natyam and other traditional arts. Devi's arts center Kalakshetra, near Chennai in Tamil Nadu, became a model for modern arts education in India. This paper, a slice from my dissertation in progress, will examine methods used by today's Bharata Natyam teachers to establish the history and context of its rejuvenation, in addition to mentoring the physical vocabulary and "traditional" repertory. I will focus on the University's scions of the Dhananjayans, two of the most famous graduates of Kalakshetra. The intertwining of the resurgence of native performance forms and the independence movement created the cultural explosion that represents India today.

Daniel Klingensmith, Maryville College

Schooling, Development and Internationalism: Postwar American Liberals and Indian Education, 1948-1953

This paper will examine aspects of early postcolonial education policy in India as seen by American liberal commentators who served in or toured India after independence. Arthur Morgan, Chester Bowles, Eleanor Roosevelt, and William O. Douglas, all "Old New Dealers," advised Indian education policy and/or interpreted it to interested Americans. Through their institutional connections in Washington, Delhi and the United Nations, they sought to leave an impress on the basic framework of educational policy. While their specific prescriptions and larger commitments differed, they shared interlocking concerns about the character and possibility of "development," the future of liberalism in India, the United States and the world, and the Cold War. This paper will examine in particular the roles played by Morgan (one of two foreign members of the Universities Commission of 1949) and Bowles (US ambassador from 1951 to 1953) in attempting to formulate early education policy, and consider how their efforts fit (or did not fit) into internal debates about education in India.

Lisa I. Knight, Syracuse University

Renouncing Expectations: Baul Women, Feminine Respectability, and Renunciation

In this paper, I demonstrate that the lives and stories of Baul women renouncers challenge dualisms of domesticity/renunciation, devalued bodies/exalted spiritualities, and silent and repressed females/public and powerful males. Not only do renunciant Bauls run counter to mainstream paradigms of renouncers whose lives are characterized by celibacy and asceticism, but through deliberate attention to particular relationships and fluctuating criteria of respectability, Baul women further confound the portrayal of renouncers as detached from the world. Baul women who renounce often do so along with their husbands, pursuing a spirituality grounded in the body and the senses; or their renunciation may be particularly motivated by a desire to sever ties with their husbands. In the myriad courses Baul women's lives take, these women renounce above all society's claim on them, demonstrating an
awareness of their gendered positions as they creatively interpret their lives and their options. Renouncing their status as traditional married females with all the associated benefits and restrictions, Baul women create a life of increased mobility even while ensuring society’s protection of them through improving their reputation, caring for their children, and pursuing financial gain through opportunities to perform musically.

Anirudh Krishna, Duke University

Leadership Change, Democracy and Development in Rural North India

Field investigations carried out over two years (1998-2000) in a group of 69 villages in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh indicate the rise in villages of a new group of non-caste-based political entrepreneurs. Instead of landed wealth and high caste lineage - resources that an older set of village leaders possessed in large measure - the new leaders are characterized by their superior ability to make connections with state and market organizations on behalf of ordinary villagers. More than 70 percent of nearly 2,000 villagers interviewed for this study prefer to seek assistance from these new non-caste-based village leaders whenever they need to make contact with diverse state or market agencies. Political parties are increasingly relying upon these new leaders for gaining villagers' votes, and government officials bank upon them for getting development projects implemented. Younger members of former untouchable and other backward castes have acquired basic education rapidly over the past two decades, and they are represented among new village leaders as often as upper and middle castes. The old village elite held sway in the past by monopolizing narrow conduits of communication with the state. The new leaders draw strength from forging new connections outside the village. They are democratizing politics at the village level, and they are helping make established socio-economic and political structures more accountable to the ordinary villager.

Shanti Kumar, University of Wisconsin - Madison

Imagining Hyderabad: Media and the City in Globalization

This paper will critically map the cultural geography of Hyderabad's film city as a way of tracing the intimate relationship between Telugu culture, material relations and its distinctive understandings of globality in south India. Telugu cinema provides a rich source of imagination. Historically, south Indian audiences drew upon movies for an understanding of the modern world. More recently, diasporic and local communities increasingly look to the celluloid world for their understanding of global transformations. Telugu cinema has come to be a rich resource for a variety of cultural, economic and political practices. One manifestation of this was the rise of the charismatic celluloid figure of N.T. Rama Rao whose regionalist Telugu Desam Party significantly altered the political landscape fo Andhra Pradesh. Another is the symbiotic relationship between the diasporic telugu community, the cyber savvy Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh Chandrababu Naidu and media moguls such as Ramoji Rao. Hyderabad's rise as an high-tech global city has been accompanied by the increasing prominence as major center for film industry. This paper argues that the emergence of Ramoji Film City in Hyderabad is a concrete embodiment of the new forms of cultural imaginations which mediate a city's sense of place and identity in the age of globalization.
Laura Kunreuther, Bard College

"A brother will forget": Cultural History of Family Memory and Inheritance Law in Nepal

One of the most hotly debated political issues of the 1990s in Kathmandu was a controversial proposal to reform the current laws of inheritance. Activists working for this reform argue that women should have a right to their parents' ancestral property (amsa), and that the current laws are unconstitutional. The popular response to the proposal has been angry opposition by both men and women alike. "Brothers will forget about us," many women said. "This law will 'kill the love' (maya marne) between brothers and sisters." In this paper, I focus specifically on the anxiety created by the reform movement, and the language in which the debates were framed. I show that activists, rather than simply advocating a reform for 'equal rights,' intend instead to create through this legal proposal a shift in the organization and practices of memory.

Vinay Lal, UCLA

An Indian "History"? Reflections on the "Rajatarangini" of Kalhana

Since the late eighteenth century, it has been commonplace to note that Indians, and certainly the Hindus, never bothered to write histories. The argument was consolidated in the first half of the nineteenth century by Hegel, James Mill, Macaulay, and many others, and gave rise to various forms of nationalist rejoinders, such as: Indians wrote histories, but these were lost over time; the epics are repositories of historical information; and Indians have been unaware of their own histories. More recent scholarship, from Romila Thapar to Peter van der Veer and Nicholas Dirks, has drawn upon a different argument. It is suggested that history does not exist in the singular, and that there is no reason to suppose that our notion of history must be tied to narrative traditions of history as they developed in the West. Even as nationalist and post-colonial scholars appear to be united in condemning the deep Orientalism of colonial argumentation, they share with their colonial adversaries an understanding that a "want" of historical works cannot be viewed other than as a lack. It is never doubted that all civilizations must have, in their own way, a historical sensibility. I propose to defend the indefensible, and implicitly offer the argument that the Indian past is characterized by a deliberate disavowal of history as a mode of knowledge. In the nineteenth century, the linchpin for the nationalist rejoinder became the "Rajatarangini", an eleventh-century chronicle of Kashmir by the brahmin Kalhana. Whenever one had to point to the presence a historical sense among Indians, or to the Indian capacity for producing historical knowledge, all eyes were turned towards the "Rajatarangini". It is not merely enough to say that, for all its importance, the "Rajatarangini" has seldom been the subject of very detailed inquiry and interpretation; it is the text which, in a manner of speaking, furnishes the modular form for the argument that India developed distinct forms of historical narrative. However, as I shall suggest, the compulsion to view the "Rajatarangini" as a historical text betrays a profound uneasiness with ahistorical and non-historical modes of knowledge. Post-colonial discourse, it follows, is deeply implicated in the forms of knowledge generated by the modern social sciences. Any dissenting critique of the modern apparatus of knowledge, including the paradigmatic discourse of history, will have to face up to the cultivated indifference towards history as a mode of knowledge in not only pre-colonial India but down to the present day.
Christopher Lee, Canisius College, Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies

**Banarsipan, Pseudonyms and Pissing on Walls: Images of City and Self among Banarsi Muslim Poets**

Memories, both social and individual, are constantly being remade, reinterpreted and rearranged in importance as actors try to understand themselves and their relation to their environment, history, and society. The process of memory - of remembering and forgetting - also serves as an important strategy to refuse the negative oblivion of contemporary events and popular presentations of 'the Muslim' in North India. For many Muslims in the Hindu pilgrimage town of Banaras, being 'Banarsi' is an important aspect of self-identification. This is shown by extolling the virtues and freedoms of living in Banaras, through praise of 'Banarsipan' (the particular joie de vivre for which the city is known) and in many other ways; poets even include the city as a part of their penname. Others, however, reject the primacy of such an identity, and choose to foreground other identities - such as 'Indian' or 'Muslim.' This paper will explore these interrelations and constructions of self, location, and memory through the poetry and narratives of Muslims in Banaras.

Scott Levi, Eastern Illinois University

**Multani Merchants in the Indo-Afghan Empire**

There was a striking transformation of Indian mercantile patronage under the rulers of the Durrani polity, which stretched from the Indus to Khurasan in the eighteenth century. Multanis had long been in Iran (20,000-plus in the 1660s), but Nadir Shah expelled virtually all of them in the early 1700s. Ahmad Shah Durrani, however, invited them back in a generation later, and soon they were operating revenue farms, the rural credit system, part of the Durrani administration in the provinces, and of course the age-old long-distance trade that connected Calcutta with the Aral Sea. They can thus be seen as active participants in state formation in the Indo-Afghan Empire.

Sharon Littlefield, Philadelphia Museum of Art

**Creating Shangri-La: Indo-Islamic Ornament at Doris Duke's Hawaiian Retreat**

The heiress Doris Duke (1912-93) was an avid, if little known, collector of Islamic arts, particularly Mughal forms, which she installed in her custom-designed estate in Honolulu, Shangri-La. She collected Mughal paintings, jewelry, weapons, jades, and textiles. She commissioned local artisans in Hawaii to construct a Mughal-style garden. But she also commissioned massive architectural elements, such as a jali screen pavilion and pietra dura paneling, from South Asian artisans themselves. Clearly Doris Duke was serious in her desire to fashion an identity and environment that linked her to the Islamic world, in particular a Mughal one. What did she seek in reaching out to the Islamic world and building a retreat composed of its ornamental forms? How did Indo-Islamic art in particular achieve her aim? How can Miss Duke's selection of a Hawaiian locale for these forms be understood? And to whom was her expression of self directed? Such questions demonstrate that Doris Duke's embrace of Islamic ornamentation was a singular, highly personal attempt to literally build an Islamic identity at Shangri-La. Her case expands and questions the way in which the
dynamics of ornament and identity are discussed, ultimately deepening our understanding of what Islamic art is and how it can function.

Carlos Lopez, Florida State University

The Children of Rta: Relations among 'Powers' in the Veda

This paper will outline the relationships linking a cluster of entities that are said to be "first-born of rta (Order)" (prathamaja rtasya) in the Veda, such as agni (fire), Šraddh~ (faith), āpo devś (the heavenly waters), anna (food), and vśc (speech). The Vedic poets used phrases such as "prathamaja rtasya" to explicate the interrelations between the macrocosm (the natural and divine order) and the mesocosm (the corresponding ritual structures). In this way, mythic themes are systematically correlated with elements of the ritual in the Rig Veda.

Timothy Lubin, Washington and Lee University

The Domestic Ritual Codes and the Promotion of Vedic Piety

This paper analyzes the doctrinal and ritual changes, visible especially in the codes of domestic ritual (grhya-sātras), that the Vedic tradition underwent during the middle of the last millennium BCE, noting the ways in which a common liturgical format and the study and recitation of Vedic mantra were promoted as a basis for vertex identity in an increasingly cosmopolitan world. The analysis will show how the domestic codes were designed to provide a framework for institutionalizing brahmins' expertise as teachers and as ritual authorities in a variety of contexts beyond the multi-fire high Šrutha cult. This process may be seen as a policy of Sanskritization, in which a streamlined canon of Vedic mantras and a simplified ritual system integrating regional and popular elements are made the criterion of "rya" (i.e., civilized) status among those who adopt them. Besides establishing transregional standards of piety, it provides the ideological and ritual basis for the later Dharma literature.

Abby McGowan, University of Pennsylvania

Ways of Seeing: Crafts and the Discipline of Design in Western India, 1851-1900

In this paper I look at the institutionalization of design as a discipline in the art schools of Western India as a process which created new ways of seeing and understanding crafts. A discipline developed in Europe in response to a perceived crisis in industrial goods, design in India was oriented primarily towards craft production. In art schools first in Bombay and later in Baroda, Bhuj, Jaipur, Rajkot and Surat, European art instructors taught Indian artisans the basics of design as a means of improving crafts. There, through instruction in things like elementary drawing, drawing from nature, drawing for decoration, etc., artisans were taught to see their individual products-from carpets to silver vessels to stone carvings-in terms of adherence to or deviation from 'universal' laws of balance, proportion, and color harmony.

But artisans were not free to work in any style. Rather, unlike the painters and
sculptors who studied and practiced Western 'fine' art styles at the same art schools, artisans were required to remain true to an 'Indian aesthetic'. In this emphasis on the indigenous, design instruction served both to define that aesthetic and to draw crafts from all different media together into a common field of 'Indian' artisanal production. By doing so, artisans and (eventually) consumers alike were taught to see things like carpets, shawls, inlaid wooden boxes, intricate brassware, etc. in reference to each other first (rather than to carpets, shawls, boxes, brassware, etc. from other parts of the world), and then in reference to the supposedly universal laws of design.

