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New Appointments

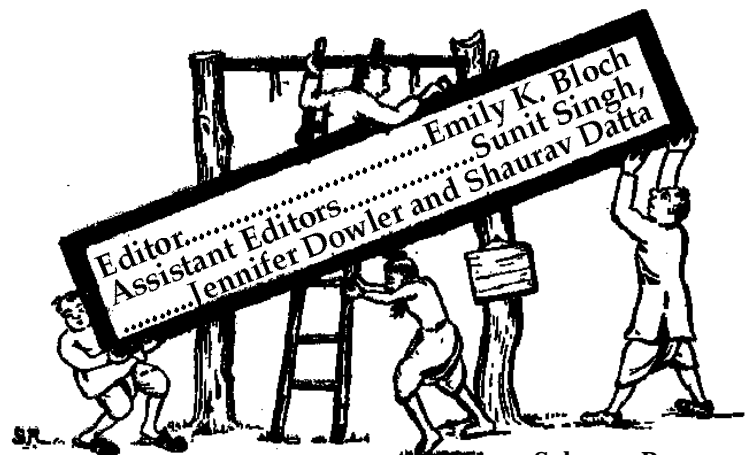
William T.S. Mazzarella is an Assistant Professor of Anthropology and of Social Sciences in the College. He is currently completing a book that examines the Bombay advertising industry at two specific moments. First, in the 1980s, when advertising professionals helped to formulate and promote mass consumerism as a total social ontology to challenge state-led developmentalism in India. Second, in the 1990s, when they became expert consultants to multinational and domestic corporations on the assumed 'cultural difference' of 'the Indian consumer' in a context of globalizing consumer markets. These specific conjunctures are in turn the basis for a more general theory of the ways in which the production and circulation of 'commodity images' mediates the local and the global, affect and discourse, image and text. Most broadly, the book represents an application of concrete ethnographic strategies to transnational cultural politics as well as an argument for the importance of a critical anthropological praxis.

His research and teaching interests include the cultural politics of globalization, mass media, public culture and consumerism, critical theory, commodity aesthetics, post-coloniality and South Asia. He is also in the process of developing a research project on the relationship between multinational info-tech corporations and grass-roots development work in South Asia. His recent publications include *Shoveling Smoke: The production of advertising and the cultural politics of globalization*. (Duke University Press, forthcoming); "Cindy at the Taj: Cultural enclosure and corporate tentatship in an era of globalization" in S. Lamb & D. Mines, eds, *Everyday Life in South Asia*. (Indiana Press, forthcoming); "'Citizens have sex, consumers make love': marketing KamaSutra condoms in Bombay" in B. Moeran, ed, *Asian Media Productions* (University of Hawaii Press, 2001).

Muzaffar Alam is a Professor in South Asian Languages and Civilizations and the College. Primarily interested in the polity, society and culture of Mughal India, Alam has published extensively on the decline of the Mughal empire and Mughal political economy. Prior to accepting the post at Chicago, he had taught for an extended tenure at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, and lectured as a fellow in Europe and America at universities and institutions including: Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociale, Institute of Advanced Study (Berlin), School of Oriental and African Studies, Kings College, Oxford University, Duke University, University of Wisconsin-Madison and the University of California-Berkeley. Alam sees his emigration to Chicago as a necessary part of continuing his own intellectual development.

Alam's first book, *Crisis of Empire in Mughal North India: Awadh and the Punjab, 1707-1748* (Oxford, 1986), provides a revisionist understanding of a perceived decline in Indian society, cultural endeavors and economic status with the dismantling of the Mughal empire. After editing a volume of the series, Oxford in India: Themes in Indian History, *The Mughal State: 1526-1750*, he shifted his emphasis from the study of political economy and took to reading responses to medieval Indian polities by examining the texts of Sufi scholars and poets. Seeking to explore the dynamism of Mughal society, Alam has analyzed 'early modern' Urdu and Indo-Persian literature and questions of community formation, with a particular emphasis on the zamindar (landowner) revolts, Sikh insurgence and aspects of competition and co-existence between rival communities in Northern India. His latest publication, *A European Experience of the Mughal Orient: The I'Jaz-I Arsalani (Persian Letters, 1773-1779) of Antoine-Louis Henri Polier* (Oxford 2001) surveys the Persian correspondences of a noted French traveler, presence in the Mughal court, and contemporary of William Jones, Antoine-Polier.

Presently teaching a course entitled 'Religion, Society and Politics in Pre-Mughal India: 1200-1600' and another on advanced readings in Urdu, Alam is concomitantly developing several projects including an exploration of a distinct Persian culture (intelligentsia and literature) in South Asia as a reflection of the multiethnic, multilingual and multicultural milieu in India. Other works in progress are: a collaborative effort to edit a volume of accounts by 'Eastern' travelers in South Asia due out in the Spring by Cambridge University Press, a dissection of Islamic idioms of power and culture in pre-colonial India and an extension of his previous work on political economy to include the Eastern Indian regions of Bengal, Orissa, and Bihar. He plans to teach 'Legitimacy, Power and Culture in Northern India: 1600-1800' in the Spring.



Sukumar Ray

प्राकृत ॐ विद् दद वेमस सुव गुि मईदा गु वरती अत्रे अहिन्दी

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Faculty News

The hard cover having sold out, the paperback copy of *Reversing the Gaze: The Amar Singh Diary, A Colonial Subject's Narrative of Imperial India*, by **Susanne Hoeber Rudolph** and **Lloyd I Rudolph** (Poli Sci), is being issued by Oxford University Press, Delhi. The American edition will be published by Westview Press in January 2002.