Alison Mackenzie, University of Pennsylvania

The Patterns of Urban Life: Ornament and Patrician Identity in Hyderabad's 19th Century Paigah Tombs

In the 19th century, Hyderabad was easily identified as an Indo-Islamic city. After a British military cantonment was established on the city's outskirts at the turn of the century, Hyderabad's elite families turned their gaze inward to cultivate the Indo-Islamic culture within the old city. Yet their actions broadcast the city's identity as a center of patronage of Indo-Islamic religion and culture, attracting Sufis, Maulvis, poets and scholars from distant regions of the subcontinent. After the 1857 mutiny, Hyderabad stood alone and unique as the capital city of a large Indo-Islamic Princely State. How did the city's patricians interpret their roles as preservers of an Islamic city? How did they define an Islamic identity that was meaningful in the political climate of colonial India? This paper examines the construction of identity at the mid-19th century dynastic tomb complex of the Paigahs, the city's most powerful noble family. I examine the visual symbols through which the Paigahs defined their identity and show how ornament was used to display the family's social and economic roles. The integration of Europeanate domestic consumption and public, Islamicate patronage gave these Hyderabadi patricians a current identity as preservers of a modern, Islamic oasis.

Tayyab Mahmud, Cleveland State University

Colonial Migrations and Post-Colonial Nations

The immigrant is traditionally located in the inter/national imagination through the prism of the laborious moves of statism to project an image of the world divided along territorially discontinuous and separated sovereign spaces, each supposedly enclosing homogeneous cultures and impervious essences. From this line of vision, the immigrant is always the outsider, the abnormal, the other. The historical record of the modern inter/national system, however, suggests a different point of departure; one that focuses on the interlocking processes of capitalism, colonization, and migration. Examination of migratory patterns of South Asia reveals that they are intrinsically tied to the region's incorporation into the global division of labor through the operation of colonialism. However, the relationship between migration and colonialism is not mechanical or stable. Colonialism, like all power relations, was a contested site, and the migrations and immigrant identities it triggered were constituted both by operations of power and strategies of resistance. Power and resistance similarly intermingle in the construction and deployment of post-migration identities of the immigrant. This identity is not related so much to the fact of migration as it is to the shifting alignments of political forces. The relationship of the immigrant with the state and the nation is contingent and unstable because the state
never just is; it is always in the process of becoming, and so is the nation.

Neepa Majumdar, Indiana University

**Borrowing Hats: Song Parody and Social Critique in Aadmii (1939)**

This paper will focus on V. Shantaram's 1939 film Aadmii (aka "Life is for Living"), which parodies the full range of contemporary musical practices of rival film studios (the title refers to a song sequence in which an actress borrows the hats of her various male admirers and performs the same song in the different regional languages and styles represented by each hat)-from "ghost voices" to the songs of singing stars, especially where the singing star's voice is of questionable quality. It combines such critique with homage to song sequences from other films of its own studio, Prabhat. The paper will perform close readings of some of Aadmii's song sequences, but will place these readings in the context of contemporary discussions in the 1930s on stardom, nationalism, and the place of music in cinema. It will consider the following questions: why does Aadmii, whose overt project is to critique the social hypocrisy behind the stigmatization of prostitutes, spend so much screen time parodying other film styles? Why does the film have a subtext about acting and musical stardom?

Madhavi Mallapragada, University of Wisconsin - Madison

**Diaspora in the Digital Age: The Cybercultures of Indians in the United States**

This paper examines the production of diasporic selves in cyberspace. Locating the discourses on community and identity within national, immigrant and diasporic histories and politics, the paper argues that the contemporary Indian diaspora in the United States is strategically deploying its cyberpractices to articulate a transnational gendered discourse on tradition and modernity. In particular, the articulation of the 'traditional' and the 'modern' in the contemporary diasporic context allows one to rethink the connections between technology and culture in everyday practices. In particular, the digitizing of cultural practices is reshaping the communities' engagement with place, space and time. In this context, the paper will closely examine some of the popular websites that address the Indian diaspora in the United States. It will discuss some of the cultural practices of the Web that facilitate the production of transnational selves and identities, that in turn, reconfigure the discourse on diaspora in the contemporary context.

Karuna Mantena, Harvard University

**Legitimacy and 'Tradition': Henry Maine and the Intellectual Foundations of Indirect Rule**

This paper is an exploration of the intellectual and theoretical basis of indirect rule as it developed in the context of colonial India in the late-nineteenth century. Like so many of the prominent figures in the history of British political thought, Maine's reputation, life, and work were intimately shaped by his personal and professional relation to British Empire in India. Not only active in official India policy circles in England, Maine served in Calcutta as Law Member of the Council of the Governor-
General of India between 1862-1869. Most importantly, Maine’s scholarly work figured in the late nineteenth-century 'paternalist' reaction against the institution of laissez-faire market relations in colonial India. I will examine the manner in which Maine’s theories were employed on behalf of the call for the rehabilitation of native customs/institutions as a bulwark against the political and economic instability. On a more general level, I will seek to demonstrate Maine’s position as a central intellectual figure in the transcontinental shift to indirect rule, or ‘rule by custom,’ as the keystone of late imperial policy across Asia and Africa. The impact of indirect rule was of course central in instituting specifically post-colonial modes of state-formation. In this way, Maine’s legacy figures importantly in the forging of a particular state-form, perhaps the archetypical form for Asia and Africa, where legitimacy is both premised upon and constituted through the authoritative interpretation of the category of ‘tradition.’

Rama Sundari Mantena, University of Michigan

**History and Archive in Colonial India**

While the British in India were laying the foundations for a colonial administration in the late-eighteenth century, a new kind of knowledge was coalescing around the emerging colonial state. At the center of knowledge production during this period was the colonial archive. Colonial archives were products of the exertions of East India Company officials in collecting a wide range of materials, from documenting the flora and fauna of the Indian territories to textual sources of the religious and political practices of the subcontinent. In this paper, I have two broad concerns: first, to examine the ways in which archives acquired tremendous power in shaping/producing knowledge of India’s textual traditions. The exposure of disparate material to the forces of centralization generated new definitions of history and historical consciousness in colonial India. Second, I want to reflect on what silences and absences are produced at the inauguration of archives. What collective memories get validated and what remain silent? This paper will broach this incredibly rich topic by turning to the moment in colonial history when history and archive emerged as the technology by which the state sought to bring the colony under its purview. A critical look at the early colonial period would give us an insight into the complex relationship between archives, the state, and preservationism.

Kathryn S. March, Cornell University

**Song and Memory**

Tamang songs from highland Nepal are remarkable feats of memory. In the simplest sense, they are so because they are very long and very poetic. They are the more so, too, because they (re)create for singer and audience remembered places and times with an acutely emotional, almost Proustian, visceral reality. But insofar as memory also involves structured forgetting, these songs efface sentiment; they memorialize, and to some degree reconfigure or distance experience by subsuming it to an aesthetic. This paper looks at three genres of Tamang song - klangpi (or dora) hwai (playful dancing repartee song), namtar (mythic origin song), and bomsang (personal lament) - to explore the various ways in which they, on the one hand, recall, even reproduce, the intensity of experience and, on the other, recast and reframe it, if not to completely dull it, at least to refract it through lenses of culture. Two pivots, then, are at stake in this analysis of the ways in which memory (both
recall and erasure) lies in: (a) the more emotive balanced against the more cognitive and (b) the more personal balanced against the more collective.

Gregory G. Maskarinec, University of Hawaii

**Stability of Oral Texts among Shamans of the Bhuji Valley, Western Nepal**

As the first anthropologist to report on shamans of Western Nepal, in 1961/62 and again in 1967, John T. Hitchcock documented the vibrant shamanic complex found in the Bhuji Valley, on the border of Baglung and Rukum Districts of Western Nepal. During those early field trips, Professor Hitchcock recorded 40 hours of shaman oral texts. These tapes include three dictated repertoires, preserving some 10,000 lines of the narrative poems that shamans publicly recite as a key part of every divination, curing, and worship ceremony. Having completed a preliminary transcription and translation of these tapes, last year (2000) I revisited the Bhuji Valley, obtained the cooperation of the second and third generation descendants and students of the three key shamans whom Professor Hitchcock recorded, and taped their contemporary repertoires. This paper reports my preliminary findings, foremost of which is an extremely high degree of textual stability and integrity despite forty years of intervening social, political, and economic change throughout Nepal.

Biju Mathew, Rider University

**The Incommensurability of Transnationalism and Globalization**

Early theorizations of globalization posited an incommensurability between the categories of globalization and the nation-state - arguing that the latter would vanish into the multidimensional "scapes" of globality. In contrast, theorists such as Lefevre, have argued that globalization is precisely the moment of "normalization" of the "system of nation states." This paper concretizes this relation between "systems of states" and globalization through an examination of how immigrant labor is "managed" in the contemporary globalized economy. By locating the differences in the incidence of state power on two very different categories of South Asian immigrant labor in the US - software professionals on the one hand and taxi drivers on the other - I seek to develop the complexity of the relation between nation state and globalization. Clearly, both high tech and low tech labor are circumscribed and incarcerated within the global economy. However, their modes of control are different -- an heterogenous and differential re-calibration of space in the primary mode of control over these two pools of labor. This spatial relocation of global labor is animated through a complex infrastructure of technology (networks), repressive state machinery (immigration and naturalization arms of the state) and the very reworking of the category of labor in the terms of trade under globalization (the development of contract labor who can be moved without notice). The regeneration of an international politics of labor is thus predicated on the annihilation of the distance that exists currently between the notions of immigrant labor/national labor and the meaningful development of the category of transnational labor.
Gendered "Folk" Practices in Colonial Narratives: Performing the Punjabi
*Pax Patriarchica*

From the seventeenth until the twentieth century, English merchants, travelers, imperial ethnographers and amateur folklorists claimed the authority to create knowledge about India and Indian peoples through recounting stories they had heard. This paper considers a selection of rural female "folk" practices published in the English-language journal Panjab Notes and Queries (1883-7), edited by Richard Carnac Temple, and compares them with the later observations of Malcolm Lyall Darling, who started his Indian administrative career in 1904 and became famous for the books he wrote about his rural tours of Punjab in the 1920s and 1930s. Maskiell argues that colonial authors' narratives of rural women's practices imbedded fragmentary accounts of women's agency, basing this contention on Sherry Ortner's "minimal" definition of agency as "a sense that the self is an authorized social being." Ortner claims that the "absence or denial [of agency] is as much of a problem as its construction" and that there is only a false theoretical choice between "the Foucauldian discursively constructed (and subjected) subject, [and] the free agent of Western fantasy" (1996, 10-11). Gender, kinship, and class defined the behavioral options among which all Punjabi women lived (and live), but the colonial state's ideological commitment to patriarchal family arrangements of inheritance, work and so forth led its narrators to record "evidence" supporting a pax patriarchica in the late nineteenth century. For contemporary historians, the agency of Punjabi women can nevertheless be located at the intersection of certain women's recorded attempts to maximize their social options within the colonial state's privileging of patriarchal legal codes and norms, and the narrative impulses of male administrative authors.

Reena Mehta, University of California - Berkeley

The Formation of the Physical Indian Temple Imprint in Northern California

During the last twenty years the physical imprints of Hindu temples have proliferated upon the American landscape. These physical cultural productions symbolically represent the sacred spaces for the Indian diasporic community. The Indian sacred space takes the form of a "holy place", generally a landmark with a temple as the physical signifier. As the perception of sacred varies from group to group, it becomes difficult to generalize the principles of a sacred location. This paper looks at the processes of temple building activities of the Indian diaspora, with a focus upon the Gujarati community living in the United States. The first physical public representation of this community emerges through the establishment of a "Hindu temple". Within the last 30 years the Gujarati community has established 25 temples United States, which today are part of their global network. This being their attempt to define their presence with a focus on the way old patterns of identity, which have and are being reconstructed in the face of current globalization trends.
Kalyani Devaki Menon, Syracuse University

Passionate Renouncers: Hindu Nationalist Renouncers and the Politics of Hindutva

In the Hindu nationalist movement women "renouncers" are either sadhavis, that is female ascetics, or pracharikas who have forsaken the responsibilities of the householder to devote their lives to the movement. I argue that the dualism between attachment and detachment that is implied in the discursive construction of the "renouncer" becomes problematic when we look at the lives of Hindu nationalist women. Although sadhavis and pracharikas are expected to be celibate and to relinquish the attachments, desires and passions of the everyday world, their lives, roles and duties reveal involvement with the world. First, their calling is not to remove themselves from the world but rather to shape that world and infuse it with the values, ideology and politics of Hindutva. Second, those I worked with were deeply involved in teaching women and girls to deal with the challenges presented to them in their daily lives including shaping their views on marriage, dowry, caste, motherhood, rape, and violence. And third, the women themselves while committed to the cause of the movement and even to their roles as renunciates, were not necessarily untouched by the forces of love, betrayal and anger that are so much a part of everyday life.

Barbara D. Metcalf, University of California-Davis

Tablighi Tales

The Tablighi Jamat has operated for some seventy years in the Indian subcontinent and, especially since the 1960s, far beyond. It is a voluntary, pietistic organization of Sunni Muslims which primarily operates by sending groups of its members to invite their coreligionists to faithful performance of their moral and ritual duties. It operates by word of mouth and informal grouping and regrouping of participants. Upon return from a mission, travelers report their experiences.

I propose to use written accounts of missions as the basis of this paper, including reports of a mission to East Punjab shortly after Independence, letters from Tablighis to the United States in 1960s, a book-length report of a mission to China from Uttar Pradesh in the early 1990s, and several short reports provided on the internet. The movement's self-image is one of timelessness, continuity, and uniformity, both in terms of its own history and as a replica of activities of the Prophet Muhammad's time. One of my goals in analyzing these documents, all written by male Indian Tablighis, is to see what patterns of variation may in fact emerge. This is part of what I hope will be a book-length project on this movement.
John J. Metz, Northern Kentucky University

The Evolving Agroforestry System of Chimkhola, an Upper Slope Village Of West Central Nepal

The Pun Magars of Chimkhola village control over 40 km2 of fields and forests between 1550 and 4500 m of Dhaulagiri Himal. Rainfall is usually sufficient to raise both summer and winter crops on the 67 named areas of out-sloping agricultural terraces, which are distributed widely between 1550 and 2450 m. The current farming system divides fields into 7 groups, which are aggregated into 3 macro groups, each of which is in a different year of a 3 year rotation. Because fields are widely scattered, farmers fertilize their fields by holding livestock on fields for one to several weeks after each crop is harvested, but before the next is planted. This system produces a complex pattern of sequential herd movements and crop plantings from one of the 7 subgroups to another in both the spring and autumn planting seasons. During times when all fields are planted, herders take their livestock into the forests, where they supplement the food the animals graze and browse with fodder cut from forest trees. This system is gradually transforming the forests into shrublands. The increasing scarcity of fodder and of labor, as working-age men leave for wage labor jobs around the world, suggest that this 3 year rotation system will not long endure.