McKim Marriott, Professor Emeritus in Anthropology and the College, presented a paper on "The Logics of Hindu Power and Emotion" at the Biennial Meeting of the Society for Psychological Anthropology in Decatur, Georgia, on October 21, 2001.

Student and Alumni News

Whitney Cox (SALC) chaired a panel entitled 'Space and Semiosis in South Indian Texts' at the University of Wisconsin-Madison's annual conference on South Asian Studies. Also participating on the panel were **Blake Wentworth** (Div-HR), **Indira Peterson** (Mt. Holyoke) and **Rich Freeman** (University of Michigan).

Richard Delacy (SALC) also presented a paper at the Madison conference, "A Taste For Urdu Poetry: The Centrality of the Ghazal in Urdu Literature." He is presently a visiting lecturer at UIC teaching Hindi-Urdu at the elementary level.

William Elison (Div-HR) is currently manuscript editor at Public Culture and will be a visiting instructor in the Religion department at Carleton College for winter and spring terms. Intro to Religion and Hinduism and designing senior seminar on Hinduism and Modernity.

Caitrin Lynch (Anthro, alum) is currently a Mellon Post-doctoral Fellow in the Program for the Study of Women, Gender, and Sexuality and the Department of Anthropology at John Hopkins University.

Debali Mukerjea (SALC) is having her translation of a Bengali short story published in the journal *Meridians* and a paper, "Writing Histories, Making Citizens: Women in the Partition of India" in the *Jadavpur Journal of Comparative Literature*.

Shreeyash Palshikar (SALC) is teaching Hindi and Urdu at Loyola University-Chicago. In addition to his regular performances of Indian magic, Shreeyash delivered a paper on his research on *jadu* at the Madison conference.

Awards

Three University of Chicago graduate students were awarded Fulbright-Hays Fellowships for 2001-02 in fields concerning South Asia. **Catherine Adcock** (Div-HR) will be in Delhi and London conducting research on "Contesting Categories: Religion and Politics in the Arya Samaj." **Guy Leavitt** (SALC), currently in Benares on a Junior Fellowship from AIIS, received a Fulbright Grant

to research "The Poetics of Saivism in Kashmir, 840-1200" for which he will travel to Oxford, Kathmandu, Calcutta and Benares. **Ajay Rao** (Div-HR) will be in Chennai and Bangalore working on his project, "Reading the Ramayana in the Srivaisnava Tradition, 1200-1700."

Rochona Majumdar (SALC) was granted a Whiting with a resident doctoral fellowship in the Franke Institute for the Humanities for her work, "Marriage and Modernity in Colonial Calcutta: Market Relations, Romantic Affect and Gender Politics, c. 1856- 1955."

American Institute of American Studies (AIIS) awarded two U of C students Junior Fellowships for 2001-02. **Jocelyn Marrow** (HumDev) is currently in India working on her project, "Suffering and Empathy in Benarsi Families" and **Thomas Asher** (Anthro) is presently engaged in his work, "Worn in Translation: Reading Allegories of Nineteenth-Century Modernity in Cashmere Shawls." In addition, **Bali Sahota** (SALC) is participating in the AIIS Urdu Language Program in Lucknow.

Study Program in India

The College has introduced a South Asian Civilizations sequence for undergraduates in Mumbai. Taught by **Carol Breckenridge** (SALC and the College), **Vjayanthi Rao** (Anthro) and **Kathleen Morrison** (Anthro and the College), the course encompasses elements from South Asian literature, culture, architecture, cinema and history, and will include an extended stay in the ancient imperial city of Vijayanagara. In addition to the mix of civilization courses, language instruction will be offered in Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, Tamil, Kannada and Urdu. Fifteen students were accepted to the program for Winter 2002: Michael Alton, William Bouvel, Kathleen Calungcagin, Stephen Kuo-Tung Chan, Megan Chapman, Chia Chou, Andrew Coghlan, Sandra Gallardo, Tyler Glidden, Chanda Mehta, Margo Miller, Joanna Munson, Alexis Pierce, Katherine Scaife and Elaine Seggerman.

Publication News

Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia, edited by **Sheldon Pollock** (SALC), will be published by the University of California Press in spring 2002. The literatures of South Asia constitute one of the great achievements of human creativity. They are unmatched in world culture in their combination of antiquity, continuity and multicultural complexity, and unrivaled in the resources they offer for understanding the development of expressive language and imagination over time and in relation to culture, society and polity. Using these resources in all their historical variety and complexity, an international team of seventeen scholars has produced the first account of the long history of

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South Asian literatures that seeks to understand them in relation to each other and to their larger social and political worlds.

The theoretical aim has been two-fold: to rethink the practice of literary history by paying close attention to non-western categories and processes, and to learn to look at South Asia differently by looking through its literary cultures. The questions treated are accordingly broad ones, ranging from the character of cosmopolitan and vernacular traditions, the formation of new political and cultural spaces, and the impact of colonialism and independence, to indigenous literary and aesthetic theories and modes of performance. The book contributes to postcolonial as well as precolonial studies of South Asia by offering substantive accounts of representative traditions and their critical transitions across historical periods. Its theoretical orientation, which respects but also tests local categories and asks higher-order questions about the literary, the social and the political, should also make it of interest to area studies across disciplines, and to cultural and literary studies across regions.

Digital Dictionaries of South Asia

Digital Dictionaries of South Asia (DDSA) is a collaborative project to widen access to lexical resources. Established dictionaries for each of the twenty-six modern literary languages of South Asia are being mounted on the Web for free and open access through the project's site at <http://dsal.uchicago.edu/dictionaries>.

The South Asia Language and Area Center at the University of Chicago, in conjunction with Columbia University and the Triangle South Asia Consortium in North Carolina, received a grant for the project from the Department of Education. The University of Chicago and Columbia University have also approached other funding bodies to support work for classical languages and modern minor languages, thereby increasing the project's scope.

A number of dictionaries have been available for public testing since October. These include: *A comprehensive Persian-English dictionary* by Francis Steingass; *A dictionary, Hindustani and English* by John Shakespear; *A dictionary of Urdu, classical Hindi, and English* by John Platts; *Hobson-Jobson* by Henry Yule; *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English dictionary* by TW Rhys Davids.

Other dictionaries to be added during the next few months include: *A dictionary of the Pukhto, Pushto, or language of the Afghans* by H. G. Raverty; *A Dravidian etymological dictionary* by T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau; *A dictionary, Marathi and English* by J. T. Molesworth; *A practical dictionary of modern Nepali* by Ruth Schmidt; *A practical Sanskrit dictionary* by A. A. Macdonell; *A Sanskrit-English dictionary* by M. Monier-Williams; J. P. Fabricius's *Tamil and English dictionary*; *A Telugu-English dictionary* by J. P. L. Gwynn. For a full list of the

dictionaries currently under preparation, please see <http://dsal.uchicago.edu/dictionaries/list.html>.

This summer **Elena Bashir** (SALC) received support from Chicago's office of the Consortium for Language Teaching and Learning to carry out a pilot project on dictionaries of Pashto, Torwali and Khowar, smaller regional languages of Pakistan, which will be made available electronically as part of the larger DDSA project. The smaller Pakistani languages component of the project will include dictionary entries in Perso-Arabic script, Roman-based transcriptions, example sentences, plus audio links to the individual words and the example sentences. The audio links, an innovative feature of this part of the project, will allow users to click on a word or sentence and hear it pronounced by a native speaker.

James Nye **University of Chicago**

Teaching with Maps

Maps tell stories. As a social studies teacher, I try to help students see, recognize and understand those stories. Last summer, I participated in "Maps, Identity and World Studies." The workshop emphasized the complexity of each map's story. We focused on how the cultural perspective and bias influence a map's seeming objectivity. In addition to working with computer software that taught us how to construct maps using informative and individually selected data, we learned from specialists in five geographical areas how history is revealed in close readings of maps and their makers. The richly informative presentations were followed by teacher designed lessons based on our reading, observation and discussion. The workshop was a valuable opportunity both to expand our own thinking about maps with exposure to cutting edge research and to apply that knowledge to work with students.

Katie Chambers Haskins **Francis W. Parker School**

Teachers Travel to India

Eleven other Chicago-area teachers and I, led by Sally Noble, spent a fascinating month in India this past summer as part of a Fulbright-Hays Group Project Abroad program. We visited a wide range of locales and organizations while learning about India's culture, geography, social problems and educational system. The program began in Delhi, under the guidance of Katha, an organization involved both in education and publishing contemporary Indian literature. One of the highlights of Delhi was visiting Katha Khazana, a school operated for children in one of the poorest areas of Delhi. This was truly an oasis of learning and hope in the midst of grueling economic conditions. An impressive component of Katha Khazana was the employment offered to the students' mothers. These women operated both a bakery and a kitchen that prepared food for neighboring businesses and other institutions. Income from this employment enabled the women to keep their children in school.

While in Delhi, we also visited Delhi Public School, an

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excellent private school with impressive achievements and a pleasant campus a staggering contrast to Katha Khazana. Another stop in Delhi was the Salaam Balak Trust, which operates shelters for a small number of the thousands of homeless children in Delhi. Located in a marginal neighborhood near the train station, the Trust faces many challenges in its attempts to stabilize the lives of these children and to help them learn skills which will provide them with better opportunities as they grow up.

The cultural side of the program produced similar stimulation and education. Not only did we visit Humayun's Tomb, the Red Fort and Rajghat, but we also spent several hours early one morning exploring Old Delhi with a local artist. Visiting both a small neighborhood mosque and the Jama Masjid, we explored many other religious sites and witnessed a special puja at a Kali temple in south Delhi. Various group members took the opportunity to visit other Hindu temples, Jain temples, a Sikh gurudwara, and the Tibet House Museum. This was only the first week!



Twumwa Grant, Kerry Daley, Rachel Casteel and Mary Ann Vaca at the Jantar Mantar in Jaipur, Rajasthan.--photo by Paula Rance

Traveling by train to Jaipur, we spent several days in cultural/historical pursuits including visits to the City Palace, Jaigarh Fort and Amber Fort. Several of us participated in the evening puja at the Govinddevji Temple, a remarkable experience. The elephant ride up the hill to Amber Fort remains an amusing highpoint of the Jaipur days. Before returning to Delhi, we traveled to Agra for an overnight stay, visiting Fatehpur Sikri and the Taj Mahal. While in Agra, three of us visited two of the most important Krishna temples in Vrindavan and then mingled with a group of women singing *bhajans* at the site of Krishna's birth in Mathura.

The last half of the program centered in South India, divided between Chennai and Madurai, with a short stay in Mamallapuram. The highlight of Chennai came during the four days the group spent with the Children's Garden School; where the faculty overwhelmed us with warm hospitality. Students treated us to special exhibits,

classroom demonstrations, performances of classical Indian music and dance, a *villupattu*, 'bow song' performance and an interactive geography lesson on the monsoons that informed as well as entertained.