Stephen Mikesell, UW - Madison

The Legacy of John Hitchcock’s Cultural Ecology in the Anthropology of Himalaya

John Hitchcock attempted one of the earliest tests of Julian Steward’s cultural ecological thesis in a comparison of two Magar villages in Nepal, nearly at the same time that Frederick Barth was doing a similar kind of study in Afghanistan. In this work he attempted to compare two Magar villages at different ecological zones, controlling for language and other cultural variables. He did not think that things were as straightforward as others, such as Barth, made them out to be. Hitchcock also brought cultural ecological assumptions to some of his work on other subjects such as caste. This paper will look at Hitchcock’s attempts to test his approach to cultural ecology in the Himalaya, analyze how successful it was, discuss the problems that he came across in the study, and identify cultural ecology strains in his other works. Finally, it will position Hitchcock’s work within the general development of ecological scholarship in the Himalayas and will identify the legacy left by him.

James H. Mills, University of Strathclyde


This paper will consider the place of the lunatic asylum in the growing concern about cannabis use in colonial India. By 1871 the Government of India had commissioned an India-wide report on the issue and by 1891 the House of Commons had ordered a fresh review of the issue. This resulted in the Indian Hemp Drugs Commission that reported in 1892. The key evidence for those that argued that cannabis use lead to
madness and violence in the Indian population was the statistics and descriptions issued by the mental hospitals established in the nineteenth century in India. The paper argues that rather than accurate depictions of a social phenomenon, the statistics and descriptions were instead discursive representations that acted to construct a phantom whose violence and unpredictability was well suited to haunt the post-1857 colonial imagination.

Ali Mir, Monmouth University

**Seeking the "Progressive" in the Progressive Writers' Movement**

From its spectacular rise in the mid-1930s to its gradual fizzling out in the 1970s, the Progressive Writers Movement (and its formal body, the Progressive Writers Association) established a hegemonic consensus that defined the tenor of Urdu literature in the subcontinent during that period. This paper discusses the process by which the PWA responded to historical exigencies and ethical imperatives, in particular, those generated by modernity. The issues addressed by the PWA included Partition and the formation of nation-states, the intersection of class with other identities such as race, gender, caste and sexuality, the potential and limits of utopian humanism, the forces of religion and spirituality, and the pressures exerted by forces inimical to progressive and liberal ideologies. This paper argues that one of the cornerstones of the PWA's success was its ability to translate the ideologies, aesthetics and narratives of social transformation into the idiom of the popular while maintaining its claim to "high art." It also examines the failure of the PWA to sustain its appeal beyond the 1970s in order to challenge the Association's claim to being "progressive." Based upon a reading of the works of Ali Sardar Jafri, Faiz Ahmad Faiz, Asrarulhaq Majaz and Ahmad Faraz, and the surviving documents and position papers of the PWA, this paper seeks to qualify the term "progressive" in the context of the historical moment and uses this understanding to assess the analytical and political choices made by the Urdu poets of the PWA.

Raza Mir, Monmouth University

**Aesthetic Experiment or Aesthetic Failure? The Plebian Poetry of Sahir Ludhianvi**

*mujh ko is ka ranj nahin hai, log mujhe fankaar na manein
fikr o sukhan ke taajir mere sheron ko ash-aar na manein*

(I do not regret that people do not consider me an artist
That the traders of thought and words do not consider my poems to be poems)

The above lines by Sahir Ludhianvi underscore the tension between the literary canon of Urdu poetry and the experiment of the writers of the PWA, which placed the exigencies of a realist narrative in prose and poetry ahead of the dominant tropes, metaphors and styles of what passed as 'classical' Urdu poetry. It is not unusual for the canon in any field of literature to be wary of aesthetic experiment, and to regard its outcome as aesthetic failure. Thus, in the present literature on Urdu poetry, poets like Sahir remain forgotten, mentioned only as pamphleteers, ideologues and propagandists. In this session, I shall offer a close reading of the works of Sahir, arguing that he exhibited great poetic talent, which he deliberately chose to render subservient to his social beliefs. Through an analysis of Sahir's oeuvre, I attempt to provide a glimpse of the aesthetic competence of the Progressive Urdu poets.
Radhika Mongia, University of California-Santa Cruz

The Transnational foundations of National Formations: Migration, The Nation, And State Sovereignty

The global monopoly of a system of states over international migration is typically legitimated via recourse to the view that such control is a defining feature of state sovereignty. Putatively attributing this position to the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia, scholars from a range of disciplines today query if current migration and concomitant processes of globalization are radically altering accepted notions of state sovereignty. Through an analysis of state control over South Asian migration in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, this paper advances three central arguments: First, that control over mobility as a defining feature of state sovereignty is consolidated in the early twentieth century; second, that the historical calcification of this aspect of state sovereignty has a decidedly colonial and racialized genealogy; and, finally, that in order to understand the modern state, and its formation as a territorially and demographically circumscribed entity, it is analytically necessary to make a detour through the historical formation of what I call the European empire-state. In other words, through an analysis of state regulation of South Asian migration, this paper rejects as historically untenable autarkic or Eurocentric frameworks for understanding the development of the modern state and argues, instead, for analyses that are attentive to the transnational formation of the modern nation-state. Hence, rather than only viewing current phenomena of globalization and migration as necessitating an analytical rubric different from the nation-state, this paper suggests that the historical emergence of the nation-state is itself a transnational event.

Srilata Mueller, University of Heidelberg

Unrequited Love as Public Spectacle: The Poetry of Tirumankai Alvar

It has often been pointed out that Nammalvar, author of the Tiruvaymoli, the seminal part of the Divyaprabandha that is generally considered to be the most sacred and important constituent of the Srivaishnava Tamil Veda, took many of his themes and ideas from the Tamil Sangam literature of many centuries before. This paper will identify several such sections in which the Sangam akam conventions have been used by Nammalvar. A close reading of some of Nammalvar's poems and of similar Sangam poems will reveal the strategies he used to change the focus of the conventions from human to god and it will cast new light on the motivations and purposes of the poet, showing how a tradition that influenced many modern Hindu sects was self-consciously and carefully crafted from earlier conventions and literature. The paper will investigate not only how the earlier tradition influenced the Srivaishnava tradition; it will suggest that the Srivaishnavas attempted to revalidate the earlier traditions in order to lend legitimacy to a new sect that was partly based on those traditions.
Himadeep Muppidi, Vassar College

Cybercommunities and the Technologies of the Postcolonial

Modernization theory bases itself on a linear understanding of history. Within this scholarship the dominant signs of modernity are technology and economic development. But the predominant focus on these signs hardly addresses the question of modernity as a form of consciousness and as the production of distinctive individual and community identities. One of the interesting highlights of work on alternative modernities is the insights it offers on such disjunctions. In this paper, the third part of a project on alternative modernities in South India, we examine the historical production of modernity as a consciousness and as explicit identities (individual and community identities) in rural Andhra Pradesh. Our primary entry into this question is about the ease with which many rural Andhras have taken to technologies such as the Internet. We argue that this ease arises from a longer history of negotiations with science and technology in rural spaces. In order to make this argument we read closely some early 20th century debates among Telugu intellectuals. These debates, ranging over issues such as science versus superstition, rationality versus religion and individual autonomy versus community responsibility, provide fascinating and counter-intuitive insights into the cybertulture of contemporary Andhra Pradesh.

Geetha Murali, University of California – Berkeley

Srivaisnava and Rajaji: From Religion to Politics

The political history of the Madras Presidency has been constructed thus far via the division of its political protagonists into the categories 'Brahmin' and 'Non-Brahmin,' categories that are rooted in colonial historical representations and have been perpetuated by the political discourse ('nationalist' and 'Dravidian') prevalent in the early part of the twentieth century. This categorization scheme becomes problematic in the case of the early twentieth century politician Chakravarthy Rajagopalachari (Rajaji), who was struggling to construct his identity as the intersection of 'Indian,' 'Hindu,' 'Brahmin,' and 'Vaishnava.' His beginnings in an Iyengar family shaped his Vaishnava ideals, which while maintaining a crucial role in his construction of self, metamorphosed numerous times as he passed through a matrix consisting of an evolving European/Indian pedagogical system, 'Gandhian' nationalism, and Madras sectarian politics. This paper will attempt to unravel the complex way Srivaisnava philosophy manifested in Rajaji's religious writings, such as Mudhal Muvar (on the first three Alvars), to begin to understand this enigmatic figure, who can be characterized as the synthesis of a modern-day Vaishnava Acharya and a zealous socio-political activist.

Balmurli Natraj, Department of Anthropology

How to Make a 'Community': Contradictions between 'Marriage Circles' and Community/Society in a Dalit BahuJan Organization

This paper explores notions of 'community' with reference to changing notions of 'caste' among a large group of potter-artisans in Chhattisgarh, central India. What is interesting in this context is that one group of potters are classified as OBCs while the other group are classified as SCs by the state government. Further, there are
political-economic contradictions between these groups, differences that actually prevent their coming together at the grassroots level as a community of potters or kumhar under the already formed grand political alliance of the All India Potter Community. This paper thus raises the question of political coalition on the one hand and socioeconomic contradictions on the other.

Baldev Raj Nayar, McGill University

The International Integration of the Indian Economy

Whether it is lauded or criticized, economic globalization has been the dominant social force shaping the world economy since at least the last quarter of the twentieth century. Individual economies have had to come to terms with it, either out of choice because of the benefits that globalization is assumed to make possible or because of the compulsion of crises generated by it. Faced by an economic crisis of enormous proportions in 1991, India made a paradigm shift with launching on a course of economic liberalization to move from a state-controlled and largely insulated economy to a more liberal and open economy. Since then, successive economic policy reforms have removed more and more of the controls on the economy, both internal and external. Because of the changes they have generated, economic globalization and economic liberalization as they relate to India constitute an important subject for study. In any investigation of social affairs, three questions are of importance: what is the pattern in the social phenomena under investigation? What are the causes of the pattern? What are the consequences of the pattern? In my earlier work on Globalization and Nationalism: The Changing Balance in India's Economic Policy, 1950-2000 (New Delhi: Sage, 2001), I have examined the causes of liberalization of the Indian economy. Before exploring the other area of important interest concerning the social, economic and political effects of the opening of the Indian economy, it is necessary, however, first to determine the extent to which the Indian economy has, in actual fact, become opened, since the assumed effects of globalization would depend, to a large extent, on the degree of international integration of the Indian economy. It is the purpose of this paper, then, to examine the question: How open has the Indian economy become as a result of the liberalization process? In other words, to what extent has the Indian economy become internationalized or has come to partake of the globalization process? The paper will seek to examine the question both comparatively in terms of selected areas and countries, such as those in South Asia, East Asia and Southeast Asia, and also historically in relation to India's own past. The analysis of the openness of the Indian economy will encompass three main areas: (1) international trade; (2) the multinationalization of production; and (3) controls on capital movements. Appropriate indicators for these areas will be selected. Data for the analysis will be drawn from World Bank, IMF and Government of India sources.

Robert Nichols, Stockton College

Democracy and Authority in Pakistan

This paper argues that to fully understand current government efforts to engineer political reform through "the devolution of power to the grassroots level" observers must consider previous attempts by post-1947 authoritarian regimes to reconceptualize and restructure representative political processes. This paper compares contemporary proposals for change with both the discourse and reality of earlier programs of "reform", including the Basic Democracies period of the 1960s.
Today's rhetoric of reform promotes the subordination of government officers to locally elected officials, the devolution of financial authority to local representatives at the district level, and structuring degrees of provincial autonomy from the center. While there is a familiar irony to a non-elected executive planning party-less local body elections, nominally to bypass older dysfunctional political networks and allegiances, the paper notes the changing historical contexts shaping and constraining efforts by the centre to achieve legitimacy and implement fundamental political restructuring.

Christian Novetzke, Columbia University

Who Killed Namdev?: The Forensics of Authorship in a Non-Modern Tradition

In the late nineteen-sixties, Barthes announced the death of the author, a pivotal moment in poststructuralism that also marked his own shift away from structuralism (1968). Foucault described the "author function" as privileging the power of the reader, institutions, the Academy, and the hegemony of historical trends (1969). Despite these vital moments in contemporary social theory, few studies of authorship as a cultural category have appeared in social scientific scholarship of South Asia. The embedded importance of the author in text-critical studies, a hallmark of scholarship on South Asia, and problems of historical agency, whether imperial, colonial, military, or political - California - recommends a focused study of authorship in South Asia. This endeavor can provide insight into historiographic methods, marginalized, but still active, in South Asia today that trace their genealogies both through and before modernism in South Asia, that exist alongside but independently of colonial and postcolonial epistemologies, and that chronic identities through nonmodern trajectories. My paper engages the figure of Namdev (fourteenth century), who in many ways epitomizes the author imagined by Barthes and Foucault. Namdev transcends the usual modernist categories of analysis-religious tradition, language, historical period, geography, caste, gender through the ways in which his various followers invoke his legacy. I will present some ideas on authorship by examining the representation of Namdev as an author of texts, histories, rituals, and institutions preserved outside the pale of modernism.