While in Mamallapuram, several of us defied the laws of age and physical condition and perhaps even good sense to climb a most difficult route to the Durga temple. The destination certainly was worth the exertion, and the alternative path down again was gentle and short. Madurai (my favorite) marked the final stage of the program. Once again activities included visits to a variety of schools and colleges, interspersed with visits to NGOs. Here, too, we received information on specialized topics such as Gandhian educational theories, programs fostering the empowerment of village women, the history of Meenakshi temple, the educational legacy of the Christian missionaries and the Jains of Tamil Nadu. While we were in Madurai, two members made a day trip southeast to Rameswaram and participated in special pilgrimage rites there. Two others spent the last evening in Madurai down on the flood plain of the Vaigai experiencing a local celebration that eventually led to a procession of devotees bearing fire pots through the back streets of Madurai.

Truly, four weeks never seemed so short as these. We returned laden with photos, textiles, Indian outfits, books by the score, an astonishing variety of artifacts, new ideas, many questions and innumerable memories. Now we are working to produce individual curriculum materials for our classes and will soon establish a web page presenting more fully our experiences and ideas. No one returned from India unchanged by the experience, and unsurprisingly, I am already plotting a return.

Barbara Bess

Mother Theodore Guerin High School



Front Row (l to r): Sakunthala Sharma, Correspondent, Children's Garden School [CGS], N. Lalitha, Headmistress, CGS, Paula Rance, Evanston Township HS, Mary Ann Vaca, Chicago Waldorf School, Sally Noble, University of Chicago, Barbara Bess, Mother Guerin HS, Kerry Daley, Gordon Technical HS, G. Parthasarathy, Curriculum Advisor, CGS
Back Row (l to r): Rupa Nagarajan, PTA Representative, CGS, Julie Vasireddy, Maine Township East HS, Susan Grace, Wright College, Rachel Casteel, Maine Township West HS, Patrick Tassoni, Northside College Prep HS, Katherine Mervis, Evanston Township HS, Twumwa Grant, South Shore HS, Jeffrey Jaglois, Lincoln Park HS

The UC Fulbright-Hays Group Project for India was sponsored through the South Asia Language & Area Center under the auspices of the US Department of Education. Fulbright-Hays provided 88% of the project's budget, with the balance provided through University cost-sharing.

द्वि-संस्कृत-अंग्रेजी ENGLISH संस्कृत-इंग्लिश शर्पनाधी वेम

Naim, cont.

Equally important, he has brought his tough-minded judgment to bear on the situation of Muslims in modern South Asia. Such judiciousness and unsparing objectivity are hardly ever encountered. Since he has been so even-handed in allocating responsibility, he has also hardly ever been thanked.

Choudhri Muhammad Naim is a person who believes it is more important to be right than to be popular. I have been wondering, Naim Saheb, what we are going to do for a conscience when you are not around.

Ralph Nicholas, Emeritus University of Chicago



Early Urdu Literary Culture and History

by Shamsur Rahman Faruqi, Oxford University Press, 2001.

Early Urdu Literary Culture and History aims to dethrone many of the prevalent theories for Urdu's origins, most notably, that Urdu was born in the royal camps of Delhi (then called Shahjahanabad),

embellished in the hands of Mir and Ghalib, and patronized primarily in the North. Faruqi begins this large task with an analysis of nomenclature – Moors, Hindustani, Hindavi, Hindi, Gujri, Rekhtah and zaban-i urdu-i mualla and appropriately so, for the question of nomenclature underlies much of his argument.

Faruqi argues that Urdu referred to the city of Delhi, not to any language, and that the language of this area was called Hindvi or Hindi and later, Rekhtah. By stating that Urdu can claim works labeled as Hindavi, Hindi or Rekhtah for its own, Faruqi extends Urdu's lineage far beyond the Delhi region and proceeds to develop a syncretistic, hybrid, trans-national understanding of Urdu.

After Faruqi debunks the singular understanding of Urdu as the language of one region and highlights its constituent parts, he constructs a new phenomenon of a continuous literary theory in Urdu beginning with Khusrau and extending to the mid-19th century through Mir and Ghalib. Indeed, Faruqi draws together a wide range of texts by exposing their shared practice of *ravani* or flowingness, *iham* or punning, and *balaghat* or appropriate usage of words and the themes they imply. All of these techniques promote an attention to word-play that is reminiscent of the ghazal principles elucidated in Frances Pritchett's *Nets of Awareness*.

While much literary activity took place in the North around the cultural centers of Delhi and Lucknow, Faruqi insists that the development of Urdu as a literary language occurred south of Delhi, in the Deccan region. Faruqi presents convincing evidence of sustained literary achievements in Gujarat and the Deccan area, primarily by Sufis. Casting aside the assumption that Urdu literature begins with Amir Khusrau, Faruqi introduces us to Masud Sad Salman Lahori (1046-1121), who was

**Reynolds, cont.**

what they are, and so they seldom disappoint him. They trust him with their secrets, and come to him for advice, as I have always done.

I truly wonder how I will manage to go on teaching without him. How can the Frank and Wendy Dog-and-Pony-Show go on now? We worked in tandem, each doing what he or she did best, between us covering the waterfront; where I always got caught up in the trees, in the details of the writing or of the data, it was Frank who saw the forest, the flaws in the arguments and the problems with the larger structure. He never ever let me down; he always returned my calls right away. Years ago some students - I never did know who, though I think Frank does know - found a poster-sized photograph of a Frank Reynolds-like man in a beard looking down his nose, with somewhat cynical distrust, at a woman wearing a slinky evening dress and shoes that the students had colored red; they labeled it, *Frank and Wendy*. I cherish that poster, which still hangs in my office in Swift Hall. I will look to it for comfort and advice in the years to come, when I can no longer hear that big voice booming through the hall, reassuring me that Frank is somewhere in the building.

Wendy Doniger University of Chicago



A. Ramachandra Pandit and Rabindra Narayan Goswami fielding questions and performing for a group of students at the Francis W. Parker School as part of a South Asia Outreach activity.

-photo by David Fuder

தமிழ்நாடு அருட்பாட ராஜஸ்தானி தேசம் இரண்டிப்புடிக்கேசரி

reported to have written a Hindvi divan, Shaikh Baha ud-Din Bajan (1388-1506), the first author whose Hindvi work has survived in sufficient quantities, Fakhr-e Din Nizami, a fifteenth century writer in the popular Deccan tradition, and numerous Deccan Sufi poets writing in the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries. The achievements of the Deccan writings were imported to the North through the works of Vali, who revolutionized Urdu poetry by incorporating Persian themes into Rekhtah and brought the "Dakani tradition and language in his blood" into northern poetry.

Obviously the goal of these chapters is to widen the literary sphere beyond Delhi and recognize the role of the Deccan region in developing and establishing Urdu as a literary language. The single creative leap which allows this to happen, however, is Faruqi's liberal understanding of the word Urdu, for very few of the pre-Vali writers listed above actually called their works Urdu. Thus we see that the integration of the Deccan into Urdu's literary history is contingent upon the opening up of the term Urdu to include its other manifestations.

This is where Faruqi's argument starts to break down. While his assertion that the term Urdu is arbitrary and in need of wider contextualization certainly remains convincing, the Hindi/Urdu ambiguity set up in the beginning is applied quite freely in the later chapters. Faruqi refers to a large body of Sufi texts as Urdu without providing any evidence that the writers of these texts viewed themselves as writing in the Hindvi/Hindi/Urdu idiom; meanwhile he implies that Sufi patronage was the requisite force behind Urdu's development, and that Urdu made a late start in the North because of a northern "bias against Dakani/Hindvi." Throughout the book, Faruqi accuses Urdu scholars and historians, along with the colonial British, for falsely separating Urdu from its counterparts, in the British case out of "colonial arrogance, and politics" and in the Urdu scholars case, out of a failure to view the issue "scientifically." One wishes that Faruqi would apply the same detailed inquiry he uses when investigating Urdu's various names to the reasons behind Urdu's late start in the North and its later division into Hindi and Urdu. His vision of Urdu as a syncretistic, hybrid, trans-national phenomenon seems to overcome his argument, but at the same time, it is precisely this vision which remains Faruqi's greatest contribution to the field. Despite its faults, *Early Urdu Literary Culture and History* attempts to restore to Urdu its complicated past, and this is an attempt that should be welcomed as well as closely examined.

Jennifer Dubrow

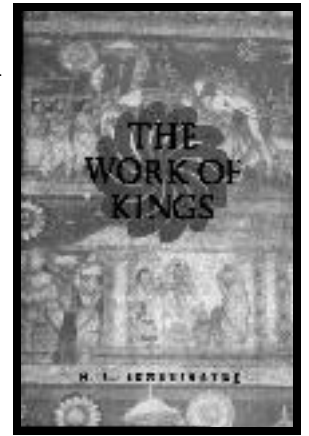
University of Chicago

The Work of Kings: The New Buddhism in Sri Lanka by H. L. Seneviratne, University of Chicago Press, 1999.

In exploring how 'social service' performed by Theravada Buddhist monks in Sri Lanka has gone awry over the last century, H.L. Seneviratne's disturbing book provides some insight about why a retreat into a personal spiritual world essentially unconcerned with bettering society ought not to be readily condemned. Drawing on an impressive array of sources, including Sinhalese books, pamphlets and speeches, as well as interviews with monks, the author argues passionately that the original message of the modernist Sinhalese reformer Dharmapala was purged of its beneficial elements and used instead to justify chauvinist ideology and clerical quests for political power.

Seneviratne covers some familiar but necessary material in telling us that Anagarika (a title meaning homeless and signaling the state of being neither monk nor layman) Dharmapala (1864 - 1933) was one of the prime architects of the rationalized neo-Buddhism that emerged through the encounter with Christianity and colonialism. In brief, Seneviratne argues, Dharmapala advocated a this-worldly asceticism with strong affinities to Calvinist ethos. The author agrees with scholars such as Gombrich, Obeyesekere and Bond that neo-Buddhism adopted many of the belief systems and structures of the Europeans under the guise of getting back to the original, ancient form of the religion. Seneviratne's analysis, however, departs from that of other scholars in its more detailed treatment of the specific program of Dharmapala and how it became derailed.