Marsha G. Olson, University of Minnesota

An Image at the Confluence of Cultures

In the mid-sixteenth century, the Jesuits landed on the western coast of India, in the area that is now known as Goa. Intending to spread the Christian faith in this enclave of Portuguese dominance, the priests brought with them Christian images in wood and small paintings. The Jesuits, as well as other Orders, trained Indian artisans to create images of the Virgin Mary, Christ, and the saints, in the media of wood and ivory. These small statuettes provide a tableau of Catholic imagery that was meant for the purposes of devotion as well as trade and export. While many of these images reflect a strictly European style, there are elements that suggest "Indian" influences as well. Through a study of the style and the iconography of these pieces, I will illustrate how these statuettes are representations of the converging of cultures, that is, the merging of European and Indian traditions. I will focus on the so-called Good Shepherd Rockeries, works that are intriguing in a number of ways. The rockeries are the most "Indian" of the many ivories produced in Goa during the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. A primary issue involves the possibility that these works reflect a Goan creation.
Alfred Pach, University of Chicago

Gender, Illness and Society in a Hindu Village in Nepal

John Hitchcock provided some of the earliest descriptions of the interstitial social position of women and shamans in Nepal. He noted how particular asymmetrical demographic and social circumstances of women within the hills of Nepal led to their disproportionate rates of distressful psychosocial experience. He was also among the first to describe how the "interpretative openness" of fits of unsolicited possession and unconsciousness were designated as socially meaningful through the exercise of particular social and cultural processes. This paper builds on these perspectives to explore how the forms, meanings and distribution of fits of unsolicited possession and unconsciousness, most prominently known as the illness category of chhopuwa in a Jaisi Brahman village, are differentially designated and responded to among men and women. Many accounts of chhopuwa indicate its alignment with certain social positions within particular household relations. However, as a descriptive and explanatory construct variously associated with a range of behavior, it retains an interpretative openness and ambiguity. Though it often emerges within particular social positions and structures of feeling among women, it is not wholly confined to them or separate from their own considerations.

Jesse S. Palsetia, University of Toronto

Challenge to Religious Identities: Christian Conversions and the Indian Response in Bombay City, 1839-1850

The paper examines the challenge posed by the conversion of Parsi and Hindu youths to Christianity by the Christian missionaries to the maintenance of religious and community identities among the Parsis and Hindus of Bombay city from the 1830s to mid-nineteenth century. In particular, the paper examines two famous legal cases challenging conversion: the case of Dhanjibhai Naoroji of 1839, and the case of Narayan Sheshadri of 1843. The paper provides a unique picture of the challenge faced by the Parsis of Bombay from the missionaries, and how the most accommodating of communities under colonialism reacts in antagonism to a perceived threat from the colonial environment. The paper also examines the impact and incursions of the colonial legal system on Indian customs and traditions. Amidst the Parsis progress and socialization under colonialism, the safeguarding of Parsi religious identity remained inviolable. The conversion of Parsi youths to Christianity threatened the Parsis' efforts to maintain a sense of common identity, as well as their legal right to regulate the customs of their community. The Parsi case also proved a tremendous catalyst to the efforts of specifically the Hindus of Bombay to legally challenge Christian proselytism, and the opportunity to debate internal religious issues resulting from the conversions.
Lalita Pandit, University of Wisconsin-La Crosse

Anxiety of Influence and Indian Identity

In the proposed paper, I will first like to refer to the whole idea of Anxiety of Influence a la Harold Bloom, and beyond, then situate a discussion of (Indian) South Asian Writers and the "anxiety of influence" phenomenon. I will talk about the Indic-Islamic-Arabic influences on Tagore and Ray, and the denial by critics/readers, of such influences. I will briefly speak of these two, Ray and Tagore, in terms of their own anxieties of influence with relation to self identity, but my primary focus will be on how readers/interpreters, South Asian readers/critics within the global academic market, address this issue of influence. In this way, the focus will be more on the broader phenomenon of "anxiety of influence" and "identity" in the context of a highly politicized Reception Aesthetics among diaspora Indians.

Shreeyash Palshikar, University of Chicago

Images and Illusions of Indian Magic and Magic India

Magicians in India and the West have been utilizing images of Indian magic and magic India for hundreds of years for various purposes. This paper is an introduction to several aspects of these processes and concepts. The focus of the paper is on the type of magic performed publicly for purposes of entertainment, though it touches on ceremonial and occult magic as well. The roles of magic and magicians in constructing images of India as a land of magic are closely examined through reference to texts and performative practices. These concepts are linked with diverse cultural phenomena including colonialism, racism and nationalism. Arguments about the Indian Rope Trick or proficiency of 'native conjurers' are historically and culturally contextualized. Source materials for the study include original writings of magicians, scholars and travelers. Fieldwork was carried out in India and America among magicians, magic dealers, hobbyists, scholars, spectators.

Makarand Paranjape, Jawaharlal Nehru University

The Cultural Politics of Indian Mediations and Representations

This paper proposes to examine how Indian identities are constructed through translated texts. I would like to explore the differences between "vernacular" Indias and "English" Indias and especially to focus on the peculiar anxieties of both. Rather than looking merely at the content of the images of India, I wish to examine the processes of medium and mediation through which such imaging takes place. I am interested primarily in literary texts but do not exclude other forms like film, television, or music from my inquiry. The question of medium and mediation as at least two aspects. First, are representations in different languages structurally different? If so, how might these representations be hierarchized or classified? Are all Indian language representations similar to each other and different from those in English or is there an internal hierarchy of languages? How does the power play between the source and the target languages affect representation? For instance, do Indian English texts convey a different impression of India as compared to texts written in native Indian languages? Can the same distinction/tension be extended to cinema, TV, music, and so on? If so, how is the difference between English and vernacular representations to be understood and theorized? The other aspect of this
question concerns what happens when a multilingual culture gets constructed or studied in one language, that is English? What are the advantages and the limitations of such linguistic compression or collapse? The paper proposes to offer a schematic arrangement of the various responses to these questions so as to sharpen the issues, positions, and interests at stake in debates on language, representation, and power.

Laurie Patton, Emory University

Magic and Metonymy in Vedic Poetry and Sacrifice

This paper will examine the Vedic principles for correlating word and act, focusing on the concept of viniyoga (the application of mantras in ritual action), which she sees as a form of metonymy. The analysis will show that viniyoga is based on synecdoche, so that one property of a poetic utterance is privileged over others in the performative context. Such selective characteristics are made the basis for accomplishing an efficacious ritual act. The author further relates this metonymic principle to a larger rethinking of the category of "magic" in Vedic thought and practice.

Richa Pauranik, Indiana University - Bloomington

Ethical Issues and Subversive Humor in Modern Malvi Folk Literature

This paper examines the treatment of a range of ethical issues in the folk literature of the west-central region of India called Malva. Malvi is a Rajasthani dialect, and the literature referred to is produced by native-speakers who are mostly non-professional writers. Their writing, published in a local newspaper Nai Duniya', invites us into a counterworld created through subversive humor that turns social norms and hierarchies upside-down. I analyze Nai Duniya's weekly Malvi section thodi-ghani' (a little-a lot) published between 1993-1999 in order to situate its modern folk literature in relation to the traditions of classical Sanskrit and modern Hindi literatures. This material is entirely new to scholarly analysis, and it reveals continuities and change in a culture's ethical concerns as it adapts to a changing world.

Douglas M. Peers, University of Calgary

Sexuality, Discipline and the Racial Boundaries of the Bengal Army in the Mid-19th Century

One of the more persistent ideas about British Imperialism is that sometime in the early to mid nineteenth century, a transformation in public morality took place, one in which the wide open sexual frontiers of the eighteenth century gave way to repression and exclusion. Interracial sexuality came to be condemned, and with it, interracial marriages were proscribed, if not in law, then at least in practice. Consequently, sexual and racial frontiers had to be rigorously policed so as to prevent furtive crossings. Yet while historians have been quick to assume some form of early 19th century rupture, most writings on empire and sexuality have chosen to focus on the late 19th century. Moreover, much of this work has emphasized the critical scrutiny of a carefully bounded range of texts. While such readings have
produced some fascinating insights into the racialized and sexualized discourses of empire (particularly by identifying hybridity as a primal fear amongst Europeans), they have only infrequently acknowledged the daily policies and practices of European communities in India. This paper will examine one of the more crucial communities in colonial India - the Bengal Army - and will examine how it handled questions of marriage, pseudo-marriage and casual sex in the period just before the rebellions of 1857/58.

Indira Viswanathan Peterson, Mount Holyoke College


This paper examines topographical description and discourses of power in Sarvadevavilasa, a Sanskrit literary text. Written in Madras around 1800, SDV is a dialogue between two brahman pundits, describing the activities of "all the gods", the new patrons of arts and letters in Madras city; these are historically identifiable individuals, land-owning Vellalas who had risen to prominence as Dubash agents of the English East India Company. The brahmans follow the movement of Dubash patrons to and from the heart of Madras city and the temples they manage in outlying villages. They describe processions and festivals, and performances of music and dance sponsored by the patrons at the temples and in their suburban garden houses. At the very time that the Company government issued a map fixing the limits of Madras (1798), the Dubashes' journeys trace an alternative map of the city. SDV expresses a new South Indian urban sensibility, linking social and cultural power with commercial transactions among people of heterogeneous identities in a shared urban space. A refraction, through a brahman lens, of Vellala/Dubash ascendancy in early 19th-century Madras, the text captures the cultural discourses of the city's new elites at a moment of transition.

Carla Petievich, Montclair State University

Qissas, Kafis, Sufis and Class Hero(in)es: Readings in the Legend of Hir-Ranjha

The qissa of Hir-Ranjha, perhaps the most famous and best-loved romance of the Punjab, has been recounted and received in diverse ways throughout the ages. The best known telling is Waris Shah's (18th century), but the legend has inspired many poets, from Damodar (16th century) and Muqbal (Waris Shah's immediate predecessor) to a host of modern writers. Sufis Shah Husain, Bulleh Shah, and Sultan Bahu also used the tale as a backdrop for their more lyrical compositions (kafis and abyat). In contradistinction to other Islamicate romances like Laila-Majnun or Shirin-Farhad, the dominant voice in Hir-Ranjha is that of the heroine, Hir. Indological/Orientalist critics explain this either as a peculiar facet of the Indo-Muslim folk tradition, wherein the woman-soul undergoes terrible hardships in the hope of being united with her Divine Beloved, or as an indication of the influence of Advaita Vedanta on Punjab. Others emphasize the regionalism of the story, discussing the gendering of Hir's character in terms of class conflict and popular resistance rather than in religious or philosophical terms. Choice of genre reflects the social and historical imperatives in which a tradition's storytellers and audience(s) read and write. Petievich discusses how various authors have treated the romance of Hir-Ranjha and how their variations have been received. She also outlines the various contexts in which they are been produced. She interprets several kafis of Shah
Husain and Bulleh Shah, suggesting that these lyrical poems, through their first-person narration, offer particular insights into who and what Hir represented for these Sufi authors. Finally, she contrasts these representations with the third-person narratives about Hir contained within Waris’ and Domodar’s qissas.

Ian Petrie, University of Pennsylvania

Representing and Creating Character in the Countryside: Bengal, c.1880-1947

This paper examines discussions of rural backwardness and rural uplift in late colonial eastern India, in order to delineate the particular views of social and economic actors articulated in these debates. The state’s social engineering project included the desire to transform peasants into modern farmers and responsible citizens. Officials also sought to enlist the aid of ‘improving’ landlords, and various landowners were keen to represent themselves as such. Even as vast swathes of land were judged to be overpopulated, and the emigration of peasants was promoted, officials and philanthropists sought to send unemployed educated urban youths ‘back to the land’, where, as gentlemen farmers they would bring modernity and civility to the villages (and, being so occupied, would not be tempted by anti-colonial political movements). These projects were part of a larger modernizing intellectual and scientific movement whereby rural subsistence and commercial activities were appropriated to the national economy and thus redefined as being too vital to leave in the hands of ‘ignorant villagers’. In many instances, the congruence of British and nationalist views is striking, particularly when dealing with peoples and practices in hill regions. The vocabulary of rural crisis and reconstruction was also invoked in support of larger identities: amenable to representations (and self-constructions) of ‘the sturdy Muslim peasant’; informing positive and negative connotations of Bengalis within the context of an emerging polyglot “Indian” nation; and, globally, the permutations from ‘backward’, to ‘underdeveloped’, to ‘developing’ peoples.

Kristy Phillips, University of Minnesota

Colonial Museums, Indian Nationalism and Crushed Glass in the Eyes of History

This paper examines the undoing of colonial histories and the claiming of Indian pasts in the postcolonial era. In 1998, Indian artist Vivan Sundaram transformed the space of Calcutta’s Victoria Memorial Hall with an installation that threatened to expose the way Bengali historic consciousness has been shaped by the authority of imperial epistemologies. His film, Structures of Memory, documents the construction and local reception of the installation and highlights Sundaram’s use of performance as the perfect antithesis for the passive, controlled environment of the colonial museum. The representation of ‘India’ in the context of the museum has historically been an act of violence, an unmaking of the world of the colonized. By marking key events in Bengal’s nationalist movement between the mid-19th century and Independence within the context of the Victoria Memorial, Sundaram performs his own violence to the interior space of the institution and to its authority as a bastion
of history. In the process of exposing and undoing the imperial ideologies that continue to shape Indian pasts, Sundaram evokes the presence of Indian bodies as agents in the production of knowledge and in their own subjective narratives of history.