Seneviratne sees two main points at which the Dharmapalite program took a wrong turn. First, those involved in this reformation saw or claimed to see it as a renaissance of the halcyon days described in the highly ideological Pali chronicle Mahavamsa, when Buddhism guided the Sinhalese inhabitants of the island towards moral rectitude. The identification of the movement with the Sinhalese alone led to a narrow nationalism that did not adequately account for the realities and complexities of the historical situation. Dharmapala also did not grapple with the nuances of the social situation, singling out foreign influence almost exclusively as the source of



drunkenness, meat-eating, prostitution and other immoralities. Second, Dharmapala believed that the monk, unattached to home and family, was the ideal vessel to travel throughout the land doing social service of various kinds for the benefit of others. Once the monks believed that it was acceptable for them to get involved in the workings of the secular world, there was little to stop them from diving fully in. They became able to justify their political activism and entrepreneurship as vehicles for the betterment of society and thus not only permissible, but obligatory.

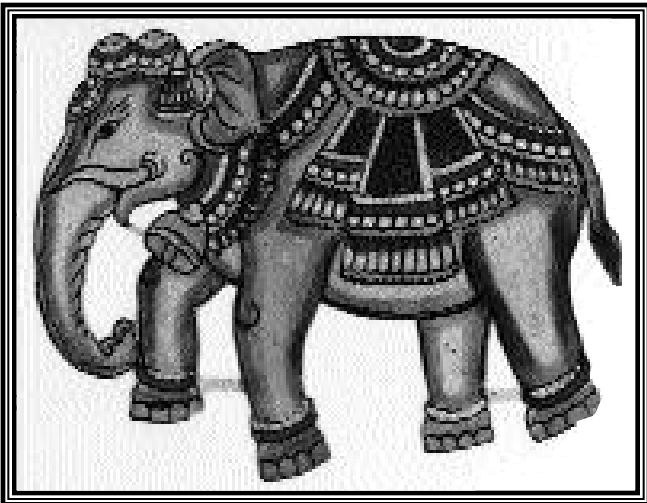
Seneviratne discusses at length the role that the two Buddhist colleges, Vidyodaya and Vidyalankara, played in shaping the ideas and practices of generations of the most able monks. He simplistically identifies the former with the 'good' aspects of Dharmapala's teachings, namely rural development and a genuine desire to ameliorate the lives of the poor, and the latter with the 'bad' aspects, namely narrow chauvinism, inflexible ideology, and the desire for political power and influence.

Some of Seneviratne's pronouncements are harsh, such as blaming much of Sri Lanka's contemporary woes on a Vidyalankara monk, and at times the book loses any semblance of academic distance. He says that the Vidyalankara monks' activities ended up being purely ideological and lacked any practical program of actual changes for the better on the ground. Calling their efforts "antisocial service," he says they foisted a Sinhalese Buddhist hegemony on the community, "bulldozing away reason and common sense in favor of an outpouring of ideology and exclusivism."

Any attempt to unravel the complex nexus of political, social, historical, economic and religious reasons for the current tragic quagmire in Sri Lanka is bound to leave certain aspects unexplored, but this is certainly a cogently argued, well reasoned and important effort that deserves to be widely read.

Daniel Veidlinger

University of Chicago



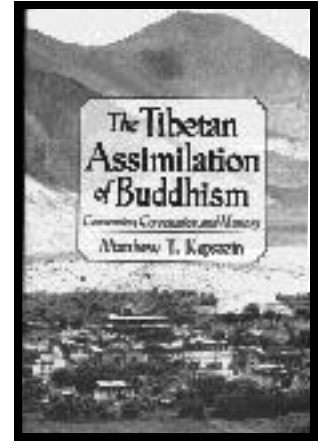
The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism: Conversion, Contestation, and Memory by Matthew T. Kapstein, Oxford University Press, 2000.

By what approach is the special relationship between Buddhism and Tibetan culture

most effectively studied? Matthew T. Kapstein's innovative approach to this question assures that *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism: Conversion, Contestation, and Memory* will be a seminal text in the study of Tibetan history. Instead of writing a history that plots out significant changes in Tibetan culture over time and offers explanations for them, Kapstein sketches a series of contemporaneous histories and combines them into a collection of essays that almost function as a monograph.

In his introduction, Kapstein writes "The scholar as contextualizer must in the end be a myth maker, spinning tales of reason, truth, and history, in virtue of which the actions, arts, sciences, and myths of persons elsewhere and elsewhere may become somehow more intelligible for us than they would have been otherwise." In spinning his own historical myths, Kapstein employs a variety of primary and secondary material to weave together examples ranging from the New Testament to Martina Navratilova, from Nietzsche to Nestorian Christianity, from the Black Death to the Nepal's Tibetan crafts industry. The philosophical tangents and historical vignettes that ornament Kapstein's prose illuminate the relevance of his sketches to a broader historical context and to a broader scholarship of religion and culture.

Written for an audience with a strong knowledge of Tibetan religion and history, *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism* explores moments in Buddhism's conquest of Tibet and the resultant mutual transformation. In his introductory chapter, Kapstein plots out his main concerns through three limited case studies. He examines how practices and beliefs surrounding death were transformed with the introduction of Buddhism to Tibet, how literacy was maintained during Tibet's "dark age" in the tenth century, and how Buddhism influenced the formation of the Tibetan religious elite. In considering these examples, Kapstein emphasizes that Tibetan Buddhism was never a simple appropriation of Indian Buddhism, nor was it ever a deliberate Tibetan



invention. This claim is the thread that weaves together the remaining nine chapters, which are grouped into three sections corresponding to the themes identified in the book's title - conversion, contestation, and memory.

In the first section, Kapstein considers the story of the establishment of Buddhism as Tibet's state religion by the emperor Trhi Songdetsen in the late eighth century. He sketches the relationship of the *Testament of Ba*, an early, fictionalized account of Trhi Songdetsen's activities, to more reliable historical documentation and to later accounts. Kapstein places the *Testament of Ba* in the context of the religious and historical polemics that produced it and influenced its later appropriations and interpretations. In the final chapter of the section, he sets forth his own speculations on the intentions involved in the Tibetan adoption of Buddhism.

In the second section, Kapstein plots three areas of contestation in the historiography of Tibetan Buddhism. In the first chapter of this section, Kapstein considers the evidence of transmission of certain narratives from Korea to Tibet during the old Tibetan empire. Taking these narratives as an example, he addresses the problem of tracing the transformations and erasures of East Asian concepts and narratives as they are assimilated into Tibetan Buddhism. In the second chapter, he probes the relationship between scholastic and visionary approaches in the works of three major literary figures active in Tibet in the 11th through 14th centuries - Sakya Pandita, Karma Pakshi, and Dölöpa Sherap Gyeltshen. The third chapter asks the question: Where does the divide between canonical and apocryphal texts fall for different Tibetan Buddhist sects? In particular, this chapter addresses the contested status of the "spiritual treasures" (gter-ma) of the Nyingmapa sect of Tibetan Buddhism—texts believed to have been concealed by ancient masters and discovered by later adepts. Kapstein argues that the phenomenon of the treasure texts must be understood in terms of the compulsion to appropriate the new and foreign under the legitimating rubric of a glorified past. For this reason, Kapstein urges his readers to bracket the question of the authenticity of 'treasures' in favor of an investigation into the ends served by construing literary creativity as revelation of texts composed in a glorified past.

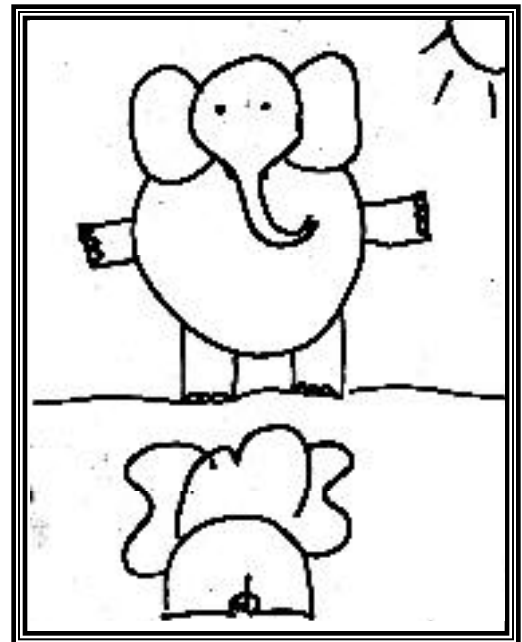
The final section is concerned with the role of indigenous Tibetan ideas in the emergence of dominant myths, historical narratives, and philosophical doctrines in the period between the collapse of the old Tibetan empire and the rise of the Gelukpa sect in the fifteenth century. The first essay discusses the relationships between the mythic aspects of the treasure texts

identified with the Nyingmapa, or 'ancient' sect of Tibetan Buddhism and the systematic thought they embody. Kapstein sees the emergence of the powerful myths surrounding the deity Avalokitevara, the king Songtsan Gampo, and the guru Padmasambhava as tied to the Nyingmapa insistence on the value of a distinctly Tibetan Buddhism expressed through the continuous revelation of the Buddha's doctrine in Tibet in the form of treasure texts. In the second essay, he considers the myths of the deities Samantabhadra and Rudra as treatments of the apparent contradiction between the elaborate tantric ritualism of the Nyingmapa sect and the antinomianism of its Great Perfection teachings. In the final essay of his collection, Kapstein considers theories of memory in the Nyingmapa Great Perfection tradition. He argues that the Great Perfection concept of memory, which encompasses both the intentional act of remembering the past and the mind's awareness of itself, is not appropriated from Indian materials, but represents a synthesis of Tibetan and Indian concepts.

The belief that Tibetan Buddhism is nothing short of the sum total of its cultural and historical manifestations is reflected in Kapstein's historical sketches. Instead of asserting the primacy or ultimate correctness of any one vision or school of Tibetan Buddhism, Kapstein focuses on how a broader cultural and historical context may help scholars understand transformations in the narratives surrounding historical figures and events. While these historical sketches provide the foundation of his study, Kapstein's unique approach to discussing them insures the relevance of his study to a wider audience.

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Love in a Different Climate: Men Who have Sex with Men in India by Jeremy Seabrook, Verso, 1999.

Love in A Different Climate locates itself within a current debate over the use of the supposedly 'western' term gay against the purportedly more neutral expression "Men Who Have Sex With Men (MSM)."

The foreword urges that the distinction between "a gay identity and MSM behavior be understood" and not used "interchangeably with homosexuality." Seabrook urges that this distinction be maintained "in order to avoid projecting Western preconceptions onto other cultures and other ways of structuring same-sex contact." He writes that it "is very easy for the West, with its dominance of the cultural as well as economic arena, to reinterpret the world in its own image and on its own terms. In this sense, even ideas of 'gay liberation' serve not as emancipatory slogans, but as new forms of colonialism and vehicles of control."

Seabrook argues his point by reporting his encounter with a group of 75 men who frequent a particular park in Delhi. The 'sample' includes 56 men between the ages of 21 to 40 and 11 men who are 20 and under. About 8 men are between the age group of 41-60. In this group 42 men are single while 29 are married. Loosely strung conversations with these men form the substance of this book.