Robert Phillips, University of Pittsburgh

A Rural Temple in Urban Andhra: Classicization through Folk Festival

The religious landscape of South India is replete with many well-documented examples of colorful festivals. These festivals include the Telugu New Year celebrations of Ugadi, the famous Brahmostava festival of Lord Venkateshwara at Tirupati/Tirumala and more pan-Indian festivals such as Vinayaka Chathurthi. There are also a number of folk-festivals on which little or nothing has been published. One such festival, Bonalu, is a much-anticipated celebration for the people of the Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh. This month long goddess festival occurs in June and July and is marked by devotional worship of village deities through a unique combination of pilgrimage, ritual and sacrifice. This paper will first briefly describe the Bonalu festival and place it within the religious and cultural context of the larger Telangana region. Secondly, based on field research conducted from 1998-2001, there will be an exploration of how one village goddess temple in Hyderabad has been transformed and continues to be transformed by the introduction of classicizing elements through the Bonalu festival.

Tracy Pintchman, Loyola University of Chicago

Inscribing Krishna's Lila in Hindu Women's Lives

This paper explores Hindu women's ritual devotions to Krishna in the city of Benares during the month of Kartik, focusing on how women appropriate imagery of Krishna's lila in ways that comment on the real and ideal conditions of householder women's domestic lives. During the month of Kartik, Benarsi Hindu women meet daily to perform a puja in which they raise Krishna from childhood to adulthood, marrying him off to the plant-goddess Tulsi toward the end of the month. Most of the women whom I interviewed indicated that they consider Kartik puja to be related to Krishna's rasa-lila, either as a version of the rasa-lila transfigured into puja form or a type of worship enacted in commemoration of the earthly rasa-lila.

David Kinsley (1979) has described the nature of Krishna's play in Vrindavan as embodying the bliss of the divine realm, noting, "It comes from another world where this-worldly morality and conduct have no place." The world of Kartik puja embraces predominant imagery of Krishna's behavior as transgressive. Simultaneously, however, it supplements predominant Krishna imagery with alternative imagery that reconfigures Krishna traditions in ways that resonate with women's interpersonal concerns. Many of the women who participate in Kartik puja also interpret dimensions of Krishna materials in ways that Sanskritic theologies may not emphasize but that resonate with women's embodied, this-worldly experience.
Giles Pinto, University of Toronto

Ideas of India: Nationalism & Narrative

According to Sunil Khilnani, Indian nationalist historiography exhibits an "enormous and weighty mythology," which this paper seeks to analyze through the lens of literature. Specifically I look at how nationalist narratives, in the words of Sudipta Kaviraj, "take control of the frightening diversity and formlessness of the world... [to] produce a world in which the self finds a home" -- effectively creating what Octavio Paz calls "a political religion." What are the precepts of this public mythos? Who are its primary interpreters? These are the kinds of questions literary observers like Paz seek to answer. Drawing from a sample of creative non-fiction as well as fiction, I will argue that the success of the nationalist narratives rests upon their creators' effective deployment of the two basic mythic modes: allegory and typology. Furthermore, by relating both kinds of political storytelling to the social milieu in which they operate, literary writing reveals a larger sociohistorical progression in the life of the Indian national project; starting with the Raj, it passes through four successive stages: the pre-modern, modern, post-modern and post-national.

James Kenneth Powell, University of Iowa

Vaatsyaayana's Commentary on the Nyaayasuutra: A Defense of the Measures of Cognition (Pramaan.a) and its Buddhist Detractors

In this paper, I will examine the arguments the Nyaya school offers in defense of their doctrine of the existence of "measures" (pramana) of cognition. Arguing that our really existent senses measure and ascertain the existence of real "things to be measured" (prameya), Vaatsayana averts the criticism of opposing arguments from a variety of sources. Among other arguments, he calls to notice the Sanskrit language's many cases for noun stems, asking to what do the genitive, locative, etc. cases refer, if not to "real," essentially ascertainable, measurable entities? We will conclude with counter-statements by the Buddhist philosopher Nagarjuna. In doing so, I aim to lay bare the fundamental distinction between Buddhism and "Hinduism" via this analysis of the proper structure of arguments, and their disagreement about the ultimate reality of our acquisition of sense-data with regard to the "external world." I will demonstrate that fundamentally, the dispute between these philosophers can be reduced to more basic assertions of "atman" and "anatman" respectively.

Binoy Shanker Prasad, Ryerson Polytechnic University

Division of Hindi-Belt States: Politics of Redemption or Balancing States' Influence?

One of the landmark contributions of the Bharatiya Janata Party-led coalition government at the center in India has been the bifurcation of three major states in the Hindi heartland. Viewed from below, this marks the accomplishment of a long-drawn movement, makes the administration and the state capital accessible to the people and promises a greater role for the local people in decision making. At the same time, however, this causes further fragmentation of national party politics (i.e. dilution in national consensus) and proliferation of parties (organizations) based on caste, tribal and communal/religious affinities. The paper seeks to examine the
impact of the politics of state divisions by drawing on the creation of states in the past. The thesis to be explored is that in the age of developed transportation and communication system what is more important is the strengthening of institutions and systemic change than addition of a few more states. Theoretically, governance of a smaller state should be easier and efficient. But in a polity where the rules of the game and the civil society are ever threatened, creation of new states might have the fall out of duplicating the "crisis of governance."

Sumathi Ramaswamy, University of Michigan

Flooding History: Catastrophic Pasts and the Politics of Loss in Tamil India

This paper focuses on the centrality accorded to oceanic floods as an agent of catastrophic change in twentieth-century Tamil spatial fables of a lost homeland called Lemuria or Kumariikkandam. The catastrophic work of these floods is generally referred to as "katakol," literally, seize by the sea. This resulted in the progressive loss of (Tamil) literature, culture, and civilization, not to mention lives, but also made way for renewal. In Tamil fabulism, katakol functions both as an event and as an explanatory device. As a geological and historical event, katakol allows Tamil fabulists to reaffirm the old truths of ancient Tamil literature in light of the new truths of the modern earth sciences. As an explanatory device, it enables them to account for why they could no longer provide empirical proof for the archaic primordiality of Tamil: its antediluvian literary productions had been irrevocably lost to cataclysmic floods. In this paper, I consider katakol as an expression of an oppositional historical consciousness that I characterize as "catastrophic." I analyze catastrophism's ambivalent relationship with a normative disciplinary History as it consolidated itself over the course of the twentieth century, and suggest that catastrophic (hi)stories flourish because loss is empowering in Tamil India.

Anupama Rao, Barnard College

The Emergence of a "Dalit Public": Temple-Entry and the Politics of Presence

This paper explores temple-entry struggles in Bombay Presidency during the 1920s and 1930s as significant interventions into the growing debate about untouchable inclusion in the Hindu fold. In contrast to received narratives about significant Congress participation in, and oftentimes spearheading of, such struggles, dalit activists in Bombay Presidency struggled to claim temple-entry as an "untouchable issue," requiring autonomous political organizing. Increasingly, temple-entry struggles would come to make a series of claims about temples as "public" spaces based on the argument that they were government property. Ironically then, it was often the claim about temples as government property, rather than an argument based on dalits' rights to temple-entry as Hindus that prevailed as the predominant form of political rhetoric. This paper argues that temple-entry struggles were important attempts to expand the definition of a colonial "public sphere," since they were among the earliest instances of a new politics of visibility sought by dalits. In the process, debates about untouchability came to occupy a significant place in attempts to rationalize religious practices, and to convert untouchability into a form of "civic disability" with political consequence, rather than a perpetuation of ritual hierarchies. This paper explores temple-entry struggles as a significant moment in the history of Indian secularism and the politics of untouchability.
Deepta S. Reddy, University of Houston – Clear Lake

Post-Colonial Orientalisms: A Story of Inherited Critiques

This paper explores critiques of religion and expressions of religiosity in public life, tracing the genealogies of such critiques from the colonial to the post-colonial. I argue that modern perspectives on religion are almost wholly the products of colonialist discourses that viewed religion as fundamentally opposed to Science and Rationality - tempered somewhat by liberal perspectives that transform religion into a private right and an individual idiosyncrasy. Various contemporary debates on the place of religion in modern society, from the familiar controversies over the singing of Vande Mataram and Saraswati Vandana to the on-going contests over the policies and concerns of the BJP-led government, reproduce the binary oppositions of colonial discourse in post-colonial contexts. The outcome is a modern perspective on religion that is no less Orientalizing than its colonial antecedent: one that continues to see religion as essentially non-modern, backward, and irrational; one that rejects any role for religion in public life and politics as prone, therefore, to fundamentalism. This paper traces the contours of just such ‘post-colonial orientalisms’ as a way of exploring and critiquing our pre-constituted oppositions to public/political expressions of faith.

Michael Rechlin, Principia College

A Passion for Pine: Forestry Practices of the Apatani People of Arunachal Pradesh

Forest degradation and resource scarcity are the norm throughout the Himalayan region. In the Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh, however, there is a small tribal group that takes resource management seriously. The Apatani valley, described by a former Chief Minister as "An Island of Green" in the Arunachal landscape, is dotted with private plantations of Blue Pine (Pinus wallichiana) and surrounded by native forests that are rigidly controlled by tribal clans. This paper examines the forest management practices of the Apatani people. Data on forest growth and consumption patterns show that the Apatani are achieving a sustained yield of forest products from their private plantations. We suggest that the tribal history of the Apatani people and the geographic location of the Apatani Valley have led to the development of a culture distinctive in the degree to which it values forest conservation. It is a culture where people feel compelled to plant trees for future generations and where trees, like other family valuables, are kept under lock and key.

Paula Richman, Oberlin College

The Ethics of Beheading Shambuka: Modern Ramayana Plays in South India

Shambuka, a Shudra who performed penance, departed from his dharma by usurping religious practices limited to those from twice-born varnas. In Valmiki's Ramayana, Rama kills him for his transgression and the gods praise his action. But in the twentieth century in South India, Rama's treatment of Shambuka causes a great deal of unease and is singled out as evidence as particularly problematical. Between 1920 and 1958 in each of the regional languages of South India, a major play that
contested dominant representations of Rama's relationship with Shambuka was performed. This paper examines Chaudari's Telugu play on the destruction of Shambuka, a Dravida Kazhagam play in Tamil where Shambuka becomes a Marlon Brando-like figure, and a Malayalam play in which Shambuka's widow confronts Rama. Finally, I examine Kuvempu's 1944 play in which he suggests that Rama did not kill Shambuka but admired him, thereby making Rama and Shambuka allies against deceitful brahmins jealous that someone outside their caste would dare to perform tapas. The paper considers the reception of these plays, the public debates about them, and how they relate to contemporary political debates.

Daisy Rockwell, Loyola University Chicago

In Search of Literary Equivalence: the Function of Criticism in the Parallel Universes of Hindi-Urdu-English

The predominant literary genres in Modern Standard Hindi seem to correspond to those found in English with an almost one to one equivalence. Similarly, the apparatus of modern Hindi literary criticism appears to reflect aspects of what we find in English literary criticism. In Hindi literary scholarship written in English, these equivalencies are generally taken for granted. But is aalochnaa really the same thing as criticism? Scholars of Hindi writing in English must gain a deep understanding of two very different critical universes. On the one hand, any scholar of modern South Asian literature must engage with concerns of English criticism which currently revolve around notions related to postcolonialism, postmodernism, feminism and the like, but on the other they must heed the imperatives of Hindi critics, who direct their attention toward progressivism, aestheticism, authenticity and genre definition. In this paper I work toward a theory of reconciling these differences through re-translation of terms, consideration of critical agendas and examining universes of literary production. What should the role of a scholar standing between the two universes be? How can we listen to both sets of concerns with sensitivity, while aiding each universe in enriching and informing the other?

John D. Rogers, Tufts University

Caste as a Social Category and Identity in Colonial Sri Lanka

The colonial category of "caste" took a rather different form in colonial Ceylon than in British India. From the early 1830s onwards, it was official policy to take as little note of it as was deemed possible. Although this policy was not always followed consistently, caste never achieved the prominence it had in official policy and elite rhetoric on the mainland. It was, for instance, never enumerated in the decennial censuses that began in 1871. As a result, the history of caste in Sri Lanka has the potential to serve as a "test case" for arguments made about the colonial impact on (or invention of) caste in India. This paper will outline the changing position of "caste" in Sri Lanka from the late eighteenth to mid twentieth centuries, with special reference to its relationship with other categories (such as race and religion) that were used to build the island's political sociology.
Figures of Famine

In Mulk Raj Anand’s novel, Untouchable (1935), some of the poor and untouchable characters are bemused and somewhat perturbed by Gandhi’s eager embrace of the bodily hunger that they experience as a quotidian feature of their own lives. This paper takes up in explicit fashion the terrifying logic of scarcity, hunger, and disembodiment that Gandhi’s gastropolitics both circumvents and metaphorizes. It examines the central importance of hunger and famine, and the fears and fantasies associated with them, as decisive and emblematic forces in postcolonial Indian history. A number of cultural factions in South Asia have made the tropes of dearth and inanition their own: in the Bombay film industry, for instance, famine has been deployed as a favoured topos of sentimentality, usually to be contrasted with lush and lyrical landscapes and scenes of happy rural folk; this particularly true for the social realist films of the fifties, from Mehboob’s Mother India (1957) to Bimal Roy’s Do Bigha Zameen (Two Measures of Land, 1954). In a more elevated cultural realm, the devastating famine of Bengal of 1943--a fateful and emblematic event for South Asian history--has sparked the production of Nobel Prize-winning economic analysis (Amartya Sen, Poverty and Faminies, 1982) as well as filmmaking by Satyajit Ray (Asani Sanket [Distant Thunder], 1973) and Mrinal Sen (Akaler Sandhaney) and radical Bangla theatre. My paper uses such accounts as a backdrop to Mahasweta Devi’s haunting stories "Shishu" and "Pterodactyl, Puran Sahay, and Pirtha". In the former story, the liberal bureaucrat comes to the unspeakable realization that his average Indian body, puny by international standards, is the insignia of an irrefragably cannibalistic, even genocidal, voraciousness against the body politic; in the latter, the banality of famine (like the figure of the pterodactyl) exceeds any rational calculus and therefore is outside the limits of official legibility and liberal redress. My reading seeks to understand the enormous tropological power of famine, and its status as a stimulus to rebellion, to desire, and to powerfully mythic counter-memories and utopian visions. It confirms--to use E.P. Thompson's terms--the incommensurability of a moral economy with the political economy of a modern, liberal, and violent state.