Seabrook seems to suggest that indigenous terms and sexual identities like *panthis* (a Bangladeshi term for active partners) and *kothis* (those who allow themselves to be penetrated) not only represent indigenous cultures better but also posit a counter to western imperialism and global imperatives. He writes, "the great majority of men who have sex with men do not, on the whole, identify with Western cultural normals of being gay or bisexual. To impose such categories - except upon a small minority who have been much influenced by Western gay experience - is to bring alien concepts to the people involved; it is arrogant and disregarding of other cultures; and far from the respect for pluralism and diversity which the West now claims as one of its most characteristic attributes." Consequently, self-identified gays and lesbians are chided as elitist and complicit with a western imperialist design. Furthermore, this line of argumentation negates the immensely significant contribution that self-identified gays and lesbians have made to a constructive public discourse around queer sexualities. Secondly, it extends a dangerous argument

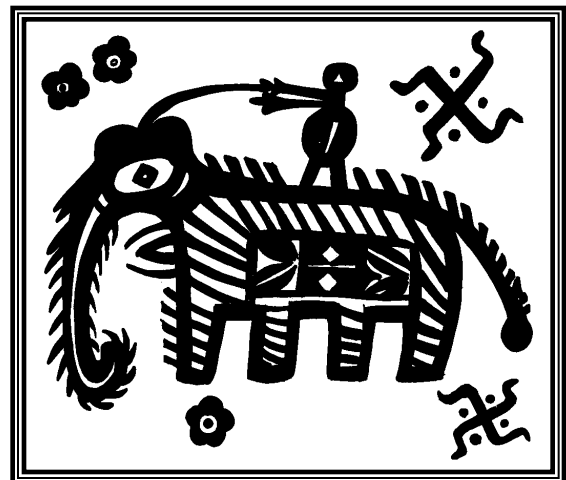
whereby all concepts like Feminism, Marxism, Secularism and Democracy can be rejected outright as colonial hangovers and not adequately indigenous. The intention of positing a counter to colonialist assumptions is a worthy one but only when it realizes the dangers of uncomplicated indigenism.

Perhaps the most troubling part of the book is its methodology. On page two the author admits that the men he spoke to do not "provide a representative sample." On the very next page he claims that "among the men who frequent the park, the map of India is more or less completely represented." Of course, one doesn't have to be either queer or a scholar to know that such a claim is dubious. Similarly, the reportage of the conversations is contentious. Yet, the most unfortunate muddle occurs in Section IV where, in discussing severely stigmatized sexual minorities, the author lumps together *hijras*, transsexuals, transvestites and pedophiles! This uncomplicated juxtaposition of consensual adult sex with what the author calls "trafficking" is not only misplaced but also serves to reinforce the commonplace assumption that pedophiles are a sub-set of homosexuals.

Finally, the book betrays its own agenda. It fails to highlight MSM activity as distinct from what we commonly understand as homosexual behavior. As I plodded through the repetitive accounts of the men's sexual encounters (that are surprisingly homogenous for a seemingly heterogeneous group) I was hard-pressed to figure why the term 'homosexual' should not describe these men. The trouble with Love in a Different Climate is that it spends more energy on 'love' (rather, sex) than the 'climate.' A discursive engagement with sexual stigma, homophobia and a discussion about contemporary debates on sex and sexuality could have provided valuable insights into the strategic usefulness of the neutral term MSM against the more politicized term 'gay.' Equally useful would have been a debate on the gains and losses of such a strategy.

Shohini Ghosh

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प्राकृत आर्य-द्वय-व्यवस्था-सुख-प्रति-सर्वदा-गुरु-व्यवस्था-ती-अत्रे-हिन्दी

Ever since September 11, but especially now that troops are on the ground in Afghanistan, many Americans have been wondering about that part of the world variously associated with South Asia, Central Asia, or the Middle East. Who are the peoples of Afghanistan and what do we know of their history, languages, literature, art, architecture, and culture? While the map of Afghanistan is by now familiar to most television viewers across the country and policy experts provide us with assessments of the current situation, many people have little knowledge of or connection with the people living underneath the war planes.

It is my great privilege to be the new Chair of the Committee on Southern Asian Studies (COSAS), but I would have hoped to take up the job in happier times. Around the time that the military strikes began, it was pointed out to me that neither the South Asia nor Middle East Centers officially take Afghanistan as part of their mission though of course both Centers have been involved in activities responding to the terrorist attacks and their aftermath. COSAS, on the other hand, takes a broad view of "southern Asia," including Afghanistan as well as Pakistan, India, and many other countries in its constituted mission.

When my family began calling me for information about Afghanistan, I resisted at first, thinking that all I had to offer was some perspective on history and archaeology; nothing of any immediate practical value. If, however, we believe in the importance of education and the goals of the humanities and social sciences, then of course such perspectives should have a great deal to offer. At the very least, how much more difficult might it be to unthinkingly wage war on people about whom one has some knowledge and with whom one has some sympathy?

Accordingly, I have asked for assistance from COSAS members in preparing some educational materials on Afghanistan. We envision a two-level approach with more basic offerings posted on the COSAS web page (<http://southasia.uchicago.edu>) and a more detailed packet of readings made available for teachers. We plan to have material on language, archaeology, history, politics, and literature, including some short stories with brief analytical essays. I anticipate that these packets will be available by the end of the calendar year. I welcome ideas on content and, of course, contributions (k-morrison@uchicago.edu). Photographs and other images would be especially welcome.

---Kathy Morrison, Chair, COSAS and Associate Prof. Anthropology

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