Matthew C.J. Rudolph, Dept. of Government, Cornell University


State control over the allocation of capital has been the sine qua non of late development strategies. In post-Independence India, where private property coexisted with state-ownership, state discretion in the allocation of finance was just as significant as licenses and quota in the state’s ensemble of dirigiste tools. Moreover, state-guided capital allocation also aligned with the powerful anti-finance elements of the Nehruvian economic-planning ideology and the omniscient aspirations of the planning bureaucracy. Creating a market for capital includes inter alia the process of securitization in which the productive assets of the economy are commodified at the highest possible level. In securitization, assets such as firms (equities) and revenue streams (bonds) are packaged into uniform, anonymous, tradable instruments. This process, more even than the marketization of banking, possesses a major challenge to the directed-credit-based model of developmentalism. In spite of this, changes in the Indian capital market have proceeded faster and further than in almost any other sector of the economy. Yet this momentum has created dilemmas for economic policy makers. On the one hand these dilemmas pit state
control exercised in the service of strategic developmental goals and broader social purposes against the "free market" relaxation of state-directed allocation in order to increase efficiency via competition and entrepreneurship. On the other hand capital market "regulators" are tasked with simultaneously "building" new markets and "regulating" them. Based on recent field research, this paper seeks to identify the political determinants of policy sequencing and extent of reforms in this area. Several possible explanations are explored. It then highlights the key obstacles to further reform including; the persistence large state-controlled and state-guaranteed institutional investors such as UTI, strong private interests such as the South Bombay financial community, resistance to the privatization of state assets, labor market regulation, and finally the potential for fraud in a context where investors may be naïve, promoters unscrupulous, and contracting and legal protections in practice very useless as a deterrent or a form of redress.

Agha Saeed, California State University, Hayward

**The Central Issue in the Decentralization Debate**

This paper is divided into four parts: a) history of the debate and conflict over the question of provincial autonomy; b) present military government’s various plans to deal with this issue; c) alternate plans and models, in particular, those put forward by the leaders of smaller provinces; d) decentralization as a process of restructuring the Pakistani state. The thesis of this paper is that the question of provincial autonomy is the central issue in the decentralization debate in Pakistan. The current military government’s devolution plan could amount to restructuring of the Pakistani State, and to a lesser extent, the Pakistani civil society as well. One of my goals will be to see how the Musharraf-Naqvi devolution plan could shift currently existing tensions between the federal and provincial governments to provincial and local governments. Secondly, I will examine its overall as well as sectional affects on women, working classes, religious minorities, ethnic groups and provincial parties. Finally, I will audit the Musharraf-Naqvi Plan in the context of pressures generated by globalization for structural changes in Pakistan.

Adheesh Sathaye, University of California, Berkeley

**Did Visvamitra Really Eat Dog Meat?: Historical and Dharmac Contexts in the Performance of a Puranic Narrative**

This paper presents a performance-based approach to the analysis of the 'Svapaca' narrative of the legendary rsi Visvamitra, found in epic and puranic sources, in which, after eons of tapas, the starving sage descends from his Himalayan hideaway to discover a famine has beset the land, and his only option is to steal a Candala's dogmeat. In order to make sense of this story, most Indological analyses have attempted to situate it within a well-defined, historic context. David Gordon White, for example, has conjectured that the maintenance of rsi Visvamitra's upright character heralds a post-Upanisadic change in the conceptualization of Brahmanic power in which "the power of the renouncer is greater than that of the orthodox Brahman" (White 1992: 74). While the Indological project of historicism may have its academic benefits, recent critical scholarship has called into question the modernist assumptions underlying the reconstruction of ancient Indian history, and in this paper, I will provide an analysis of how the Visvamitra-Svapaca narrative is interpreted within the contemporary Marathi performative tradition of kirtan. We will see that in fact the kirtankar addresses these same Indological issues of history,
historicity and the historical moment in order to create a contextual space of dharmic authority in which he is able to express, negotiate, and reinforce ideologies, and he does so in a way that addresses but is not limited to the linear chronology of history.

Susan Schomburg, Harvard University

**Tamil Sufi Literature and the Epic Lives of Muhiyuddin `Abdul Qadir Jilani**

The prodigious literary activity of Qadiri Sufis in Tamil Nadu, South India and Sri Lanka, is little known in the West. This paper presents descriptions of four Qadiri Tamil epics on the life of the great Sufi saint, Muhiyuddin Abdul Qadir Jilani, in the context of the broader spectrum of Tamil Qadiri literary activity. This broader spectrum includes works composed in Arabic, Tamil and the hybrid Arabic-Tamil language, Awari. It includes various genres: didactic prose, sophisticated Tamil classical and folk poetic forms, devotional songs, mystical cittar (siddha) literature, and epics. The four epics on Muhiyuddin were composed in the nineteenth century by Sufi literati of Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka. After comparing the works and discussing their social and historical contexts, the paper focuses on one of them, the Kutpu Nayakam or Nukiyittin Puranam of Kayalpatnam author Aupu Katiru Naynar Leppai Alim Pulavar. Finally, drawing upon my ethno-archaeological field work in the region between 1997 and 2000, the paper suggests reasons for apparent neglect of the Tamil Islamic folk epic genre in late twentieth century Tamil Nadu.

Clinton Seely, University of Chicago

**Humanizing Animals in Dutt's Bengali Ramayana Poem**

A number of readers of Michael Madhusudan Dutt's Ramayana-based narrative poem Maghanadavada Kavya (1861) have commented upon Michael's seemingly recharacterization of the protagonists, Rama and Ravana, noting in one way or another the emphasis Michael placed upon their humanity. What is overlooked, or at least not commented upon in print, is the elevation of the animalistic inhabitants of India south of the Dandaka forest to that same level of human being. Of significance, Michael never uses any word meaning monkey. This paper examines the imaginary geography of the Ramayana and corresponding life forms--north India inhabited by humans, south India by common animals, and Sri Lanka by neither of these--and Michael's humanizing of the animals.

Satadru Sen, Washington University - St. Louis

**Native Women and the Colonial Penitentiary**

Female convicts posed a peculiar dilemma for the British in 19th-century India. On the one hand, disorderly women were seen as the legitimate targets of a penal system that sought to reinforce the authority of the state as well as the authority of males in colonial society. On the other hand, there was a widespread concern that the incarceration of women was fundamentally counterproductive. Various observers, Indian as well as British, expressed a double-edged anxiety: not only were colonial prisons failing to reform women convicts, the experience of imprisonment was corrupting women and making their rehabilitation impossible. My paper examines the working of the female jails of India in the period 1858-1900, the objectives and
mechanisms that surrounded the punishment of women, and the responses of the incarcerated women to their punishment. I argue that the tensions of the female jail remained unresolved, and the reforming agenda faltered in a quagmire of prisoners' resistance, official ambivalence, and ideological cross-purposes.

Parna Sengupta, Carleton College

**Vaishnavites, Native Christians and Missionaries: The Woman Teacher as Outsider and Moral Guide in Colonial Bengal**

In this paper, I look at how the institutionalization and rhetoric of teacher training in colonial Bengal was constitutively shaped by issues of gender. Both the colonial state and missionaries were invested in making women's teaching 'respectable', a goal made difficult by the social marginality of those women available to teach. The gender and caste exigencies of colonial and imperial society meant that women teachers, often single and largely lower caste or (in the case of British women) lower middle class, were haunted by the specter of disrepute. Ironically, then, the 'respectability' which education was meant to confer in a modernizing colonial society proved elusive precisely to those whose responsibility it was to spread 'modern' education, namely women teachers.

The marginal status of the different women targeted by the state and missionary societies for teacher training seemed related to their religiosity: a religiosity which gave them institutional access to literacy. Often outside of conventional structures of caste, orthodox religion, or the patriarchal family, these women were able to be mobile in a way that was still unusual in late nineteenth century Bengal. Mobility, whether from metropole to colony or from rural to urban Bengal, was essential for 'modern' teaching. But since nineteenth century gender expectations circumscribed the mobility of most 'respectable' women, teaching became work done by those on the social periphery of their respective societies, Vaishnavites, European missionaries and native Christians. In this way, teaching came to be considered both disreputable and honored. Though teaching allowed lower-caste women a certain amount of freedom, the ambivalence of native society towards women educators ultimately reinforced their 'outsider' status and constrained their potential to be recognized as autonomous professional workers.

Saeed Shafqat, Columbia University

**Decentralization and Federalism: New Challenges, Old Problems**

Pakistan continues to search for a viable political system that may suit the needs of its people. Political experimentation and constitutional breakdowns are a recurring theme in Pakistani history and politics. Civilian governments have been less enthusiastic for local government. However, military regimes have been vigorous in adopting local government and restricting political participation. Given this background the paper will examine salient features of Devolution Plan 2000. Focusing on the concepts of Decentralization and Federalism it will analyze and evaluate three sets of questions. First, in what ways the Devolution plan is different from such earlier ventures? Second, how this plan may affect the federal character of higher bureaucracy-the CSP/DMG? Third, how would it effect the federal framework provided by the 1973 constitution?
Badri Nath Sharma, Tribhuvan University

A Sociological Study on Child Labor in Nepal (A Case Study of Domestic Child in Urban Terai of Eastern and Central Development Region)

Child labor is a serious problem in Nepal. The total number of working children is estimated about 4.52 million with annual growth rate of 18 percents. Research on domestic child labor in the Terai is extremely limited. The present study aims to find out the socio-economic status of domestic child labor in three municipalities located in the Terai of eastern and center development regions. Primary and secondary data sources have been extensively used. Data have been collected based on interviews and personal observations. Two case studies were also conducted. The children age group between 11-16 years and Tharu, Yadav, Mandal and Brahmins ethnic groups occupied high proportion of domestic child labor. Ram Dayal Chaudhary and Bijaya Yadav are typical examples. Poor family economic condition has forced them to work as a servant in rich person's house. Both of them had strong desire to go to school and enjoy childhood. Few employers sent servants to school and permitted them to work in morning and evening hour. Providing employment opportunities to senior family members of resource poor families may reduce tendency to be child labor.

Elora Shehabuddin, Rice University

Reshaping the Holy: Gender, Islam and Democracy in Bangladesh

What are the implications of women's increased political mobilization for religious party politics? Political parties seeking state power in a democratic system generally adapt their ideology over time in order to appeal to newly emerging and ever-changing constituencies. The interesting question that now arises is the extent to which Islamic parties, which point to the Qur'an itself as the sole source of their ideology and seek a return to a "golden age" of Islamic history, transform themselves in response to the exigencies of political and social realities, and in particular, the increasing involvement of women in formal politics.

I explore this question by focusing on the case of the Jamaat-i Islami ("Party of Islam") in Bangladesh, whose dismal performance in the 1996 parliamentary elections was widely attributed to the unprecedented turnout of women voters and, in particular, of impoverished rural women. With new elections scheduled for October 2001, I assess in this paper the extent to which the Jamaat has effected changes in its ideology and strategies in an effort to capture a larger proportion of votes generally, and of women's votes in particular.

Kari Shephardson, University of British Columbia

The Home and the World: Rethinking the Allegory in a Contemporary Context

In unwrapping the many layers of Rabindranath Tagore's novel The Home and the World (1916), one finds a narrative that transcends the role of a simple ideological allegory, presenting instead a richly complex and nuanced commentary on the entangled problems of nationalism, violence, and anti-imperialism. Satyajit Ray's 1984 film adaptation is no less impacting. Although Ray's adaptation is relatively faithful, his changes to the narrative reveal his own ideology and are important in
understanding the contemporary political environment of India at the time the film was made. Rather than treating the narrative as one located in the past, this paper acknowledges the implications of Ray's interpretation as a commentary on current political conditions. This study examines how Tagore positions the film's three main protagonists as metaphoric representations of the domestic sphere - a site of struggle for plural anti-imperialist movements; and extends this to explore the specific changes Ray makes which emphasize the dangers of divisive political extremism emerging in Bengal during the 1980s.

Mohan N. Shrestha, Bowling Green University

Nepalese Emigration to South Asia: An Historical Perspective

Nepal was once a haven for people who wanted to escape from social injustice, political prosecutions, and economic poverty. However, after the unification of various independent principalities that existed in the west and the east of the Kathmandu Valley during the later part of the 18th century, internal as well as external migration of people increased significantly. This political unification made it easier for people to move to different areas of the country. The government also encouraged people to bring more land under cultivation to increase its revenue. The migration pattern during these times was from the western and central parts to the eastern part of Nepal. This internal migration brought about some social conflict between the new comers, the Khasa people, and the indigenous Kirantans. During that period many Kirantas left the country and moved towards east into Darjeeling, Sikkim, Bhutan and Assam. As the population density increased and the economy become stagnant, people start emigrating to Northern India. At present, there are about five million Nepalese in India; three million are in rural areas and remaining two million are in urban areas. The geographical pattern of distribution of Nepalese emigrants in India has changed significantly during the last few decades. This paper will further discuss the origin and destinations of recent emigrants.

Yumna Siddiqi, University of North Carolina, Greensboro

The Servant's Tale: Public and Private Politics in South Asian Fiction

My paper will focus on the representation of domestic workers in recent South Asian fiction. In Arundhati Roy's The God of Small Things, the private space of the home is depicted not as a space of domestic desire but as one of patriarchal, class, and caste oppression. In this context relationships with servants are transgressive, and disruptive of patriarchal authority, an authority that is violently policed by the state. In Baapsi Sidhwa's Cracking India, the bourgeois home is idealized as a space in which religious difference is accepted. The mood of tolerance in the private realm of the home and its ambit is posed in contrast to the communal tensions that have been exacerbated by the approaching partition of India. Ayah, the beautiful young nanny, at first mediates the friendly relationships between men of different communities. However, the outside world invades the domain of the domestic in the form of a mob of angry Muslim men who abduct Ayah, a HindUniversity After this, she is prostituted and then forced into a marriage and a coercive, stultifying domesticity. The public animosities between different religious communities are expressed through their treatment of Ayah's person in the realm of the private. In both of these works, public, political relationships are mediated through the figure of the domestic worker, who straddles the boundary between the home and the world.
By focusing on the representation of this liminal figure, I show how the ideologies of caste, class, gender, nationalism and citizenship cross hatch the private and public.

Wendy Singer, History/Kenyon College

Narrative, Politics, and the Representation of Women Candidates

In Mukul Kesavan’s Looking Through Glass, Ammi runs for election in 1946 in one of the constituencies reserved for Muslim Women. A reporter coming to interview her waits for her to veil herself before taking a photograph. When she demonstrates no intention to do so, a family friend comments incredulously, "What do you want a picture of a burqa?" And in the interview the reporter’s main line of questioning was why have you, "a Muslim lady," created your own Muslim party (as opposed to the Muslim League.) As a politician Ammi was expected to play a particular role-fit a specific Muslim image. Campaigns and parties, as well as reporters, create acceptable public images for women politicians; dictating the composition of their entourage, their manner of dress, and the forums in which they campaign. The necessary components of a campaign-dealing with finances and giving stump speeches-are constrained by notions of appropriate behavior for public women. This paper argues that the public images for political women are as often flamboyant and coquettish as they are modest or religious. And for many women politicians it is the constraints of a publicly crafted persona that remains the biggest obstacle to their future success. Few women politicians are able to step out of the box their parties' craft for them. And for women politicians, public image remains a chief qualification for running for office. This was true since the constituencies reserved for women in the 1930s and 40s and the policy of political parties-most explicitly portrayed by Congress in the 1950s and 60-that being a woman provided a special qualification for candidates, not unlike caste, in particular elections. Therefore, finding the right woman candidate and packaging her appropriately for a particular constituency could lead to an important victory. The paper will examine some real and imagined women candidates who were represented by their parties in ways that sometimes conflicted with their own political interests, manifesting in their political behavior once in office. It examines these divergences between political image and political practice.

Jael Silliman, University of Iowa

Jewish Portraits, Indian Frames: Gender, Colonialism and Identity

My paper explores the making of personal and community identities in a small Jewish community in India from 1880's to the present. I wish to show how the identity of community members shifted over each generation in response to political and economic shifts. The narratives of these women allow me to challenge essentializing notions of identity and nation by showing how women adroitly negotiated between distinct cultural sets Sephardic Jewish, British colonial and Indian to forge a strong sense of themselves. I argue that their Jewishness and strong family and community ties, rather than their relationship to the peoples, cultures and lands where they lived, grounded them. Their community networks and familiarity with global cultural flows facilitated their movements to other countries and places that enabled them to respond to new political and economic opportunities. These community ties as well as clear demarcations between them and non- Jewish others enabled them not to be overwhelmed by the diverse cultures to which they were exposed. Thus I present them as a "Diaspora of Hope" to suggest that diasporic movements can be
understood as a process through which community members have flourished and do not have to be only conceived only in terms of loss.

This work adds a gender perspective to the growing scholarship on global minority communities. Inserting middle-class women from this global minority community into India's colonial history also complicates current understandings of colonialism and the colonial encounter. I show how Baghdadi Jewish women benefited from the colonial encounter to demonstrate the range of responses and accommodations with colonialism that existed within India across ethnic, class and gender lines. Through contextualizing women's lives in distinct historical processes and geographical venues, I reveal the ways in which women were variously colonized and colonizing at the same time. Since the accounts span post-independent India as well I trace how some minorities continued to benefit from their intermediate position in an independent India. As histories of women in India have not yet focused attention on the lives of women in small minority communities, the book adds a new dimension to women's histories in India.

Amardeep Singh, Lehigh University

An Affair of Greased Cartridges: Religion and Orientalism in Representations of 1857

This paper attempts to theorize the 1857 Rebellion/Mutiny through the rhetoric that emerged in response to it by both British and Indian writers and politicians. I examine the deployment of rhetorics of Orientalism, religion, and race in nineteenth-century Parliamentary debates about colonial policy (which have rarely been considered in recent South Asian historiography and literary history), alongside novels by Bankimchandra Chatterjee and Rabindranath Tagore (which, through the work of critics such as Partha Chatterjee, Sangeeta Ray, and others are in many ways central to postcolonial critical narratives of colonial era).

Whether it is referred to as a "Mutiny" or a "Rebellion," the conflict that occurred in 1857 triggered a crisis in the ideological underpinnings of British colonialism. An important element of this crisis was the growing role of religion in the colonial enterprise. The rebellion was thought by the British as well as by many in the Indian nationalist movement, which emerged in its wake, to have been set off by a religious fuse: the famous incident of the rifle cartridges that, mythically, contained both pig and cow fat in their grease. Hindus and Muslims, historically at odds, were united by the rumors of common religious transgression against a third entity, namely the Christian English. But this first instance of political and military unity, which we may call the primal scene of Indian secularism, was narrated by nationalist leaders as well as leading intellectuals such as Rabindranath Tagore and Bankimchandra Chatterjee, as a narrative of racial rather than religious conflict. Race and religion are also intertwined in the debates that occurred over the Mutiny in the British Parliament in 1857, debates which prominently featured both William Gladstone and Benjamin Disraeli. But the rhetoric of these debates is hardly a simple Orientalism. Rather, a singular complication arises in the speeches of Benjamin Disraeli, whose relationship to Judaism seems to underwrite his critique of the linking of Christian proselytization with the economic and political policies of the Raj. Disraeli's response to the Mutiny, though it assigns limited agency to those involved, disturbs the dominant colonial alignments of race, nation, and religion in ways that challenges the Saidian paradigm of Orientalism while exposing the ideological matrix of British colonialism.
K. P. Singh, University of Washington-Seattle

Uneasy Alliance between Dalits and OBCs: Prospects and Retrospect

Under the regime of V.P. Singh, implementation of the recommendations of Mandal Commission provided a unique space for political alliances between the Dalits and Other Backward Classes to contest Indian elections. However despite of the unambiguous political rise of Dalits and OBCs, both have not been able to provide a unified national alternative to the Indian governance. Besides some acute internal differentiations have been transpired within the implied lower-caste unity. In the state like Uttar Pradesh, the Dalits have openly rebelled against the OBCs and called them the neo-Brahmins- the new oppressors. The present paper examines the issues of alliance formation between so-called ex-untouchables and Shudras-the Other Backward Classes. This paper also analyzes their counter struggle for political power, which later becomes counter productive to break away these political alliances.

Anna Sloan, University of Pennsylvania

Ornament and Identity in India's Sultanate Architecture

To scholars of the colonial era, the presence of ornamented stone carving in medieval Indian mosques signified the destruction and looting of Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain structures. Although such conclusions are being revised, the legacy of this scholarship persists in the terminology used to describe ornament in Indian architecture. Categories based on sectarian denominations still infuse descriptions of motifs and decorative patterns, despite the fact that these elements were shared by diverse traditions - both secular and religious in nature. This paper reconsiders the significance of ornamentation in medieval Indian architecture. A survey of medieval Indic mosques will show that the employment of ornamentation shifted over time and varied according to circumstance. In the earliest stages of Muslim conquest, temples connected to royal power were often plundered as a gesture of domination. In contrast, in provincial regions that lacked active building traditions, newly constructed mosques incorporated materials from earlier contexts, but their treatment suggests neither destruction nor subjugation. In other cases, mosques were constructed from locally quarried materials by local craft guilds, using indigenous stone-carving techniques. The presence of multiple approaches to ornament suggests that its semiology shifted over time; an investigation of these shifts may suggest more appropriate terminology for this period.

Ramya Sreenivasan, Jawaharlal Nehru University

The Padmini Story in Tod's Annals: Rajput Patriarchy Reinterpreted

This paper discusses James Tod's retelling of the Padmini legend in his Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan (London, 1829-32). Tod's medieval Rajasthani sources mobilized norms of honorable conduct for their elite audiences around perceptions of threat to the Rajput political hierarchy. Such threats were repeatedly focused on the perceived heart of Rajput polity-the queen who embodied in herself the network of political alliances defining the king's power. By the end of the eighteenth century however, elite Rajput patriarchy was transformed by the military decline of the Rajput ruling lineages. After 1818, the East India Company collaborated with the Rajput ruling lineages to exclude queens from active politics. In recasting the
Padmini story, Tod takes over the narrative and political strategies of this reshaped elite Rajput patriarchy. Where the medieval texts distinguished the use of political power by the queens from its abuse, nineteenth-century narratives, such as Tod's, placed an even greater emphasis on the symbolic potential of the queen's honor instead. This led to the emergence of a newly 'domesticated' queen. In this capacity, though, the figure of the queen continued to retain the value it had had in Rajput narrative traditions of the medieval period. She was still the symbolic center against which threats to the Rajput order were directed.

Monisha Srinivas, University of British Columbia

**Rites of Consumption? Framing Marriage in Hum Aapke Hain Kaun**

Hum Aapke Hain Kaun, released in August 1994, became one of the most successful films in Indian cinematic history. Hum Aapke Hain Kaun's four-hour song and dance bonanza centers around two families brought together by the ritual of an arranged marriage. While the occasion of marriage is not an unusual subject for a Bollywood film, the manner in which Hum Aapke Hain Kaun is framed by an apparent middle-class desire to reinscribe caste and class purity is central to my project. The ritual of marriage, portrayed in this film, enshrines the commodity and gives it a larger visual appeal that needs to be understood within the ideological agenda of the economic liberalization of the nineties and the ascendance of Hindutva. The film, I will argue, not only promotes the Hindu ritual as a rite of consumption but also becomes the vehicle through which a divisive politics of the middle class is expressed. My paper is an attempt to analyze how middle-class marriage as a spectacle has assumed a normative cultural role in India in the ruthless hedonism of the nineties.

Ulrike Stark, University of Heidelberg

**Lucknow's Jalsa-i Tahzib: An Urban Elite, Organized Agency and Early 'Associational Culture' in British India**

North India in the 1860s and 1870s saw a proliferation of indigenous voluntary associations, and literary and reform societies. This paper examines the Jalsah-i Tahzib (est. 1868), the first such organization in the cultural metropolis of Lucknow. It will explore the link between the emergence of an 'associational culture' and the rise of a new urban elite whose cross-caste and cross-communal identity drew on notions of enlightened citizenship and the sense that they shared a common educational mission. By linking Lucknow's traditional elites with the rising class of urban professionals the Jalsah-i Tahzib provided an institutionalized forum through which this new hybrid elite could actively contribute to the formation of modern Indian society.

Drawing on contemporary vernacular and colonial sources, the paper looks at the social identity and motivation of the Jalsah's members and patrons. In addition, it analyses the society's self-perception, objectives and activities against the backdrop of the formation of a public sphere. The Jalsah's various activities (public lectures, knowledge dissemination through print media, establishing a public library, propagating Urdu) tended to focus on reform, education and the creation of informed and responsible citizens, thus establishing a foundation for future political self-expression and activity.
Rachel Sturman, University of Michigan

Colonial Law and Intimate Relations: Defining Hindu Laws of Inheritance in the Bombay High Court

This paper will examine colonial intersections between intimate life and the state through a study of inheritance disputes brought by indigenous families before the Bombay High Court. Far from attempting to shield their private lives from intervention by the state, families regularly and actively sought state intervention to settle their internal disputes. Yet, state adjudication of these cases was shaped by several contradictions. First, the law allowed for highly differential and unequal claims by different members of a family - for example, that inheritance by a widow meant something quite different from inheritance by a husband, daughter, or son. Second, the question of which law in fact applied to these cases was only superficially resolved, as the Court moved somewhat inconsistently between regulating family property according to civil statute, on the one hand, and according to religious injunction, on the other. Finally, the adjudication of the Court reconfigured the legal subjection of family members, treating them both as individuals claiming rights, and as non-autonomous and differentiated members of putatively joint Hindu families. Through an analysis of the changing legal treatments of property dependence, guardianship, and autonomy within the family, this paper traces colonial configurations of the difficult publicity of family.

Mangala Subramaniam, University of Connecticut - Storrs

Participating in Informal Groups for Social Empowerment: Evidence from Rural India

This research examines the degree to which poor women are empowered by participating in organized groups. Using the case of the Mahila Samakhyta Karnataka Program in India, an intervention through which women's groups (called sanghas) are being organized in villages, I illustrate how participation in organized groups can serve as a basis for collective action. I identify and define three types of empowerment as critical for social change for women: socio-economic, purchasing power, and social empowerment. Based on a quasi-experimental research design and using two-level data, groups and individuals: characteristics of 31 groups and structured interviews with 605 individual women (502 sangha members and 103 women from villages where groups have not been formed), I analyze the effect of group participation on social empowerment. I use a hierarchical linear model with individual and group level data to assess the combined effects (individual and group) of group participation on women's empowerment. My findings suggest that organizing facilitates women's participation in groups. Collective action by groups is likely and group level characteristics explain about 64 per cent of the variance in the social empowerment of individual women.
The three-phased District Government elections which the present regime announced soon after assuming power is clearly its most significant single step in domestic policy and administration. The creation of District Governments, along with the plan for reformulation of Center-Provinces relations which will be announced on August 14th this year, are sure to have a great impact on the Pakistani politics, irrespective of the fact whether these reforms succeed or fail. While some analysts have dismissed this exercise as an attempt by the military regime to rule without the need to restore parliamentary institutions, others have viewed as an determined attempt to bring about a fundamental reform of Pakistan's dilapidated and ineffective political system. The proposed paper will attempt to summarize the structural changes brought about by the District Government Ordinances and analyze the results from all the three phases of the elections. The paper will be a continuation of research which I carried out for the paper delivered at the 16th Annual South Asia Conference at UC Berkeley. Specifically, this research will attempt to ascertain whether creation of district governments will indeed result in the creation of new political forces that are essential for the work for national reconstruction, as claimed by the Pervez Mushraaf government, or whether the old-order political networks would successfully deal with this new challenge to their power and continue to dominate by using their enormous resources- financial, politicalCalifornia - social- and skills.

Ali S. Taqi, Loyola University Chicago

Desi Driver: Identity and Social Mobility in the South Asian American Taxi Driving Community

There are a large number of South Asians driving taxis in Chicago. Many of them have at least a college degree and their English proficiency is high. Why are there so many educated South Asian taxi drivers in Chicago, and why do only a few of them move on to careers which pay better and utilize their higher education degrees? To research this question, I have interviewed 49 taxi drivers of South Asian descent. Many of these drivers had arrived in the 1980s and 90s with the goal of either continuing their education or pursuing a job in their field; they explained to me that they were planning on driving a taxi as a temporary means of employment upon arrival to the US but were never able to leave taxi driving. What is preventing South Asian taxi drivers from moving out of their present job and into their field that they are trained and educated in? To answer these questions, I examine in this paper the ways in which the South Asian taxi driving community constructs itself. Through a complex web of community-sustaining activities and relationships, taxi drivers of South Asian origin create an environment which seems safer and more meaningful than the world beyond.
Christopher Tarnowski, University of Georgia

**Mis-/Placing Nature and Locating the Environment in the Fetishization of Development**

The proliferation and merging of environmental, development, and community-based programs is having profound implications for how nature is imagined and the environment managed. While nature may be losing ground in Nepal, an imperiled environment is increasingly subjected to global environmental agendas and national development ambitions. Implicit in much of these global and national imperatives is an imagined nation-state that belies the contested and fragmentary character of variably positioned efforts to secure access to resources in the name of development and the environment. For example, the recent rise in conflicts in Nepal, whether Maoist or ethnicity-based, renders problematic the de-politicized, de-localized rhetoric of a community-based discourse. While the impact that these conflicts have in reshaping the nation and/or nature remains to be seen, the popularity of Community Forestry, arguably one of Nepal's most successful modernist schemes, has contributed greatly to the escalation of environmental managerialism, in which both nature and local-state relations are increasingly being reconfigured. This paper explores these issues using forests and trees as they serve multiple, ever-changing roles as signifiers of nature, a political symbol, a source of livelihood, as a site of and for biodiversity, and a resource to be managed and exploited for the national good.

Woodman Taylor, University of Illinois at Chicago

**Image Theory and the Economy of Vallabha Sampradaya Images at Kota**

Whether sculpted in metal or stone, or painted in pigment, Vallabha Sampradaya members interact with each image as Krsna's own form (svarupa). Caring for a svarupa allows for an intense personal participation in Krsna's life, which is the objective of devotional practices developed by the community's founder Vallabahacarya(1479?-1531) and his descendants into an elaborate liturgical cycle. As living objects, each svarupa of Krsna has its own specific cultural biography, preserving the particulars of its discovery as well as the history of those individuals who cared for it, the places where it has been worshipped and the circumstances of its movements to and display at different locations. Known from a variety of textual and oral sources, these biographies of Krsna's svarupas allow us to both localize and historicize the cultural uses of specific images. In addition to their religious uses, these svarupas of Krsna also carried political valences reflecting agendas of different agents. This paper examines the case of Kota rulers, whose own initiation into the Vallabha Sampradaya community included assuming the care of a personal svarupa of Krsna called Brajnathji which became a public image revered as the titular deity who ruled Kota.
Axel Utz, Pennsylvania State University

Perceptions of Culture and Social Practice in Early Modern Tanjavur, 1727-1765

My paper focuses on social practice in the Kaveri river delta and its representations in Pietist writings that are unique for their portrayal of everyday life in small towns and villages considering individuals' roles in families, village administrations, occupational groups, and so forth. Pietists were members of an originally Central European religious movement who, following colonial expansion, engaged in dialogues with people in and around Danish Tranquebar (Tarangambadi) from the first decade of the eighteenth century. By the late 1720s, European immigrants had become a minority within a socially diverse, predominantly Tamil-speaking Pietist community, and the government of Tanjavur allowed a Pietist presence in its own territory. European immigrants continued to play a dual role in the Pietist community that needs to be considered, since they wrote most of the surviving records. First, they were part of a laCalifornia - predominantly Tamil-speaking, religious group. As such, they attempted to understand local customs, if only to sustain their "raison d'etre" that is maintain a religiously defined group. Second, immigrants had privileged access to the Danish administration, its overseas transport, its monopoly of violence, and the economic resources of a global Pietist network. Hence, immigrants portrayed themselves as being the center of Pietist life in the region. This self-assessment is questionable, since local Pietists used the religiously defined group and its resources towards their own ends. In Tanjavur, Tamil-speakers took control of all Pietist affairs until increasing British influence supported immigrant Pietists from the 1760s.

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Gautama Vajracharya, University of Wisconsin at Madison

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Khandker A. Wahhab, University of Wisconsin - La Crosse

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The need for increased educational opportunities without significantly increasing cost is undeniable for a country like Bangladesh. In almost all spheres of education, Bangladesh needs to make available the expertise of the most qualified faculty to her distant people. But the fundamental question remains as to whether distance education is the right method to achieve that goal. This paper tries to shed light on the prospects and problems of distance education in Bangladesh.

Paul Wallace, University of Missouri-Columbia

**India's New "Catch-All" Party System**

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**Patriotic Swayamseva: The Cultivation of Active Citizens in Late Colonial India**

Encouraged by significant stirrings in numerous areas of the globe and dissatisfied at the type and pace of political and social change occurring under British colonial stewardship in the early twentieth century, Indian leaders increasingly turned away from the Raj’s political arenas to pursue nation-building activities. They established a plethora of philanthropic and voluntary associations including the Servants of India Society, seva samitis and related boy scouts groups, featuring prominent individuals such as G.K. Gokhale, M.M. Malaviya, Lajpat Rai and a young Jawaharlal Nehru. University This helped to create a vibrant associational culture that in turn encouraged and supported a dynamic public life. But associational vibrancy was also dependent on an active citizenry, and there was thus a corresponding effort to cultivate energetic young citizens who would responsibly serve the country - an effort that was still relevant in the 1950s. This paper will explore Indian attempts to train young male citizens in mind, spirit and body. Moreover, it will set the Indian experience in the context of a globalization of citizen training, ‘cultures of association’ and organizational societies, while arguing that India’s citizen initiatives drew on ‘living traditions’ of service, duty, patriotism, physical culture and medicine in the subcontinent.

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This paper utilizes Dutch, Portuguese and English sources from the early seventeenth century to analyze competition among the various European Companies and Asian merchants, as each group tried to gain monopoly rights in markets across maritime Asia. This period witnessed vigorous competition between the Dutch, Portuguese and English Companies as well as powerful Asian nobles and merchants in ports like Masulipatnam, Surat, Aceh, and Melaka. Violent conflict often arose. But strife over monopoly control of markets and commodities was mitigated by the abundance of buyers and the ability of producers and sellers to circumvent monopolized ports, heavy-handed rulers, and corrupt regulations. This paper focuses on the uneasy balance between violence and capitulation in the relationships between European and Asian merchants, as they each strove to optimize their own share of the valuable Indian Ocean trade without compromising their position through excessive violence and corruption.
Blake Wentworth, University of Chicago

**A Gendered Topology: Regionalization of Power in the Tirukkallayañanavula**

In its portrayal of a royal procession observed from the vantage point of onlooking women, the eighth-century Tamil poem Tirukkailaya ñana ula effects a stunning convergence between a hero's ceremonial display of power and accounts of female emotional affectivity. First in what was to become the flourishing genre of ula poetry, the text describes the divine parade of Civan (Shiva) as he emerges from his abode on Kailas to process through the city streets. There, women rush to gaze upon him, losing their decorum as they submit to a passionate desire to unite with the deity. Why does the text focus so relentlessly on women, adopting their role position for the majority of the text? Throughout the meticulous descriptions of their erotic response to Civan, the poem reveals a profound absorption with representing and demarcating spatiality. By taking as a standard of comparison the role that spatiality plays in the poetic theory of Tamil Cankam literature, where use of the female voice indexes broad typologies of human experience and its relationship to the world, we can see how the Tirukkailaya ñana ula introduces distinctively Tamil cultural norms into a supraregional understanding of the relationship between gender and power, suffusing it with a regional specificity that bears centrally on the religious and political regimentation of the domain ruled by the poem's author, the Cera king Ceraman Perumal.

Michael Witzel, Harvard University

**A Localized View of South Asia: The Nagas of Kashmir**

The cult of the Nagas is typical for Kashmir, and was so even for Muslims.

Many of the Sanskritic Naga names go back even further, to a pre-Indo-Aryan substratum. Among all Indian texts, the local Nilamata Purana contains the longest list of Nagas, some 600, which often can be localized at particular points in the Valley and its surroundings. A closer study of these names reveals that they are arranged in a particular fashion, starting with the most important one, Nila, at Vernag, in the southeast of the Valley. They represent a view of the world centered on the Kashmir Valley.

Richard K. Wolf, Harvard University

**Memory Conduits and Identity Labels: Ideas of King and Tribe in Kota Oral Tradition**

This paper examines how a minority "tribal" community in south India, the Kotas, think about themselves as a people in relation to the territory they inhabit and the peoples among whom they live. I focus on two of their key ideas: one is that the Kotas were formerly kings of the region; the other concerns what it means to be a tribal, or adivasi, in India. The body of the paper traces ways in which individuals interpret selected song texts and a set of ritually important stones, called "king stones." I conclude by reflecting on the "shape of time" created when a community such as this uses songs and objects as conduits for communal memory. The research for this paper is based on a total of two and half years' ethnomusicological fieldwork.
in the Nilgiri Hills, beginning in 1990, and archival research with field material collected by David G. Mandelbaum and Murray B. Emenea University

Kathleen Wyma, University of British Columbia

**The Emancipated Imagination: Reading and Resistance in Satyajit Ray's Charulata**

Set in 1879, Satyajit Ray's Charulata addresses the position of the bhadralok in Bengal society, the role of education for women, and the viability of English instruction for the Indian intelligentsia. This paper challenges staid perceptions of this film through a careful consideration of both the representational strategies deployed by Ray, and the historical moment represented in the film. By focusing upon the birth of a Bengali subject in literature at this moment in India, my project seeks to address the manner in which the proliferation of Bengali literature produced a gap in the colonial project and marked a decisive moment in the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. In positioning reading practices and the imagination as a site of resistance, I will argue that Charulata's status as an uneducated woman in purdah functions as a metaphor for the condition of the Indian intellectual in the nineteenth century.

Lakshman Yapa, Pennsylvania State University

**Genes, Seeds and Constructed Scarcity**

The "Green Revolution" constructed scarcities in two ways: by focusing attention on some technologies at the expense of others and by increasing demand for certain inputs (water, diesel, synthetic fertilizers, etc.) which became scarce as a result. Alternatives were bypassed by the mobilization of attention and investment in particular channels. Genetically modified seeds (or GMOs) offer a parallel construction of scarcity, and thus continuities with previous technologies in agriculture, but with new players and forces, and new technical problems. Engineered seeds need to be analyzed within a nexus of relations: techniCalifornia - social, cultural, political and academic (what do skilled intellectuals do with their time? What questions get asked, which are bypassed as a result?). The paper will explore these nexi in terms of parallels to and departures from chemical intensive agriculture that came in with the earlier seed 'revolution' -- high-yielding varieties and their supporting infrastructure. As attention and investment turn to engineered seeds as a solution for a wide range of agricultural problems, what alternatives are thereby foregone? What are the political and social implications? What are the implications for sustainable development? How else might the objectives proclaimed by genetic engineers be obtained?
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Cultural Globalization and Dalit Citizenship: Questions of Gender and Community

This paper is based on my ethnographic work in New Delhi, India, during 1999-2000 in two sanitation workers' colonies on issues of cultural globalization and Dalit citizenship. The Balmikis or sanitation workers form part of the Delhi municipal corporation labor force; yet they follow an occupation that is traditionally assigned to them by virtue of hierarchiCalifornia - disempowering caste relations. My interviews with women sweepers and their daughters situated debates of television's global culture in the context of gender and labor divisions within a segregated community, the public, masculine visage of community identity, and resultant parameters of minority identity within which women's agency is formulated. Theorizing caste in contemporary India as practices of citizenship, I argue that Dalit women bear the primary burden for reproducing the consumer-citizen, for redefining the home as a site of consumption, and for rearticulating rituals, customs and traditional practices within the context of a globalized economy that is circulated through television. From these different threads, I show how Dalit agency is reproduced in ways that constantly position women at the devalued intersection of tradition and modernity that is so essential to the messages of cultural globalization.